HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

February 16, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th. Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I hope you will recall that a year ago this month you were kind enough to give me a bit of your time for some discussion of your life and work preparatory to a book I am writing in the Main Stream of America series for Doubleday & Co. Subsequent to our brief talk I had the publishers send you two or three of the volumes then already published so that you might get some idea of their general import, direction and quality. If you wish, I'll be happy to have some of the later volumes sent. The series so far has met the greatest expectations, for, as you probably know, the books by Bruce Catton, John Dos Passos and Irving Stone have had a fine critical reception as historical narratives.

Now, somewhat past the halfway mark in my own book for the series, I am at the point of giving you your very important place in the complex story of America. For weeks I've been digging into everything publicly available- biographical indices, books which touch upon you and aspects of your work, back numbers of The Messenger, other periodicals and newspapers, and Brazeal's The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. All this has been helpful, and I can make, I think, a fair and fairly representative story from what I have, but I fear it would be a story seriously lacking in a certain kind of detail. For such detail I do not know where else to turn except to you.

For instance, I've found only the haziest references to your Florida boyhood, to the fact that your father was a minister in the A.M.E. Church, to your schooling, and the like; and I've found no references at all to the emotional and intellectual influences and currents that flowed through your early life. In short, you have been treated either in an impersonal, scholarly and analytical fashion by the friendly or in an intensely personal, scurrilous and unfair fashion by the inimical. Neither of these is quite enough for me. I want to treat you and your work in a narrative fashion- not merely as a great force but as a man- in the same manner in which Bruce Catton, Dos Passos and Holbrook treat the men who move through the pages of their books. For this one needs warm and human (but not necessarily intimate) detail. The writers mentioned of course had an easier job than mine, for they treated of men who, having died, could have no say in the matter and manner of treatment. You will have plenty of say, for I could not possibly put anything in your story that does not have your sanction. You would see the story both before and after the page-proof stage.

Knowing how busy you are and that this is something of an imposition upon you, it is with a sense of desperation that I beg your help. I have tried to keep the questions that need answering to a minimum, but I hope they will indicate to you what I am after and that you will answer them as fully and quickly as your crowded schedule permits.

FEB 19 REC'D

Meantime, please believe me respectfully and

Gratefully yours,
J. Saunders Redding

J. Saunders Redding

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

COMMUNICATIONS CENTER

April 22, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th. Street- Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for your kind and generous letter. Though I was absolutely certain of the truth and rightness of the impression I strove to convey, I do not mind admitting to you some worry over details. Many of them were hard to come by, and checking some of them out was not easy, and some of them, I've been told, are in error- though not in serious error. One informant told me, for instance, that when you were "put off the boat" as a labor agitator, the steward wouldn't let you ride back to New York City, but put you ashore in Albany. Another said that this was not true, and a third gave an entirely different version from either of the first two. I couldn't check it except by troubling you, and it didn't seem important enough for that until when I came to that place in the writing I suddenly saw dramatic possibilities in the detail. It was too late then, so all I could say finally was that you were "put off" the boat.

I am very happy that you are not displeased with the result.

Mrs. Randolph will not remember that I met her years ago at a luncheon in the Harlem YWCA, but my best to her- and you. As ever,

Sincerely,
Saunders Redding
Saunders Redding

APR 23 REC'D

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor

STUDIO ONE
415 EAST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
TEL. 212 PLAZA 5-5556

March 20, 1962

Dear Mr. Randolph:

According to our understanding, here is the interview which you were kind enough to accord me and which I promised to show you that you could make any corrections or modifications which might seem to you appropriate.

For the sake of the best editorial treatment, it seems to me desirable for you to eliminate any unnecessary repititions rather than leave it to some third person to do so.

Please be so kind as to send the interview back to me as soon as possible -- not later than this coming Monday.

Many thanks in advance.

Sincerely,

Lillian Tonnaire Taylor

Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor
Lynx News Agency
Bureau Chief

P.S Could you give a brief explanation of a TAFT-HARTLEY ACT by Landrum-Griffin Bill? Thank you!

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

August 8,1963

Dear Phil:

Enclosed is a biographical sketch of you which the Voice of America will broadcast on or before August 28th. This will be the third time I have told the world what a great guy you are. And I mean every word of it. I count myself among the "host" I speak of in this script who values your friendship very highly.

If I have made any mistakes in this brief biography, please correct them. And if you can manage to find ten minutes before the march on Washington to make a tape recording of the quotes I have used, that will be greatly appreciated. I will send an engineer with a recorder to your office either in New York or in Washington at any time convenient to you.

I am sending a copy of this letter to ~~the AFL-CIO in Washington~~ Unity House in case you are too busy to get to New York.

Sincerely,

Liston

Liston M. Oak
Labor and Economics Editor
Voice of America

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

LABOR ANALYSIS #
LISTON M. OAK

A.PHILIP RANDOLPH, NEGRO LABOR STATESMAN
(For use on or before Aug.28)

ANNCR: There will be a "march on Washington" on August 28th, to urge Congress to promptly pass the civil rights bill proposed by the Kennedy Administration. Over 100,000 persons, Negro and white, are expected to rally in front of the Lincoln Memorial, to exercize their right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. There will be delegates from all over America, from all sorts of organizations -- civil rights groups, labor unions, fraternal organizations, churches, and others. The labor delegation is expected to be the largest

The initiator and director of this demonstration is A.Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. To give you a brief biographical sketch of this Negro labor statesman, here is VOA labor and economics editor, Liston M. Oak.

NARRATOR: In 1925 , when he was organizing the Sleeping Car Porters, Phil Randolph was called "The most dangerous Negro Socialist in America" by a Congressional investigating committee. Today he has a host of friends and admirers all over the world, from the poorest Negro to top-flight diplomats. He has been invited to the White House for consultation by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. In 1948 he persuaded President Truman to issue an executive order banning racial segregation in the armed forces of the United States. He is a vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is the father of the Fair Employment Practices Commission concept, which forbids racial discrimination in hiring. He is president of the Negro American Labor Council, which has led the fight to abolish the remnants of discrimination in the ranks of labor.

Always militant and uncompromising in his leadership of the struggle for full equality, Mr. Randolph has been called recently an "Uncle Tom" by certain Negro extremists. That is because he believes in the tactics of Mohandas Gandhi which won independence for India. He is a moderate, who advocates peaceful progress through reform, not through violent revolution. But he is impatient with the slowness of integration -- he demands equality now, not in the distant future. He says "We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go before we reach the goal of full equality."

(PT) A tall, austere man of massive dignity and magisterial mein, Asa Philip Randolph was born in Florida in 1889, the son of a circuit-riding Methodist minister, who was also a tailor. His early ambition was to be an actor and singer, but his strict, puritanical parents would not hear of it. He went to New York as a youth, and worked his way through college as an elevator operator, dishwasher and waiter. He partly fulfilled his early dreams by organizing an amateur threatrical group and playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo. He is one of the most eloquent orators in the AFL-CIO, and often quotes Shakespeare to prove a point, in his deep bass voice. His stage presence is impressive. When he mounts the rostrum to speak at a noisy convention, silence descends upon the audience. (END OPT)

In 1925 six Negro employees on sleeping cars visited Randolph to ask him to help them organize a union. He was then editor of a Socialist magazine entitled THE MESSENGER. He agreed, and his wife quit her beauty parlor to help him. It took ten years of hard work to get Negro employees of railroads added to the list of those whose rights are protected by law. And it was not until 1937 that his union signed a contract raising a porter's wages from $67.50 a month to $80.50. Today the average is $410 a month and working hours have been cut from 366 to 205. The union is now threatening to strike if

wages are not raised and hours shortened, and fringe benefits improved. At the request of President Kennedy, the strike has been postponed and collective bargaining resumed.

Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, once sent greetings to a convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He said:

VOICE: "Your union has made a name for itself as one of the most respected and forward-looking unions in America. It has contributed to the welfare not only of its members but of all Americans. I agree with A. Philip Randolph that 'the struggle for civil rights by Negroes is tied up with the struggle of labor for its rights. They must go together.' I will always work ceaselessly for these rights which you have done so much to advance."

NARR: (OPT) Former President Eisenhower also sent a message congratulating Mr. Randolph for his contribution "to the progress toward making available to all our people equal job opportunities and full enjoyment of the rights of American citizens." Ralph Bunche, American Negro diplomat, is another of a host of friends who praise Phil Randolph as a labor statesman who has advanced the cause of equality and social justice. (END OPT)

Mr. Randolph told the delegates to the last convention of his union that:

VOICE: "Aside from the tremendous accomplishments of the Brotherhood in winning economic gains and job security, the union gave the Negro a sense of self-respect and a sense of belonging to the great family of organized labor. The AFL-CIO has brought black and white workers together and made them aware of their common goals and their common enemies. Among our enemies are the Communists who seek to exploit the faults of our democracy and particularly the grievances of Negroes in the Kremlin's conspiracy against all democracy."

NARR: The march on Washington which will take place on August 28th will not be the first such march in the cause of freedom that Mr. Randolph has organized. In 1942 he was given the coveted Spingarn Award, honoring him for his crusade for the rights of Negroes, part of which was a march on Washington of fifty thousand advocates of equality.

(OPT) When the Communists invaded South Korea in 1950, Mr. Randolph urged all dark-skinned peoples to support United Nations policy, pointing out the stakes they have in defeating Communist imperialism. A life-long opponents of colonialism, he has declared:=

VOICE: "Since the end of World War Two, six hundred million people in former colonies have won their independence. In the same period, more than that number have fallen victims to the worst form of colonialism in history -- Communist colonialism." (END OPT)

NARR: As a militant idealist, he recognizes the great progress that Negroes have made, but he is intolerant of complacency and of half-measures. He asserts:

VOICE: "As long as there is a single employer who practices discrimination, or a single segregated local union, or a single school that segregates Negroes, or a single colony under foreign oppression, the fight is not finished. Every last vestige of racial discrimination and colonialism must be uprooted. The remedy is not Communism, but a more peffect democracy. Our objective is full and complete equality and freedom in every crevice of political, economic and social life. We will not rest until we have reached that goal."

NARR: One final quotation. Randolph once said that "The best thing that ever happened to me was that my grandfather was brought over from Africa to America as a slave."

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS NO. 4
JUDGES' CHAMBERS
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
534 CITY HALL

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
JUDGE

19107

November 6, 1968

Mr. Jay Victor, Executive Editor
AMERICAN LABOR
4 East 53rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Victor:

Your letter, undated, accompanying the August issue of AMERICAN LABOR was received while I was abroad. I wanted very much to write you promptly but because of many engagements that had already been planned for several lectures on a mission for our State Department to Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, Greece and Cyprus, I was unable to complete this writing until recently. My secretary knowing of my long acquaintence with Mr. Randolph and our association with him on many important matters, and as well my years of acquaintence with Dr. Cartwright, knew of my desire to comment on her excellent and very readable biography of Mr. Randolph, forwarded the magazine to me along with a quantity of court matters requiring immediate attention. This further delayed my review of the Randolph article.

It may interest your readers to know that I have had the honor of knowing Phil Randolph since I was in my late teens while working my way through college. As most Negro boys in those days from poor families, I was entirely self-supporting, being one of a large family. My mother died when I was five years old. I began working at age twelve to help my father, a wonderful man, but a low wage worker, care for a family of six. I graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, entering there on a high school scholarship, with highest honors and won a fellowship in the field of Economics to study at Harvard. However, I elected to enter the Harvard Law School. It was during my first year at Harvard that I met the beloved A. Philip Randolph while I was a Redcap carrying baggage during the summer in the Grand Central Station in New York City at a salary of "not one dollar a month." The Redcaps, those strong, courteous, able-bodied men of those days lived exclusively on whatever tips passengers were willing to give them. I need not tell you how outrageously unfair and demeaning this was to the Negro workers and how contemptible on the part of rail management.

The following summer in the early 1920's, I took a brief turn at "pullman portering," running on the "Owl midnight

express between New York and Boston." The pay was miserably low - $ 30.00 per month. It was then that I became deeply interested in Randolph's appeal and his lectures in Harlem and Brooklyn to the railroad workers, deeply soul-stirring and evocative as only Phil Randolph could affect his listeners with his nicely turned phrases delivered in a melodious theologic voice. I loved these fatherly old pullman porters for whom I substituted, who had spent their lifetime working those long hours on those hot, all night, monotonous, noisy trains. It was during these runs that I urged their support of Mr. Randolph and his movement to organize these overworked and underpaid men. They had given all the years of their lives in this work. Many were broken in health. They worked under all kinds of intolerable conditions, long hours of work with little rest or relief. There were no fringe benefits of any character, no travel comforts in route, they sat up all night meeting passengers at every station, carrying bags, preparing beds, cleaning washrooms, shining shoes for the well-to-do passengers traveling between New York, Boston and the Maine resorts in these heavily trafficked area of those days. These men had no organization or union to which they could call for help and it was Phil Randolph who was trying to organize these helpless and insecure Negro workers whose pleas for bettering their working conditions were entirely unheard and unheeded.

May I add that those fine Negro porters were totally at the mercy of management. Most of them were men with fine wives and large families of growing children. Many were, as I was at that time, working their way through the various colleges of America, North and South, and as well helping to support their sisters and brothers to gain an education in the various schools of America. I recall vividly scores of young college Negroes working for the railroads in this type of work. Few other doors were open to them. Several of these men became great national and international figures. Prominent among them were Paul Robeson, his brother William, a well known New York clergyman, many who became famous lawyers, one a New York Judge, Hubert Delaney, his brother, Dr. Delaney, Earl Brown formerly of the New York City Council, the late Rev. Marshall Shepherd of Philadelphia, at one time United States Recorder of Deed, Pennsylvania Legislator and a long time member of Philadelphia City Council. These were the type of men who supported the work of A. Philip Randolph in his efforts to lift the rail workers from their disgraceful labor strait-jacket which for long years all but emasculated their helpless victims.

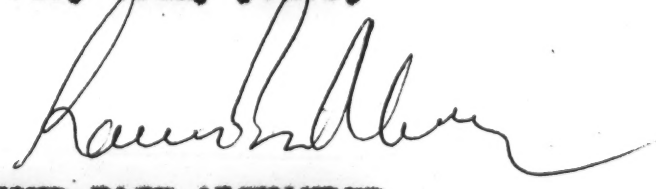
Dr. Cartwright's article touched my soul as Phil Randolph touched my heart in those days of unbelievably cruel treatment of the Negro pullman worker by those heartless, corporate giants of that era.

Mr. Randolph, as Dr. Cartwright has so well written, organized the pullman porters in what is now a strong, influential union in the giant American Federation of Labor. But his success was by no means easy. He had many detractors. Labor itself cannot look back on those days without shame on its own house. Many extremely important influences in the American labor hierarchy working with the pullman and rail industry conspired to defeat Phil Randolph's program. Randolph believed that the pullman company was outrageously guilty in its treatment of Negro pullman porters, guilty of the original sin of the systematic exploitation of human beings to build profits and strengthen the capital of this giant corporation. He used all possible moral pressure against this combination and he traveled far and wide to gain support of influential people in American industry against this type of employer exploitation of helpless workmen. He went further, he chided the white union heads for lack of interest and their indifference to their black brethren. He argued, with logic and justice, that these men, as their ancestors in slavery had labored long and hard to create the wealth of the railroads and they were entitled to live in dignity with a decent wage. Eventually he was successful but only after a long period of frustration and personal agony on his part in the distressing permanence of their sorry condition.

Randolph, now, seventy-nine, but then a young man in his late twenties saw the real imperatives of that day -- justice to the black working man. And it is not to the credit of the white rail unions of those days, indeed all unions at that time, that none came to his aid. The pullman company's theory was... give them nothing that changes their way of life but spend anything to maintain the status quo.

Philip Randolph's life is worthy of further study and a full biography. This excellent but all too brief review of the highlights of his career hopefully may be the necessary impetus for a later scholarly and well deserved treatise on this truly great American.

Very truly yours,



RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

ES

Stephen R. Fox
92 Marlborough Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116
August 26, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 19.

I was particularly interested by what you noted of your contacts with Trotter during World War I. I would very much like to quote the following sentence from your letter in a footnote of my book: "He was the one individual in Boston who had the courage to preside at an anti-war meeting planned by Chandler Owen and myself." May I have your permission to quote this passage?

There is no file of the Guardian for the era of the World War, so your mention of the anti-war meeting is the first that I had heard of it. Did the meeting actually take place? Was it before the US actually entered the war, or afterward? Do you know of any journal that might have carried a report on the meeting?

Doubtless you know of Trotter's trip to France in 1919 to give the black American a voice at the Versailles conference. The State Department refused him a passport, but he disguised himself as the second cook on a small freighter and managed to get there, though he arrived after the deliberations were virtually over.

Thank you also for mentioning the fact that you and Trotter were members of a delegation that visited Coolidge in 1924. The published photo of that delegation, as carried in the black press of February 1924, shows a Melvin Chisum standing next to Carl Murphy of the Afro-American. Chisum's presence in the same group as Trotter is an odd incongruity; in 1903 Chisum infiltrated a meeting at Trotter's home in Dorchester -- this at the behest of the Tuskegee leadership -- and later reported to Washington's friend William Lewis that the Trotterites had there concocted a plan to kill Washington when he made a speech in Cambridge a few days later. Thereafter Chisum drops out of sight, but is reported in 1916 in the New York Age as having fled a criminal libel conviction in Oklahoma. I had supposed that that finished his career, but here he pops up in 1924 in that delegation to free the Houston soldiers.

I much appreciate your generous assistance.

Stephen Fox

September 30, 1969

Mr. Stephen R. Fox
92 Marlborough Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Fox:

In reply to your letter concerning your interest in using a statement in your book relating to Monroe Trotter, in connection with a public anti-war meeting planned by Chandler Owen and myself, you are free to use it.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

Gary Charboneau
12 18, 6th St. N.E.
Mpls., Minn. 55413
[1969]

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I am an Eighth grade student at St. Boniface. For my English class I have to write to someone known all over the U. S. I picked you to ask if you think the U. S. should become a communistic country, and I would like your reasons why or why not. I need the answer soon so would you please hurry an answer.

Sincerly yours,
Gary Charboneau

J. A. CHARBONEAU
1218 - Sixth St. N. E.
Mpls., Minn. 55413

MINNEAPOLIS MINN
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U.S. AIR MAIL 10c

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH - 6th FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

Mr. A. P. Randolph

~~217 West 125~~

New York, N. Y.

To avoid delay in delivery of your mail please obtain a form from the post office for notifying correspondents and publishers of your correct address.

June 20, 1969

Mr. Gary Charboneau
1218 Sixth Street, N. E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55413

Dear Gary:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter inquiring about the United States becoming Communist or remaining non-Communist.

My position on this matter is that I want to see the U. S. remain non-Communist, but a liberal democracy with major social democratic institutions, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and complete abolition of discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Under a liberal democracy, such as we have in the U. S., opportunity for creative, constructive progress in education, industry, and all areas of governmental development is possible. Under a Communist state there is no freedom of speech, of the press, or assembly, and hence an individual is unable to express himself freely on questions of government, education, labor unions, and civil rights.

It is for these reasons that I believe in the maineenance of our liberal democracy, but with the socialization of certain areas of our economy, such as railroads, public utilities (including the telephone, electric and gas), with a national commission to carry on a continuous study of the economy to determine when other areas of the economy are subject to socialization, which means eliminating profits out of industry so that the workers and the common people may enjoy a more abundant life.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Request for information

Stephen R. Fox
92 Marlborough St.
Boston, Mass. 02116
May 30, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am writing a biography of William Monroe Trotter. The book will be one of Atheneum's Studies in American Negro Life, a new series being published under the editorial direction of August Meier.

When Trotter died in 1934, his sister Maude Trotter Steward took over the publication of his newspaper the Guardian. Today I was going through the file of the paper under Mrs. Steward's editorship and found a reference to you in February 1940. You were coming to Boston to give a lecture, and Mrs. Steward took the occasion to recall your relationship with her brother. She said (Guardian, February 10, 1940, p. 4) that you were "a close student and follower" of Trotter and had had "constant talks" with him.

Allowing for what is probably an excess of familial pride here, is there any truth to this reference? There is no file of the Guardian during the 1920's, so I haven't found any comments directly by Trotter on your work with the Messenger and the Brotherhood. And I read through the file of the Messenger at the New York Public Library and found no substantial comments on Trotter's activity. Further, I am reasonably certain that Trotter had no interest in or awareness of radical political and economic thought.

In short, I was astonished to see Mrs. Steward claiming that you and her brother had had any considerable contact with each other.

Could you possibly write me a brief note describing the extent of your acquaintance with Trotter? And would you have had any correspondence with him?

Yours sincerely,

Stephen R. Fox

June 19, 1969

Mr. Stephen R. Fox
92 Marlborough Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Fox:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning my relations with William Monroe Trotter.

1. I was relatively closely related to Trotter during the first World War. He was the one individual in Boston who had the courage to preside at an anti-war meeting planned by Chandler Owen and myself.

2. I was a member of a delegation, headed by Trotter, to hold a conference with President Coolidge.

3. While I was much more radical than Trotter on racial and economic action, he was my good friend and I seldom visited Boston without talking with him because he was one of the black militants of that period.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

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ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY / NORMAL, ILLINOIS 61761

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
Telephone: 309/438-2587

May 6, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Room 800
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This letter has a twofold purpose. First I gladly contribute to the mayoralty campaign of Mr. Thomas Bradley. I was a resident in Los Angeles when he was first elected to the city council and he impressed me very much. On the other hand Mayor Yorty has been a constant source of disappointment; he thinks not at all, talks too much, and does nothing constructive.

The second purpose is to solicit from you some historical information. I am co-author of a biography entitled: Henry A. Wallace of Iowa, The Agrarian Years, 1910-1940. This has just been released by the Iowa State University Press. We are working on a second volume dealing with the years from 1940 to 1965.

We would like to know the reasons why you did not support Henry Wallace's Progressive party venture in 1948. Did you support Norman Thomas or Harry S. Truman? Any information you might be able to give will help to straighten out the facts as to why Wallace could not attract more votes from minority groups.

Sincerely,

Edward L. Schapsmeier

Edward L. Schapsmeier
Associate Professor

June 13, 1969

Professor Edward L. Schapsmeier
College of Arts and Sciences
Department of History
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois 61761

Dear Professor Schapsmeier:

This will reply to your letter inquiring as to why I did not support Henry Wallace's Progressive Party venture in 1948, and also inquiring if I supported Norman Thomas or Harry Truman.

I did not support Henry Wallace because I considered that he was under the control of the Communist Party. I supported Norman Thomas because he was a Socialist like myself.

I am sure that the Negro community did not support Henry Wallace for the reason I have indicated.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
1813 HINMAN AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

PROGRAM OF AFRICAN STUDIES

February 17, 1969

A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Recently I have become extremely interested in Afro-American attitudes towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unfortunately, there is a scarcity of materials in the area. I have several of Carmichael's statements and an offfcial SNCC statement, that's all.

Will you send or direct me to relating materials? Your assistance would be of tremendous help.

Yours in peace,

Oscar Leonard Beard

Oscar Leonard Beard
Research Assistant

March 3, 1969

Mr. Oscar Leonard Beard
Research Assistant
Program of African Studies
Northwestern University
1813 Hinman Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Dear Mr. Beard:

Relative to your inquiry about the attitude of Afro-Americans on the Arab-Israeli conflict, may I say that I am committed to the right of Israel to complete an unqualified statehood.

It is my opinion also that the United States should take such action that is calculated to change the imbalance in weaponry between the Arab countries and Israel, both for the protection of Israel against 100 million Arabs with the support of the Soviet Union, and the national interests of the United States in maintaining the independence and national security of Israel and the peace of the Middle East.

You may be interested in knowing that I was responsible for a resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO at its Miami sessions, February 17-25, calling for the United States to take action in the interest of providing more arms for Israel.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Department of History
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

EUGENE, OREGON 97403
telephone (code 503) 342-1411

November 30, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
103 E. 125 Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am writing a biography of William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. from 1920 to 1940. Since you knew Pickens well, I would like to meet with you to discuss your recollections of him. I will be in the New York-Washington area between December 19 and January 3. Please let me know if you can meet with me and the time and place most convenient for you.

If you are unable to get together, I would appreciate your filling out the enclosed questionnaire.

Sincerely yours,

Sheldon Avery

Sheldon Avery

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WILLIAM PICKENS

I am working on a biography of William Pickens, who was the field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. during the 1920's and 1930's. It is important for me to know how his contemporaries viewed him. If you can spare the time, I would greatly appreciate your responses to the questions that follow. Please feel free to comment on areas not covered by the questions. If you so desire, all or part of your responses will be kept confidential.

1. Under what circumstances did you come into contact with Pickens?

2. Do you have any correspondence from Pickens or other material which might be of assistance to his biographer?

3. Recently historian Dan T. Carter described Pickens as "egocentric, emotionally volatile and unpredictable." Do you agree or disagree with this evaluation? Why?

4. What significant contribution (if any) did Pickens make to the work with which you were both associated?

5. Can you suggest others who knew Pickens and who might be willing to answer this questionnaire?

Answers to Questionnaire on William Pickens
by A. Philip Randolph

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1. Dr. Pickens wrote articles for the Messenger Magazine which I published. I also met him at public meetings and at some of the conventions of the NAACP.

2. I don't have any correspondence from Dr. Pickens. Some of his articles may be found in some issues of the Messenger Magazine.

3. Dr. Pickens was an exceptionally brilliant orator and, in my opinion, had the heart of an artist. There were perhaps some evidences of unpredictability in his personality system. He was a restless and aggressive character. I was personally very fond of him.

4. Dr. Pickens was not associated with me in the labor movement which represented my major interest. But we were both interested in the NAACP and, in my opinion, he was quite a productive and creative force in that movement. We were not in agreement on some issues, including the Garvey movement which he at one time supported.

5. I don't know very many people today who knew Pickens, except Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP and some of the older members of the NAACP Board.

April 25, 1969

Letters Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

I was greatly pleased to note the editorial "Guns on Campus" in the issue of April 22, in which you stated: "Now arms have been introduced in the campus controversy at Cornell, and only blindness to the lessons of history can shut out the fundamental nature of the threat that development poses."

The black students have not come into the academic world to run scared with guns upon the college campuses. This behavior at Cornell University is a greatly distressing, disquieting and disturbing spectacle. It is a monumental illusion that freedom flows out of the mouth of guns when there is no attack under guns of an enemy and when you constitute a minority. It must also be recognized that death and destruction flow out of the mouth of a gun.

The cause of civil rights, racial and social justice does not need the brandishing of guns to prevail in America with its social democratic institutions. We need to submit our cause to a higher court - the court of historic truth and the conscience of the people. Every great cause of humanity has had to follow this course of action in order to prevail.

Today, violence is the rhetoric of the sickness of infantile revolutionary, racial and student left-wing extremism. The current prestige of violence as a method of social change, cynically

brandished around by a handful of black and white militants, constitutes the gravest danger now threatening the cause of civil rights, racial and social justice. Of course, it will soon run its course and enter upon its decline, but only if confronted with widespread condemnation and rejection.

Black militants have made, and are making, an important struggle for racial identity and recognition of the great cultural endowment and heritage of the Negro world. They, however, will have to learn that their cause cannot be won by weapons of violence, for violence invariably begets violence which renders it utterly impossible for a minority, black or white, to win its fight.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President Emeritus
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO

United States Department of Justice

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO
U. S. COURT HOUSE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114

July 13, 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In compliance with your direction, I am making available to Mr. Jervis Anderson, copies of the several documents appearing in our file respecting the incident of 1918.

Under normal circumstances, your file would have been destroyed, in keeping with the policy of this office. However, it has been preserved by the administrative assistant because of the apparent historical significance of that event.

We have in Cleveland a historical society which is now in the process of compiling documents and records concerning Black Clevelanders. It occurs to me that that organization would be happy to have this file respecting you. Incidentally, the file does contain a copy of The Messenger, dated July 1918.

I hereby request permission from you to release this file to the Cleveland Historical Society for preservation in its archives.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick M. Coleman

FREDERICK M. COLEMAN
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

July 13, 1971

Mr. Jervis Anderson
The New Yorker
25 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Having received permission in writing from A. Philip Randolph, I am enclosing herewith copies of several documents which we have in the file of Mr. Randolph, which relate to his arrest in Cleveland in 1918. It is by the sheerest coincident that the file is still available with the enclosed material. Under normal circumstances it would have been destroyed.

I trust that the information contained herein will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK M. COLEMAN
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Enclosures

cc: A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

August 4, 1971

Mr. Frederick M. Coleman
United States Attorney
U. S. Court House
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Thank you for your letter of July 13.

In reply to your request, may I say that you certainly have my permission to present the material to the Cleveland Historical Society for preservation in its archives. However, before doing so, I would appreciate it if you would send me copies of the documents that I may add to my papers that I am presently in the process of compiling.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

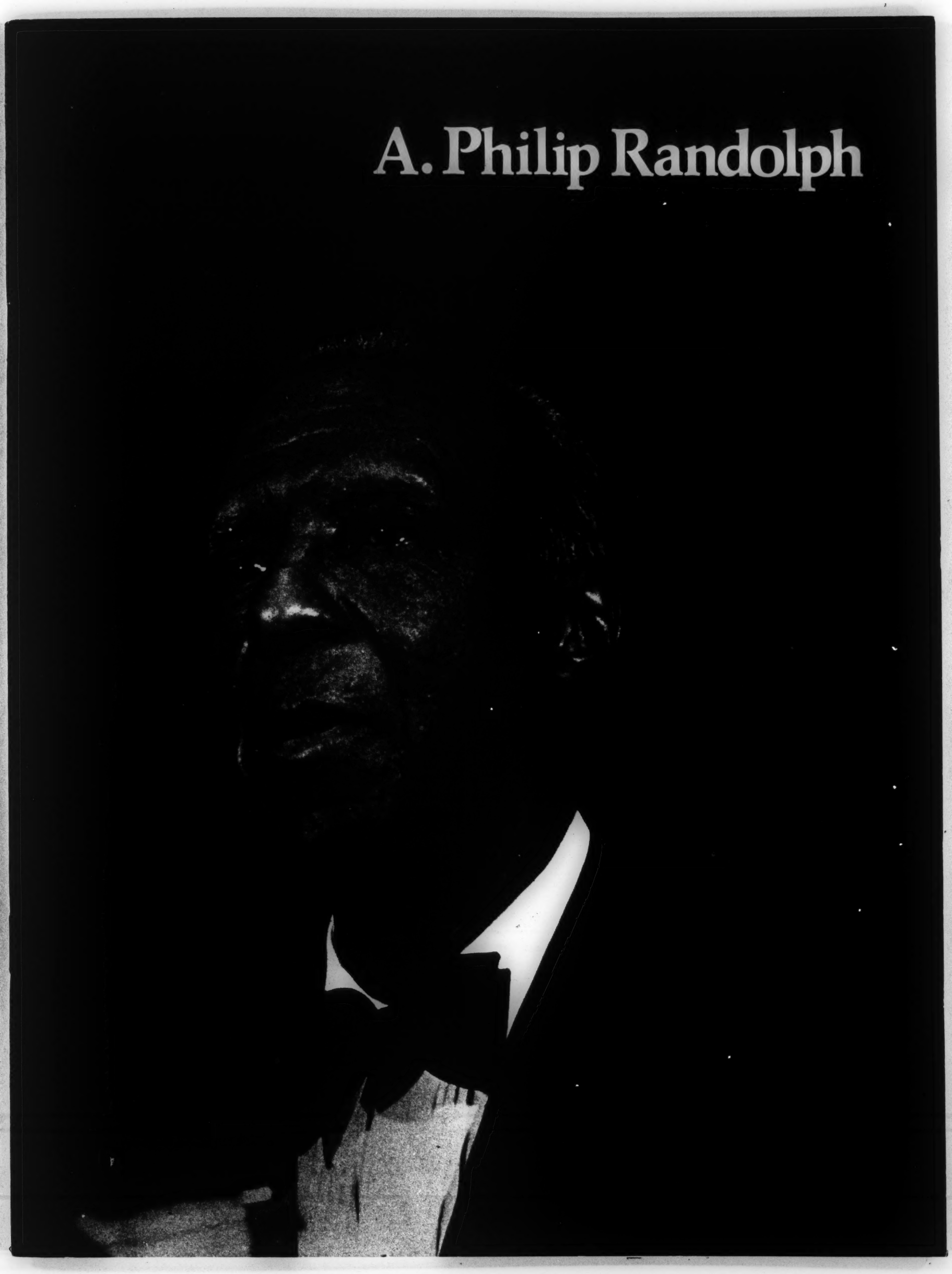
BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Interviews, notes, and Other Information

1970

(2)

A. Philip Randolph



POEM FOR A MAN

by

Langston Hughes

To A. Philip Randolph on achieving his 70th year

Poem for a man
Who has lived
Seventy years of life
And strife
And emerged grand,
In spite of errors here
And errors there
And pitfalls —
This compromise and that required
That the dreams he sired
Might in part
Be realized.

Poem for a man
Of flesh and blood,
And human as you and I,
And lost at sea
In waves of other lost humanity,
But holding somehow high
A flag with spar
And star
For you and me.

Poem for a man
Who put his hand
Upon a dream of human dignity
And held it there —
And took his other hand
To try to wipe the mud away,
The mud that spattered everywhere:
"And who are you to think
You lead the Negro people?"
And who are you to ask,
"And who are you?"

Poem for a man
Who plays the checkered game
Of king jump king —
And jumps a President:
That **order 8802**
For me and you
And porters on a railroad car
Who make —
Each time they make a bed —
A hammock on a star
That sings in space
The dawn-song
Of a race.

Poem for a man —
All these years
Grand!

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president emeritus of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

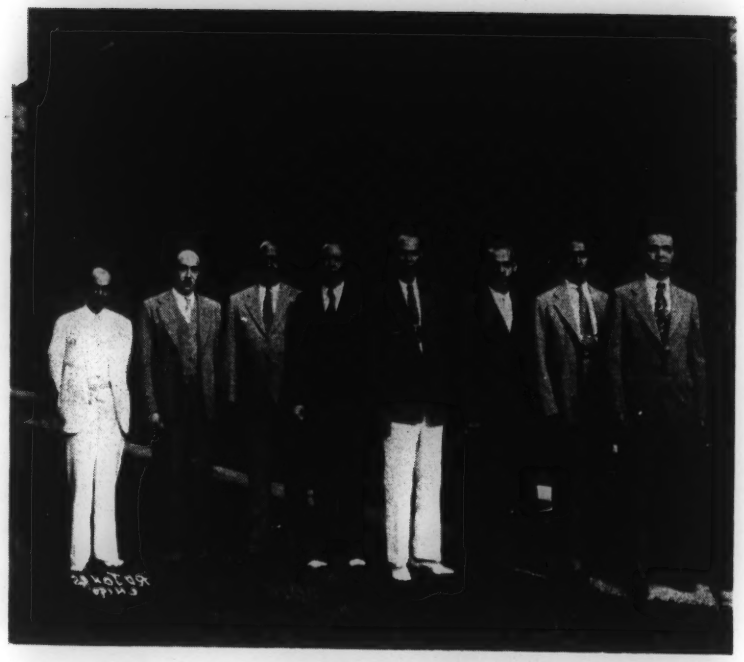
Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearaean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science and developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism. As co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader.



Early photo of A. Philip Randolph (fourth from left) with leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest—a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement—in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Wahington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only *after* President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948, Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees, and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

The Struggle for Justice, As He Has Seen It

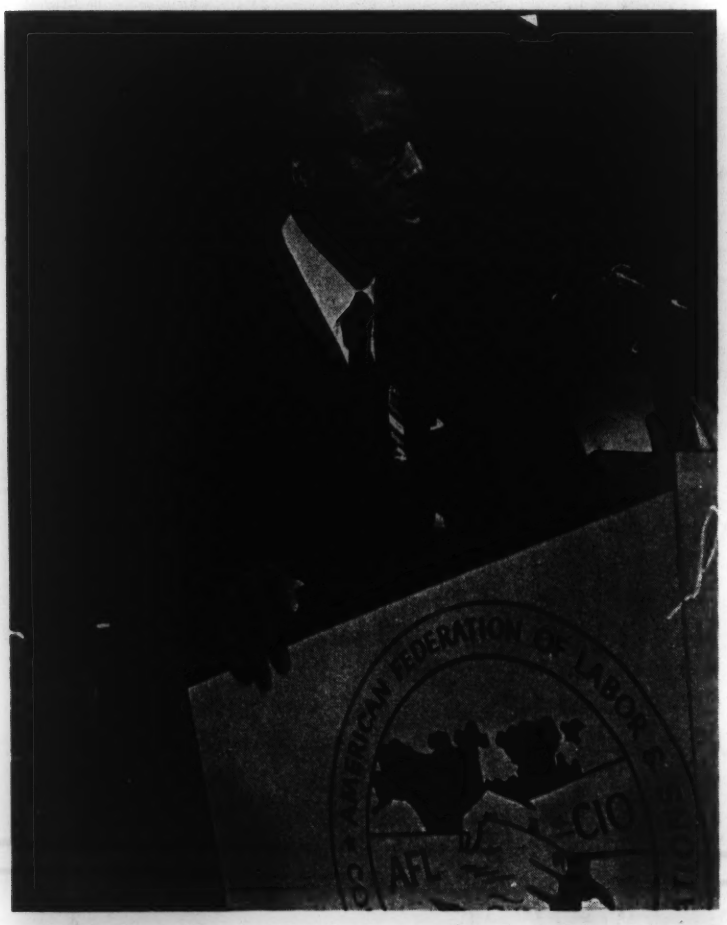
Labor and the Negro Revolution

But, since neither labor or the Negro is fully free and because both can only survive and win their complete rights within the framework of a democratic society, Negroes and white trade unionists can most effectively advance their cause by the recognition of the common interest both have at the point of production, on the job and in the union hall, as well as at the ballot box.

Both have the problem of getting the southern political demagogues off their backs, who ride into office from year to year on the slogan of racialism. Both have the problem of liberating themselves from the economic clutches of exploitation of city industrial and financial capitalists of the South and a semi-feudalistic plantation oligarchy.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

A. Philip Randolph and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood with AFL-CIO President George Meany.



Addressing the national convention of the AFL-CIO.

Labor and Blacks

While Negroes had and still have legitimate grievances against discriminatory practices of some unions which should be pressed for correction, organized labor, too, has a legitimate complaint against the indifference, if not outright opposition of some sections of Negro leadership to trade union aims and practices. Just as the poor white workers of the South were sold propaganda that they had a stake in the segregation and subjugation of their colored brothers, so Negroes were sold propaganda that their best interests were tied up with organized big business against organized labor.

Philanthropy of the rich for Negro institutions, educational and religious, were pointed to as evidence of the friendship of capital for the Negro worker; while trade unions were roundly berated and condemned for exclusion of Negro workers from membership and jobs. Irked and distressed by the attacks from capital and some Negro leaders, some trade union leaders replied by denouncing Negroes as strike breakers and poor union members. History will show that both groups were partially right and wrong.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the local union is the point where Negro workers must demonstrate their loyalty to the union cause and, by religious attendance at union meetings, to keep the fight alive against racism. It is also important that in the local union a vigorous fight be made by both white and Negro members, in the interest of the realization of the goals of the union by unremitting struggle, suffering and sacrifice. It is important that colored workers recognize, along with their white brothers, that no union can ever accumulate and build power except it pass through the fires of great suffering, struggle, trouble, hardship and trial. This quality is far more important than money, for while it is possible to build a union without money it is not possible to build a union without the spiritual and moral qualities of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of a better life for the workers.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is of noteworthy interest that at this period of crisis in the civil rights revolution and the highest peak of organizational power of the American labor movement, that its leadership should reside in the hands of a worker of fine moral integrity, vision and courage, such as George Meany, who is forthrightly and strongly committed to the cause of civil rights, amply attested in notable speeches and action.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

The Futility of Violence

In this great fight for freedom, Negroes should not permit themselves to be provoked to the use of violence against violence under any circumstances. For just as violence cannot win civil rights for Negroes; violence by the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, by the same token, cannot defeat the fight by Negroes for their civil rights.

If Negroes continue wisely to shun the use of violence like a plague and keep the fight against segregation upon the high level of discussion, debate, argument, reason, fact and evidence, on the public platform, in the press, on the television and radio, our cause of integration will ultimately prevail because history is on our side.

From address at Orchestra Hall; Chicago; May 17, 1956.

Be not dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South. It is written in the stars that the old order of southern fedualism, with its remnants and vestiges of lynching, peonage, vagrancy laws, mob violence, Ku Klux Klan, anti-labor union practices expressed in right-to-work laws, widespread illiteracy, low wages, dying; its death will come as a result of the emergence of the dynamic impulse for freedom surging in the hearts of Negroes, together with the march of industrialization, urbanization, labor union organization, extension of education and the modernization of government through the spread of the ballot. These new forces will create and build a new South, free for the white and black masses to pursue a life of dignity and decency.

From statement delivered to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom; May 17, 1957; Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Thus, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee go around calling upon Negroes to "get themselves some guns" for protection when trouble comes.

This commitment to violence as the major strategy to effect basic social change is not only an exhibition of the sickness of infantile leftism but a dangerous form of mindless madness. Violence settles nothing. Violence only begets violence. it does not inspire a forward march by the black

During World War I.

avant-garde to new fields of racial creativity, but to reaction, frustration and despair.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

Civil Rights and Economic Rights

Civil rights and economic rights supplement and complement each other. One is insecure without the other. Civil rights and civil liberties; namely, freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and religious worship, trial by jury, habeas corpus, right of petition, right to vote and to be voted for, freedom from self-incrimination or double jeopardy, constitute the pillars of our democratic society. They are the attributes of citizenship. Without them an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen. If an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen he cannot register his consent or dissent upon policies of state; he cannot effectively exercise a permanent influence upon the course and change of the economy which involve the means whereby he lives.

Thus, Negroes have no alternative but to throw their all into the balance, to fight for civil rights and civil liberties so as to possess the tools with which to struggle for economic rights and economic liberties, the *sine qua non* of political and economic democracy.

From address to Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.

Industrialism

Negroes are caught up in the dilemma of being propelled to keep the Civil Rights Revolution moving forward at an accelerated pace to the rapid realization of its mission without being devoured by the revolution of science. Negroes have major stakes in, and must profit from, both revolutions. But if the Civil Rights Revolution is not completed, they will become the stepchildren of the new scientific revolution, if not the victims of social-economic devolution.

Without a victorious Civil Rights Revolution Negroes cannot adequately participate in or benefit from the revolution of the new industrialism.

From address to the Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.

As a young man in New York, around 1912.

The Role of the Pullman Porter

The handful of porters who weathered the storms of Pullman oppression were the shock troops of black labor. They were the first black workers who had openly dared to beard the mighty industrial lion of Pullman in its den.

Yes, Pullman was fierce and cruel. It had brutally battered the railroad workers under the matchless leadership of the great Gene Debs in the celebrated Pullman strike of 1894.

During the bitter, grey and hapless days there was not a single Negro organization which the Brotherhood could call its friend, and only one or two black papers, and not a single nationally known leader. The Brotherhood porters and leaders were the black untouchables. But the small band of militant, weatherbeaten black proletarian brothers of the ghetto never faltered. With heads

erect and souls uncurbed, porters who had been fired on account of membership in the union were stirred by the spirit of the labor hymn, *Solidarity Forever:*

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn
We can break their might power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong.

The Brotherhood preached this philosophy to the black worker in particular, and the Negro communities in general. The Brotherhood gave the porter, and incidentally the Negro workers as a whole, a sense of racial and class identity and pride. While the Brotherhood fought to break down racial barriers in labor unions, it also fought against Negro workers permitting themselves to be used as scabs against their white brothers on strike.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Common Enemy

Finally, we call upon the white workers and black workers, poor white sharecroppers and poor black sharecroppers of the South to join hands and build trade unions, credit unions and cooperatives on a basis of their common interests and go to the polls and throw out of office the political demagogues who ride into power every election on the issue of racial discrimination.

We believe that when the poor whites of the South, drugged with the opium of white supremacy, open their eyes and realize who their main enemies are, namely; the plantation semi-feudalistic oligarchy, city-business and industrial capitalists and parasitic, demagogic politicians, they will join hands with poor blacks and fight for the liberation of both groups from segregation, economic exploitation and social oppression to the end of eliminating illiteracy, disease and poverty.

From address at Madison Square Garden rally; May 24, 1956.

Communists and the Civil Rights Movement

Because the Negro working masses possess deep and legitimate grievances on account of racial discrimination and segregation, they will be offered magnificent milleniums by all sorts of Messiahs if only they follow the gospel according to St. Stalin of the Soviet Union. While no compromise must be countenanced or entertained in the struggle of Negroes for civil rights, and be it said to the credit of militant Negro leadership and American democratic liberalism, this fight for civil rights is steadily, if slowly, being won, Negro workers must choose, with great care and vigilance and understanding, the allies they accept for support and cooperation. Just as Negro workers could not, with grace or in principle, accept help, even if offered, from the Ku Klux Klan, a species of Facism, which is the enemy of democracy, nor can they, by the same token, join hands and march forward with Communists on any front, since they represent, not only an anti-democratic, economic, political and social system, but they owe and maintain allegiance with a foreign state, Soviet Russia, the enemy of America and the free world.

Wherever trade unions have been taken over by the Communist agents of the Russian politbureau, such as the Communists are in every country today, not only have the workers suffered, but the democratic government of the workers has been undermined and destroyed, thereby establishing Communist labor concentration camps of slavery and the police state climate of frustration and fear.

From address to Negro Labor Committee; March 1, 1952

To An Emerging Nation

In order that this task may be progressively and constructively carried forward, your country must not only be free of external domination but free from within. Freedom and democracy do not inhere in independence per se, nor do they automatically follow therefrom. All of the moral, spiritual and intellectual resources of the leaders and people of Ghana will be required to hammer out and maintain free democratic institutions and a free way of life that are basically implicit in the mandates of nationalism. But I need not tell your great leaders that the job of building a sound, free economy will be no less challenging and difficult than winning independence.

From statement delivered at the Ghana Independence Celebration; March, 1957; Accra, Ghana.

Leading protesters demanding an end to Jim Crow in the armed services at the 1948 Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

Jim Crow Must Go

Today I should like to make clear to the Senate Armed Services Committee and through you, to Congress and the American people that passage now if a jim-crow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism. I must emphasize that the current agitation for civil rights is no longer a mere expression of hope on the part of Negroes. On the one hand, it is a positive, resolute outreaching for full manhood. On the other hand, it is an equally determined will to stop acquiescing in anything less. Negroes demand full, unqualified first-class citizenship.

From testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the demand for an end to segregation in the military forces; March 31, 1948.

Grant Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph testify before Senate Committee to demand an end to segregation in the military forces in 1948.

A Lesson of History

Now, history is replete with evidence of the fact that in this competitive struggle among social forces in the national community for support and concessions from the state to redress wrongs against any group, the state invariably moves in the direction and confers its favor upon that social force such as labor or business, prohibition or temperance, negroes or the South, which, in the context of the times, constitutes the greatest challenge to the stability and power of the state. The philosophy behind this historical fact is that government only moves when it is moved by pressure from social forces. It never initiates action in behalf of any groups of its citizens on a basis of sympathy, mercy or justice.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Segregation a Sin

Since segregation demeans and degrades the dignity of the human personality, it is not only a form of aggression against individual liberty, a major cornerstone of democracy, but it is also in conflict with the basic Judeo-Christian ethic which emphasizes the worth of every individual human being.

Thus, segregation is not only an abomination against humanity, but is a sin, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected. It is paradoxical to think of one gradually accepting the law of God or the law of the State.

May I submit that despite much discussion by some southern leaders about the practicality of gradualism, I know of no instances where southern leaders advocate gradualism, if it is construed to mean eventual racial and social equality with white men, even in astronomical time. This position of the South is understandable in the light of its belief in the racial inferiority of the Negro. Thus, the Negro and the South, in the terms of the logic of their positions on racial equality, are required to oppose gradualism, but for different reasons.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Toil and Trouble.

The following are excerpted from "A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait," by Jervis Anderson.

"The Sea Is Ruff"

After looking into the history of the porters' grievances, Randolph wrote and published two articles—"The Case of the Pullman Porter" and "Pullman Porters Need Their Own Union"—in the July and August, 1925, issues of the *Messenger*. They aroused such interest among porters in New York that Ashley Totten renewed his pressure upon Randolph to take on the job of organizing a union. And this time Randolph agreed. An organizing committee was set up, with himself as general organizer; W. H. DesVerney, deputy general organizer; and Roy Lancaster, secretary-treasurer. Lancaster also became business manager of the *Messenger*, which Randolph agreed to transform into the voice of the new union. Totten, Thomas Patterson, and R. R. Matthews continued working on the railroads.

Randolph's decision to lead the new movement had turned mainly on two considerations. First, no one else seemed willing to take kup the porters' cause. And, second, on further reflection, he saw the porters as his last and, possibly, best chance to promote the idea of labor unionism among black workers. "The Pullman porter," he told Benjamin Stolberg a year later, "seems to be made to order to carry the gospel of unionism in the colored world. His home is everywhere."

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was launched on the night of August 25, 1925, in the auditorium of the Imperial Lodge of Elks, at 160 West 129th Street. The New York *Amsterdam News* called the gathering of 500 "the greatest labor mass meeting ever held of, for and by Negro working men." But not all were well-wishers and potential members. According to the *Amsterdam News*, there were also "a few of the Company's spies and several hat-in-hand porters, waiting to get information to carry back to the Pullman offices." Because of this, the inaugural meeting had to be a cautious and restrained affair. Randolph recalls it:

I told the men I didn't want one porter to open his mouth in the meeting, lest the stool pigeons reported them to the Pullman Company. So I ran the whole meeting myself. I told them I would now give the invocation, and I gave it. I told them I was going to sing the Brotherhood's song, "Hold the Fort," and I sang it. I told them I was going to make the announcements and introduce the guest speakers, and I did. I told them now I was going to make the main speech, and then I did. At the end of the meeting, I moved the vote of thanks, said the benediction, and told everyone to go home and not hold any discussions on the street corners.

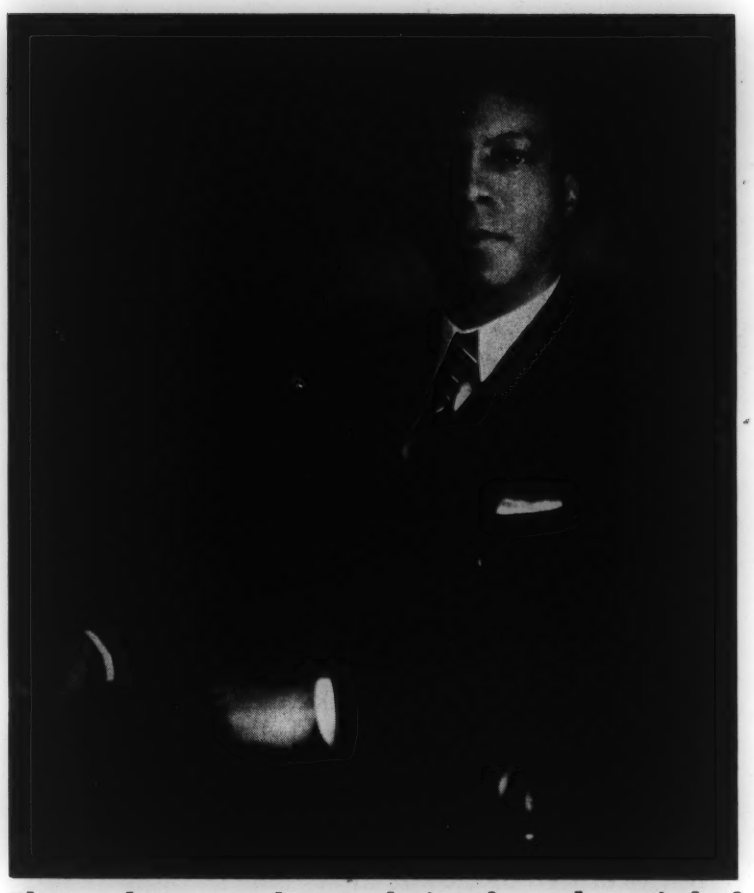


Photo taken around 1929, during the early period of Mr. Randolph's tenure as President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Randolph also told the porters what the Brotherhood would be demanding: recognition of the union and abolition of the company's Plan of Employee Representation; and end to tipping, and a minimum monthly wage of $150; a basic work month of 240 hours, compensation for "dead-heading," and an end to "doubling out"; conductor's pay for conductor's work; and, "by no means last, that porters be treated like men."

The following day, more than 200 porters came to the *Messenger's* office—also headquarters of the new Brotherhood—to join the union. The initial enthusiasm was so great that within two months the Brotherhood would claim a majority of the porters in New York.

It was about this time, while Randolph was back in New York, that a story started circulating that the Pullman Company had sent him a blank check, redeemable in six figures, to abandon the Brotherhood. Today, only one man declares that the story is true. Randolph himself has neither admitted nor denied it, perhaps because—as Roy Wilkins once said, while telling the story at an affair

in Randolph's honor—"Mr. Randolph is a modest man." C. L. Dellums says, "It is one of those stories you can't publish, because everyone would deny it." The man who says it's true is William Bowe, a charter member of the New York Brotherhood, who succeeded Ashley Totten as secretary-treasurer. Bowe knows it's true, he says, because "I was present at the attempt to purchase Randolph." It was, he recalls, "in the Harlem apartment of a porter named Owens. There were four of us there. Owens, Randolph, the porter stool pigeon who brought the check, and myself. Randolph had me hiding in another room. The stool pigeon, a porter working out of Philadelphia—I won't call his name—didn't know I was witnessing the transaction. He gave Randolph the check and told him all he had to do was fill in the amount. And Randolph, with his poker face, said, 'Take this blank check back to where you got it and tell them I'm not for sale.'" Randolph confines himself to the comment that "it was a feat to avoid being corrupted by the Pullman Company, because those fellows could corrupt Jesus Christ."

But, as one of the Brotherhood's organizers—O. W. Bynum—has said, recalling what every union porter felt at the time, "Randolph could not be bought. He had no interest in worldly goods. He would walk away from the Empire State Building if you gave it to him." Then, too, aside from his genuine disregard for "worldly goods," Randolph—as he had written in an internal office memo, in 1931—considered "the Brotherhood a high public and racial trust and I propose that its work shall always be conducted upon a high plane of honor, integrity and character."

It was not until April 1, 1937, three days after the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the amended Railway Labor Act, that the Pullman Company started bargaining in good faith. And it was not until August 25—the twelfth anniversary of the Brotherhood—that E. G. Carry announced to the mediator and the Brotherhood's negotiators, "Gentlemen, the Pullman Company is ready to sign." The agreement, the first ever signed between a union of black workers and a major American corporation, called for a reduction in the work month from 400 to 240 hours, and an annual wage package of $1,250,000.

E. G. Carry may not have realized that August 25 was the union's birthday, or, as the Brotherhood men suspected, he would have held out another day. Nevertheless, after twelve years of one of the bitterest struggles in American labor history, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had finally be recognized.

Almost overnight, Randolph became the most popular black political figure in America. A year earlier, the Brotherhood had become a full-fledged member of the AFL when, anticipating its victory, William Green had awarded it an international charter. After the union's victory, New York's Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, receiving a delegation of porters at City Hall, praised Randolph as "one of the foremost progressive labor leaders in America." And a few years later, the Brotherhood would help to win for blacks a place in American society that the Pullman porter of old had not known and could hardly have foreseen.

Negroes in Motion

In December, 1940, Randolph and Milton Webster left Washington by train to visit Brotherhood divisions in the South. As the train rumbled through Virginia, both men were silent. Whatever was on Randolph's mind, Webster, a self-confessed "loud-mouth" who "talk[ed] too much sometimes," was consulting old memories. "I always," he said later, "get a deep feeling, a funny feeling whenever I cross the Potomac River, and I'm always silent. They ran me and my old man from down South when I was a boy and I haven't been particular about going down there since."

Randolph finally broke the silence. "You know, Web," he said, "calling on the President and holding those conferences are not going to get us anywhere."

"We are going to have to do something about it," Randolph went on.

This changed Webster's mood. "Here it comes again," he said to himself, warily, remembering that "Brother Randolph was always figuring out something for us to do, sticking his nose in everything to see where he can stir something up." Wondering what Randolph had "up his sleeve" this time, Webster did not reply, but kept looking out across the Virginia landscape.

Randolph continued: "I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington in

With Eleanor Roosevelt and Fiorello LaGuardia at a 1946 Madison Square Garden Rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission from extinction.

protest, march down Pennsylvania Avenue. What do you think of that?"

Webster replied, guardedly, that it was a good idea, "but where are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

"I think we can get them," Randolph said, and both men resumed the silence.

On their first stop, in Savannah, Georgia, the Brotherhood's leaders called a public meeting to announce that they were "gathering 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington to demand jobs in the defense industry."

From Savannah, they went on to Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami, preaching march at each stop. Black newspapers picked up the story, and when Randolph and Webster returned to New York, the idea, according to Webster, "had caught on fire."

The idea "grew like Topsy," recalls Benjamin McLaurin, who as an officer of the Brotherhood, would become one of the chief organizers of the march. "It got out of hand almost overnight. People began writing us, 'What can we do?' How could they go about getting groups together?"

By the end of May, Randolph, responding to pressure from supporters, had, indeed, raised the ante. He was calling now for 100,000 marchers: "When 100,000 Negroes march on Washington, it will wake up Negro as well as white America ... I call upon Negroes everywhere ... to gird for an epoch-making march and demonstration ... Let the Negro masses march! Let the Negro masses speak!" ...

The White House meeting was held on June 18.

"Hello, Phil," the President said. "Which class were you in at Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President."

"I was sure you did," Roosevelt replied. "Anyway, you and I share a kinship in our great interest in human and social justice."

"That's right, Mr. President."

Roosevelt, a man of great charm, had merely embarked upon one of his favorite filibuster stratagems. But, finding he could not engage Randolph in small talk, he turned raconteur and started regaling his audience with old political anecdotes. Randolph, unfailingly well-mannered, allowed himself to be entertained. But the clock was running, the President's time was no doubt well budgeted, and Randolph had no way of knowing when Roosevelt might suddenly inform the gathering that it was time for him to leave for another appointment. So, with as much graciousness as he commanded, Randolph broke in:

"Mr. President, time is running on. You are quite busy, I know. But what we want to talk with you about is the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't

Bayard Rustin and Mr. Randolph at press conference before historic March on Washington.

live with this thing. Now, what are you going to do about it?"

"Well, Phil, what do you want me to do?"

"Mr. President, we want you to do something that will enable Negro workers to get work in these plants."

"Why," Roosevelt replied, "I surely want them to work, too. I'll call up the heads of the various defense plants and have them see to it that Negroes are given the same opportunity to work in defense plants as any other citizen in the country."

"We want you to do more than that," Randolph said. "We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, and affirmative."

"What do you mean?"

"Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants."

"Well, Phil," Roosevelt replied, "you know I can't do that. If I issue an executive order for you, then there'll be no end to other groups coming in here and asking me to issue executive orders for them, too. In any event, I couldn't do anything unless you called off this march of yours. Questions like this can't be settled with a sledge hammer."

"I'm sorry, Mr. President, the march cannot be called off."

"How many people do you plan to bring?" Roosevelt wanted to know.

"One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

Roosevelt seemed torn between alarm and disbelief. Perhaps this was a bluff. He turned to Walter White, as if to a man whose word he could trust, looked White squarely in the eye for a few seconds, and asked, "Walter, how many people will really march?"

White's eyes did not blink. He said, "One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

[It may, at that, have been a bluff. Randolph and White certainly expected a march of thousands. March committees around the country could have

At the 1965 White House Conference on Civil Rights, A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget, a ten year program to abolish poverty and racial discrimination. With Randolph at press conference were Morris B. Abram, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, then head of the Student Non-Violent coordinating Committee and currently head of the Voter Education Project, and William T. Coleman, currently Secretary of Transportation in the Ford Administration.

turned out at least 10,000 marchers. The question was whether they could, indeed, muster an army of 100,000. Then, too, what is one to make of what William Bowe, one of Randolph's lieutenants in the Brotherhood, said later? "Personally," Bowe said, with a twinkle in his eyes, "I don't know how far we could march. I didn't think we could go as far as South Ferry.]

"You can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington," Roosevelt said. "Somebody might get killed."

Randolph said that that was unlikely, especially if the President himself came out and addressed the gathering.

Roosevelt was not amused. "Call it off," he said curtly, "and we'll talk again."

Randolph said he had a pledge of honor with his people, and he could not go back to them with anything less than an executive order.

Budging somewhat, Roosevelt suggested that Randolph and White confer with his presidential assistants over some way of solving the problem with defense contractors.

"Not defense contractors alone," Randolph broke in. "The government, too. The government is the worst offender."

This, Roosevelt seemed to feel, was going a bit too far, and he informed the president of the porters' union that it was not the policy of the President of the United States to rule, or be ruled, with a gun at his head.

"Then," Randolph replied, "I shall have to stand by the pledge I've made to the people."

It was Mayor La Guardia who broke the impasse. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is clear that Mr. Randolph is not going to call off the march, and I suggest we all begin to seek a formula.

Roosevelt welcomed the opening, and asked Mrs. Rosenberg, La Guardia, and Aubrey Williams to take the group to an anteroom and work out a solution. But the solution proposed was the one Randolph had already rejected—the President's promise to call up the heads of defense plants and urge them to follow a nondiscriminatory policy. When both Randolph and La Guardia dismissed the proposal, a committee of five was appointed to draw up an executive order to be submitted to the President. This satisfied Randolph, and he left for New York—to continue preparing for the march, at least until he was assured that the President would sign the order.

It took a few days to work out a draft of the order that was acceptable to Randolph—one that had "teeth in it" and could be enforced. The chief legal draftsman for the government was a young lawyer in the Office for Emergency Management, named Joseph L. Rauh. Every draft that Rauh prepared was sent back to him as being not strong enough. They had all been read over the telephone to Randolph, in New York, and he had rejected every one. Rauh could no longer contain himself when what he considered his best and final draft was thrown back at him because, once again, it was not strong enough for Randolph. "Who the hell is this guy Randolph?" Rauh exploded at his superiors. "What the hell has *he* got over the President of the United States?" Rauh would later come to know, admire, and work with Randolph in a number of public causes, and would say, "I don't know that I've met a greater man in my life."

Randolph liked Rauh's very next effort, however, and on June 25, six days before the march was scheduled to take place, the President signed and issued Executive Order 8802—declaring it to be the policy of the United States "that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin," and that "it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries." To enforce the order, the President appointed a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination" and to take "appropriate steps to redress grievances." Mrs. Roosevelt wrote Randolph to say she was glad the march had been called off and to hope that "from this first step, we may go on to others." On July 19, the President appointed the Fair Employment Practices Committee, chaired by Mark Ethridge, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and including Milton P. Webster, first vice president of the Brotherhood

of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph had declined to serve on the committee.

We Won't Go

Though President Roosevelt's executive order of June, 1941, did not touch upon the problem of segregation in the armed forces, Randolph and the March on Washington movement had decided against pressing a desegregation campaign. They felt that such a campaign, in arousing public feeling—black feeling, at any rate—against the military, might tend to embarrass the nation's war effort. Two years after the war, however, when Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, called for a peacetime draft, a new opportunity arose for Randolph—if not the declining march movement—to wage a crusade against the racial practices of the armed services.

The 1947 draft bill, proposing universal military training, contained no provision for a ban against segregation. This, Randolph said in a statement to the press, was "pregnant with indecency;" and, that November, he and Grant Reynolds, Commissioner of Correction for New York State, founded the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training—which expanded, early in 1948, into the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

On March 22, 1948, after Randolph had made it clear that the civil disobedience movement would be satisfied with nothing less than an executive order against military segregation, President Truman invited a group of black spokesmen to the White House to discuss the subject. Among them were Randolph, Walter White, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lester Granger, and Charles Houston, a special counsel for the NAACP.

As Randolph remembers, the meeting had been proceeding smoothly and amicably, until he said to Truman, "Mr. President, after making several trips

Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, and Lyndon Johnson at the White House in 1965.

80th Birthday celebration.

around the country, I can tell you that the mood among Negroes of this country is that they will never bear arms again until all forms of bias and discrimination are abolished."

In a battle of bluntness Harry Truman came out second to no man, and he told Randolph, "I wish you hadn't made that statement. I don't like it at all."

Charles Houston intervened: "But, Mr. President, don't you want to know what is happening in the country?" Truman said he certainly wanted to know what was happening in the country; a president attracted more than enough yes men.

"Well, that's what I'm giving you, Mr. President," Randolph said, seizing the advantage before it disappeared again. "I'm giving you the facts." When the President allowed him to proceed, Randolph ran headlong into Truman again: "Mr. President, as you know, we are calling upon you to issue an executive order abolishing segregation in the armed forces." At this point, Truman simply thanked his visitors for coming, and said there didn't seem to be much more that they could talk fruitfully about.

But Truman's rebuff merely aroused Randolph's defiance. Testifying, nine days later, during hearings on the universal military training bill, Randolph (appearing with Grant Reynolds) told the Senate Armed Services Committee:

This time Negroes will not take a jim crow draft lying down. The conscience of the world will be shaken as by nothing else when thousands and thousands of us second-class Americans choose imprisonment in preference to permanent military slavery. . . . I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy.

On his way from the Armed Services Committee hearings, Randolph stopped off at the old March on

Washington headquarters, in the capital, to address a group of young people who had gathered to await his report of the confrontation with Morse. "I am prepared," he told them, "to oppose a Jim Crow army till I rot in jail." And, upon returning to Harlem, he launched a series of public meetings, at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, in which he counseled young men to refuse induction in a segregated army. In giving such counsel, he said, he was fully aware he was violating the Selective Service Act. "My exemption from the draft," he told one of the meetings, "is merely by accident of birth. And it imposes on me and others a special responsibility, a special moral obligation, not to expect of our younger brothers a conduct that the rules of self-respect and human decency preclude."

But the most telling endorsement of Randolph's campaign came from those immediately affected. A poll of young black men, in Harlem, showed that 71 per cent favored a civil disobedience campaign against the draft. It only proved that Max Lerner had been correct when he wrote in the newspaper *PM* that "Randolph and Reynolds come closer to the true feelings of the masses of American Negroes than their more cautious and circumspect colleagues."

In July, 1948, while Hubert Humphrey, at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, was waging his historic fight against the Dixiecrats to obtain a strong civil rights plank in the party's platform, scores of blacks, led by Randolph, were picketing the convention hall. Randolph's own picket sign read: "Prison is better than Army Jim Crow service."

Under the combined pressure of the Randolph campaign, the Humphrey civil rights floor fight, and the need to retain the black vote in the November election, President Truman, on July 26, issued Executive Order 9981, calling for an end to military discrimination "as rapidly as possible." The language was not clear, however—the word "segregation" had not been used—and Randolph wanted to know from Truman whether "you interpret your Executive Order on Armed Services to mean that its policy and purpose is to eliminate discrimination and segregation." When Truman replied, through Senator J. Howard McGrath, one of his spokesmen, that the order did indeed ban segregation, Randolph called off the civil disobedience campaign, and wired congratulations to the President for his "high order of statesmanship and courage."

At recent birthday celebration with Ernest Green, Director of the Recruitment and Training Program.

Address at the March On Washington

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our whtie allies know that they cannot be free while we are not; and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practices Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white? We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want federal aid to education—all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic, and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing, we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this proper priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment, and to put automation at the service of humand needs, not at the service of profits—for we are the first victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin before Lincoln Monument just prior to the 1963 March on Washington.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets, as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the freedom riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1964 Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was

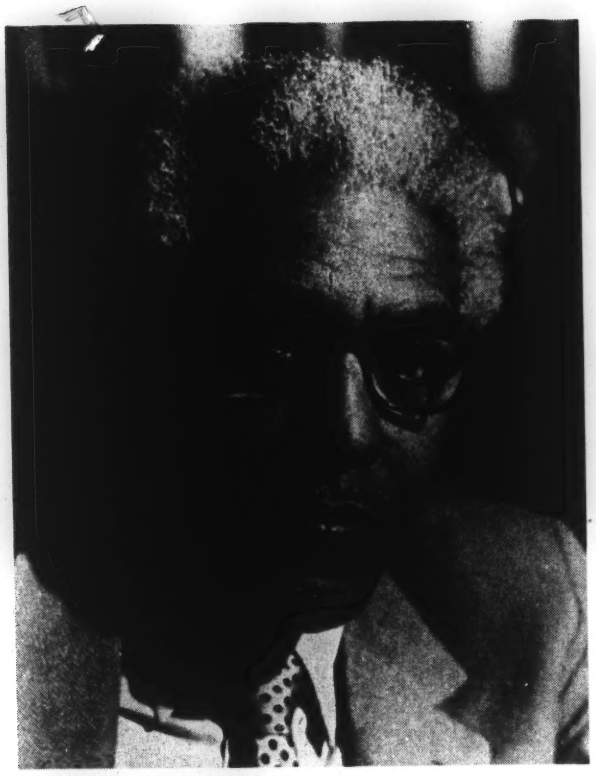
enforced, and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than with enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will ring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

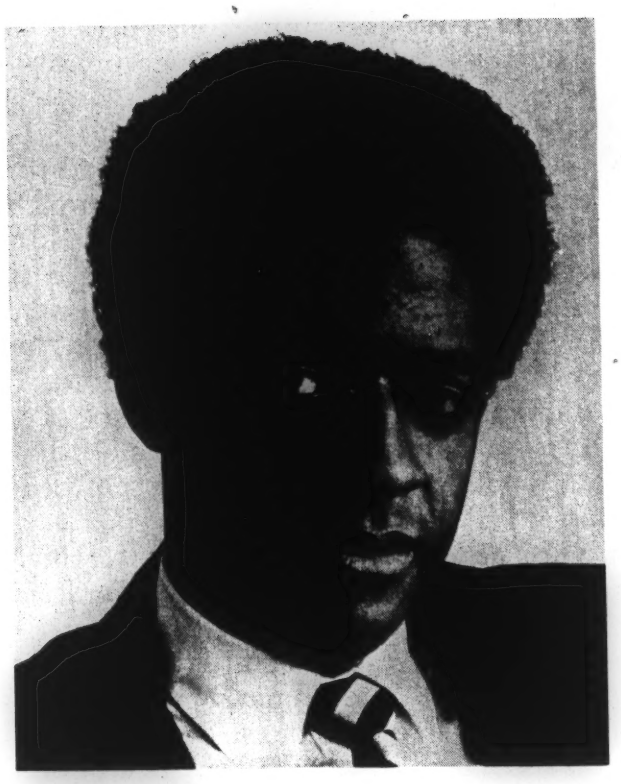
Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education, and there you will find the enemy of the Negro—the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces, all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and techniques that built the labor movement, founded churches, and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

With Martin Luther King.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave, it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less, and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength, and the faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.



BAYARD RUSTIN



NORMAN HILL

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was established in 1965, the year in which the black struggle won one of its greatest legislative victories, the Voting Rights Act. The Institute has acted on the premise that to complete the agenda of the civil rights movement would require a movement which sought basic, far-reaching changes in the nation's social and economic structures. The means of effecting this transformation, moreover, would be political. Thus the Institute directs its program to extending democracy to those who have been traditionally disenfranchised or discouraged from participating in the political system.

The changes in the ensuing years have been dramatic. Millions more blacks, are voting and over 3,000 blacks serve as elected officials. But representation in and of itself is not enough — witness the scandalous rate of black unemployment, the deterioration of the cities and the inability to stem inner-city blight. Blacks alone do not have the power to secure the changes in national policy necessary to complete the legacy of the civil rights movement.

This is why the Institute has worked for the creation of a broad-based, national coalition of those forces who believe in social progress for minorities, the poor, and working people.

We believe the black unionist is a source of strength in our society. Our programs seek to enhance the role of the black unionist, both in the black community and in the labor movement itself.

The ideals of the Institute are the same ideals which have guided A. Philip Randolph in his life-long struggle for racial and social progress. They are the principles which produced the March on Washington, the successful campaigns to organize black workers, and the struggle against discrimination in federal employment and Jim Crow in the armed services.

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

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Matthew Guinan
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Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Benny Jackson
Mattie Jackson
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James Jones, Sr.
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
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Dennis Lockhart
John H. Lyons
Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert McGlotten
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Assistant to the Executive Director

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 Park Avenue South / New York 10010
(212) 533-8000

October 6, 1970

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Hello. My name is Pat Rafferty and I am a Sophomore at Fontbonne College Saint Louis, Missouri. I am taking a course this semester called "Black Culture:It's Expression." As a part of the course I am going to present a seminar on the opinions of politicians, entertainers and writers on questions related to the black man in society.

I would really appreciate your personal opinions on the following questions Mr. Randolph. Do you feel that violence plays any part in the black mans struggle for equality? What is of more importance to the black man today, social or economic recognition? What do you feel are the major barriers to be overcome by blacks and whites in order to achieve equality for the black race?

I thought these questions might interest the class, Mr. Randolph, and if you could spare the time to share your opinions with us, I am sure it would greatly help us in our understanding of the black man in today's society.

Thank you very much for your time. As a student I can understand just how limited time can be.

Sincerely,

Pat Rafferty

Pat Rafferty
Box 89
Fontbonne College
St. Louis, Mo. 63105

October 23, 1970

Mr. Pat Rafferty
Box 89
Fontbonne College
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear Mr. Rafferty:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 6.

In reply to your questions I would like to say:

(1) I am opposed to the use of violence as a program to achieve meaningful and constructive social change, either with respect to the race problem, labor problems, or any other social problem. However, the use of violence by Negroes today is a response to racism, just as the use of violence by the workers in the building of trade unions was a response to the oppression of capitalism. Wherever there is a challenge to any group - racial, religious or labor - there is inevitably a response. As a rule, the response takes the form of violence, but no social, economic or political problem can be solved by violence.

(2) Both social and economic recognition are essential to the black man as they are essential to any other human being.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE PARK 20742

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SPEECH AND DRAMATIC ART

March 10, 1970

Miss Bernice Wilds
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Miss Wilds,

On November 4, 1969, I had the pleasure of interviewing Mr. A. Philip Randolph. The interview was conducted so that I might obtain supplementary material concerning Mr. Randolph's life and activities. The interview was quite helpful and enabled me to complete a brief study. After the interview, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Norman Hill, who was also present, indicated that when I was ready to begin a more detailed analysis, I should contact you and arrange time and place so that various documents, not readily available, might be placed at my disposal.

As a graduate student pursuing the Master's degree in Speech Communications, my inquiry will concern Mr. Randolph's speaking and the March on Washington Movement of 1941. The study will consist of a background of the period; an analysis of Mr. Randolph's speaking style; an examination of his street-corner rhetoric; and a concluding chapter that will attempt to relate these early activities of Mr. Randolph with those that have occured more recently.

I would appreciate any information that you might forward to me here at the University, and would request that a time be set up when I might travel to New York to examine papers which can not be mailed.

I am enclosing a brief synopsis of my earlier work and hope that Mr. Randolph finds it adequate. I await your reply and remain

Respectfully,

Stephen M. Thaler

Stephen M. Thaler

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: AGITATOR

Agitation is a tool used frequently by the disfranchised to publicly acknowledge conditions and attitudes that the majority of franchised are not cognizant of or don't want to be aware of. It is a technique that has been used with success by the black people of America. They, through years of overt activities, have been able to refine the technique so that acknowledgement of conditions is effected and change, in varying degrees, occurs. Many black practitioners of agitation have been analyzed and evaluated in the recent past---partially as an attempt to determine strategies employed, as well as determine which are most effective.[1]

The concern of this paper is to review the history of one such agitator, A. Philip Randolph, and determine what strategies he employed to achieve particular ends. The paper will thus focus on both methods used and effects achieved, and will consist of two parts: a biographical sketch and an analysis of style and strategies.

Born the son of an African Methodist Episcopal preacher, Asa Philip Randolph entered life and America on April 15, 1889 in Crescent City, Florida. Growing up under the strict tutelage of his parents, A. Philip recalled his father's basic

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[1] For an interesting analysis, see Charles W. Lomas, The Agitator in American Society (New Jersey: 1968).

philosophy, "if you can't make people understand what you want, then you're NOT likely to get very far in achieving your objectives."[2] The principles of making people understand and of educating them to particular concepts was based on this philosophy of his father. Describing his father, Mr. Randolph thought of him as

> ...a mighty Republican propagandist. The Reconstruction era was over, but Dad talked forever of the great days when Negro Republicans had served in the Congress and the Senate. They were very much alive in his mind. At the same time he was close to being a black nationalist. 'Jesus Christ was not white,' he would tell us. 'God is not white. Angels have no color. God has none.' We were steeped in the concept that race was no basic distinction. What mattered was merit, quality, worth.[3]

A. Philip was the second of two sons. His brother, James, and he, were initially taught by their father who was a teacher for the church.

> We were steeped in Biblical history. Reading the Bible aloud was as much a part of the routine of our home as suppertime. He read us a chapter of the Bible aloud at night before bed. Dad was interested in St. Paul and I came to admire him greatly too. I felt here was a great mind and a leader. Dad always stressed how he always met his trials with courage and fortitude, was never overcome by vicissitudes, always finished his course. He had a vision and a sense of mission, he looked for attacks and expected persecution but he always finished what he set out to do. This had a great effect on me. 4

The particularily unique style of articulation that A. Philip developed was in part an outgrowth of the feeling and expression used by his preacher-father.

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[2]From an interview with the author, November 4, 1969.

[3]William Duffy, "A Post Portrait--A. Philip Randolph" New York Post (December 29, 1959).

[4]Ibid.

> Dad spoke beautifully and clear. He was a great one for emphasis. A word like res pon si bility trembled with meaning the way he pronounced it. Words, their pronounciation, their meaning, these were a game with my brother and me. 5

From these influences and beginnings, A. Philip was enrolled at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville. At Cookman, half the teachers were white New England volunteers. Randolph, 60 years later, talked of this period as "a pageant of brotherhood crowded with heroines. One day their story will be told. They suffered isolation and ostracism at the hands of the white South who feared education for the Negro as they fear the ballot today."[6] Such was the life of A. Philip Randolph and his early influences. This was to help mold the thinking and activity of the man who would be called "the most dangerous Negro in America."[7]

After Cookman, Randolph left the South and travelled to New York City where he attended the City College of New York at night. While there he met Chandler Owen, a Columbia law student. They soon became fast friends and evolved their own theories from those of sociologist Lester Ward and economist Karl Marx. This lead to their joining the Socialist Party (Randolph ran for New York Secretary of State in 1921 as Socialist candidate. He lost.). They applied theory when they opened a small employment office called "The Brotherhood."

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "A. Philip Randolph" The United Teacher (May 4, 1969).

It was through this bureau that Randolph and Owen met leaders of a new union of headwaiters. The union wanted to publish a magazine and, after an interview, commissioned the two to write and edit "The Hotel Messenger." After investigating thoroughly problems of graft among the union's leaders, they wrote "stinging articles exposing the nefarious practices."[8] Reading about their own exploits, union leaders fired the two. However, the members of the union supported Randolph and Owen and prompted them in 1917 to drop one word from their masthead and issue the first independent copy of "The Messenger" which was to become known as "the only Negro radical magazine in America."[9]

During his increased involvement, Randolph, along with Owen, travelled West speaking on "The Negro and the War" (this took place in 1918).

> It was a hot night in Cleveland, when Randolph and Owen collided with the majesty of the U.S. government. Eugene Debs had been arrested and jailed a few nights before. The word was out that the same team of Justice Department agents were lurking in Ohio. 10

Randolph recalled about that occassion that he had begun as usual, by telling the crowd they were all doing their bit to make the world safe for democracy, "and unsafe for hypocrisy." He continued, "...how can we make the world safe while Americans are unsafe, especially Negroes, from lynching, while this great crusade is going on?"[11] Randolph and Owen were

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[8] New York Post (December 29, 1959).

[9] Saunders Rodding, The Lonesome Road (New York: 1958), p. 250.

[10] New York Post (December 30, 1959).

[11] Ibid.

shortly arrested, but when they appeared (after much delay) in court, the judge merely released them saying "I'm going to turn you fine boys (Randolph was 27 at the time) loose if you'll go home to your parents."[12] This caused so much indignation on Randolph's part, that he and Owen went back to New York where they continued to express, publically, their aroused feelings.

Randolph began to achieve a particular noteriety. Although in the 1920's his was a lonely voice, his magazine reached many abroad (but few at home). Its readership among white people in the U.S. was largely confined to officials of the Justice Department and the FBI. An example of the type of Negro protest he espoused at that time:

> A white crook and a Negro crook may hold up a store together, rob a bank together, blow a safe together, but they cannot stay in jail together; in 1882 Negroes stood in line at the White House reception...in 1922 at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, U.S. Marines enforced Jim Crow with bayonents; all candidates are friends of the Negro before election and all are indifferent to his interests after election because of the political ignorance and weakness, stupidity and corruption of Negro political leadership.... 13

It was also during the twenties that Randolph was asked to head the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Although Randolph had never made a Pullman Berth, he realized that this union could afford him a vehicle by which he might succeed in removing racial discrimination from labor and at the same time

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[12] Ibid.

[13] New York Post (December 31, 1959).

give him a power base from which to influence legislation (The author does not feel that an explanation of how the Union achieved recognition and became an affiliate of AFL would add to the overall concept of A.Philip Randolph; suffice to say that he achieved his goal because he refused to relent--- a characteristic he retains to this day). Once the union achieved recognition, Randolph demanded, and eventually received, wage increases and an end to discriminatory practices in unions.

After the Union's status was established in 1937, Randolph slipped from public prominence. He did not reemerge until, four years later, in 1941 when he organized the "March on Washington Movement." This movement was established to end discrimination in the war industry---both the business sector as well as in government. As Randolph observed,

> I think we ought to do something about it. I think we ought to get ten thousand Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue and protest against the discriminatory practices in this rapidly expanding defense economy. 14

At first, the Roosevelt administration did not take Randolph or his idea seriously. But three months after Randolph began a speaking tour of the country to publicize the Movement, the administration began to get reports: Negroes were hiring trains for the trip from Chicago, from Memphis and from Cleveland. There was every sign that not just ten thousand but FIFTY THOUSAND Negroes would pour into Washington crying for

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[14] Murray Kempton, Part of Our Time (New York: 1955), p. 250.

their rights, to the boundless embarrassment not merely of politicians, but "of the arsenal of democracy which had forgotten them."[15]

President Roosevelt's first response was a June, 1941 letter to his defense subordinates urging industry to "take the initiative to open the door of employment to all loyal and qualified workers regardless of race, creed and color."[16] This was meant to show Randolph and his followers that the administration was "on their side" and that a march would not be necessary. When this did not dissuade Randolph, Roosevelt dispatched first N.Y. mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and the Mrs. Roosevelt, two old friends of the Brotherhood, to persuade the leaders that only harm would occur if the march took place. Milton Webster, one of the co-leaders of the Movement commented that "they, as all good white people, told us that the March on Washington was too drastic and you ought to depend on the people that are friendly to get the desired results."[17] Randolph was unchangeable.

Finally, President Roosevelt invited Randolph and other Negro leaders to the White House. There the President was told that the price for peace was an executive order barring discrimination for reasons of religion and color in the war industries. Although at this meeting the President said he could not issue such an order, he realized that more than

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[15] Kempton, p. 251.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

seventy-five thousand Negroes would indeed be marching on Washington unless something was done. As such, on June 20, 1941, just ten days before the scheduled march, Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination on defense projects and setting up a Fair Employment Practices Committee was issued. As historian Murray Kempton noted,

> The Negro did not come out of the war as a free worker in an open economy. But the FEPC had given him a place in the basic industries which he had never held before. In the future, whites and Negroes would work together in factories where the Negro had never existed before as a skilled worker. There were many factors in this revolution, but none were more important than Philip Randolph and his Pullman Porters and their March on Washington. 18

In 1948, Randolph confronted another President, Harry S. Truman, to demand an end to segregation of Negroes in the armed forces;

> On every battlefield, from the War of 1776, Negroes have proudly and gallantly fought and died to defend and protect the flag and honor of our country. This is not a white man's country. It is the country of the people who helped to take it, worked to make it, and fought to save it. The United States is our home. Our children are here. We have no other country. We have no other home. 19

Truman, like Roosevelt before him, had said that he could not do what Randolph was asking; like Roosevelt, he wound up doing it.

Randolph continued striving for equality and recognition for his race through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and in so doing, became a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a member of its' Executive Council. It was Randolph who, seeing

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[18] Kempton, p. 252.

[19] Kempton, p. 257.

the need for a demonstration, organized the 1963 March on Washington which, instead of remaining only a threat, became a reality. In 1965 he established the A. Philip Randolph Institute to promote his ideas as well as establish an economic base for achievment and advancement. Today, at the age of 80, he is still active in helping others. His basic philosophy has not changed since the Brotherhood was recognized:

> If there are wrongs in America, Negroes as Americans must help work and fight to correct them. If the problems of race and color are hard in the United States, so be it; let us not lose heart and run away from them, but gird to solve them. 20

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[20] Ibid.

> He articulates the longings, the hopes, the aspirations of his people in a most earnest and profound manner. He seeks to save the nation and its soul, not just the Negro. 21

What Reverend Abernathy has said is a succinct evaluation of A. Philip's style and basic strategy. There appear to be today, as there has been for quite some time, three theories as to why the Negro is relegated to the position of second-class citizen. The first relies on the view that the Negro is inferior, and that prejudice is a result not a cause. The second also views the Negro as inferior, but that the inferiority can be overcome, thereby eliminating prejudice; while the white man may help, the Negro carries the major burden. The third view is that the Negro is not inferior to the white man, that he only appears to be so, that his condition is wholly and completely a product of race prejudice, and the consequent disabilities inflicted on the Negro by the white man. One Negro who adopted the latter theory was A. Philip Randolph. Through his doctrine of Socialism, he attacked the capitalist system and urged his fellow Negroes, as well as white workers, to join together to combat the evil.

To achieve his purposes, and effect the largest number, Randolph used labor as his device for ending discriminatory practices. And it was due to the techniques of oral presentation that Randolph was most effective. What follows is an

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[21] "Man of the Year" Time (January 3, 1964). Although this was directed towards Martin Luther King, it is very applicable to Randolph.

analysis of the persuasive strategies employed by Mr. Randolph in his attempts to alleviate the labor-race problem.

The term persuasive strategy refers to a plan of action that attempts to elicit approval from an audience, for particular beliefs. The overall plan of action that Randolph employed throughout his speaking career was best described by himself:

> My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never seperated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man; the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change. 22

For A. Philip, Socialism was the prime motive behind activating the people. By having a large base from which to promote his ideas---the working class of America---Randolph hoped to gather enough support to bring about the changes he sought and felt were needed in the further liberation of his race. In the early beginnings, he spoke on the street-corners because he found that this was the most effective and efficient way of reaching the masses. Likewise, he found that the feedback that he would invariably receive, and promote, were essential in promoting his brand of Socialism. He described his technique as being "analytical, not emotional"[23] with the primary goal of "educating the people so they would understand;"[24] "my work was mostly one of propaganda."[25]

Only his early rhetoric was essentially street-corner

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[22]Interview, November 4, 1969.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]"A. Philip Randolph" Ebony (May, 1969).

speaking. The notable exception was when, to gain support for the March on Washington Movement in 1941, he toured the South on an extensive scale and returned to New York City where, in 1941, he filled Madison Square Garden to overflow in explaining why the Movement was so important. Various speeches from this time period show the incorporatinion of his Socialist philosophy with the civil rights cause and are indicative of the style that he continued to use thereafter.

In 1942, Randolph attempted to keep the Movement alive, realizing that it would serve as a constant threat and pressure on the administration. At a policy convention in Detroit, he delivered a speech in his usual style. In referring to the war, Randolph felt that

> Unless this war sounds the death knell to the old Anglo-American empire systems, the hapless story of which is one of exploitation for the profit and power of a monopoly capitalist economy, it will have been fought in vain. When this war ends, the people want something more than the dispersal of equality and power among individual citizens in a liberal, political democratic system. They demand with striking comprability the dispersal of equality and power among the citizen-workers in an economic democracy that will make certain...the good life. 26

The basic strategy of aligning Socialism with democracy, but against capitalism is evident. Randolph, as is characteristic of him, continues by explaining what the Negro must do;

> But goals must be achieved. They are not secured because it is just and right that they be possessed by Negro or white people. Slavery was not abolished because it was bad and unjust. It was abolished because men fought, bled and died on the battlefield.

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[26] Francis Broderick and August Meier, Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (New York: 1965), p. 202.

> Therefore, if Negroes secure their goals, immediate and remote, they must win them and to win them they must fight, sacrifice, suffer, go to jail and, if need be, die for them. These rights will not be given. They must be taken. 27

This type of rhetoric is a particularily striking feature. In 1937 he espoused a similar attitude.

> ...the task of realizing full citizenship for the Negro people is largely in the hands of the Negro p people themselves. Freedom is never given; it is won. And the Negro people must win their freedom. They must achieve justice. This involves struggle, continuous struggle. 28

The style of A. Philip was used effectively with the contents of his appeals. As noted earlier, he stressed and articulated words so that he appeared to have a Harvard accent. This was obviously an aid in communicating, since it created a high ethos factor. Likewise, as his goal was to educate and persuade the masses that Socialism and labor would solve many problems, he did not need the emotionalism of a King or Carmichael. Whereas Martin Luther King tended to overwhelm people with his style and delivery, Randolph merely spoke to them as an advocate of a policy that they should be aware of and adopt.

The strategies thus employed centered around the adoption of Socialist philosophy. It also aimed at activating the Negro and making him aware that he must act inorder to receive. This was the reason why Randolph did not speak appreciably different when he was in front of a white audience. He explained his philosophy on the basis of the common bond of labor;

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[27] Broderick and Meier, p. 203.

[28] Ibid., p. 183.

the Negro, in order to receive political and social equality, would work for it. But this is not to say that Randolph advocated a philosophy similar to that of Booker T. Washington. Whereas Washington felt that the Negro should be humble and work through the capitalist system, Randolph felt that the labor movement was merely the most logical place for equality to be manifest because of the mutual interests of the worker, black or white.

This might also explain Randolph's use of oratory rather than the printed word to achieve his goals. Although he did editor the Messinger, this was "merely for fun."[29] He felt that few people would be willing or able to read a "dissertation; a magazine article" because they would not want to read it entirely.[30]

The rhetoric and strategies that were employed differed from other Negro speakers because while Randolph was advocating Negro involvment in the labor force as a chief means for securing equality, he did not mean it to be passive. Quite to the contrary, as the previous quotes indicate, he wanted an active participation on behalf of the Negro. The inclusion of whites as part of his overall philosophy was viewed as an asset in developing a broad power base. As he said, "there must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro," inorder for equality to have any real significance.[31] The

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[29] Interview.

[30] Ibid.

[31] "Randolph, 80 Years Old Today" New York Times (April 15,1969).

coexistence with whites was not viewed as hampering the Negro identification. This is consistent with his statement that "throughout his career he and his associates had always striven to develop the 'principle of coalition,' after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society."[32]

As I have already stated, the philosophy, tactics and rhetoric of Mr. Randolph have not changed since the were originally conceived and developed. Witness the following from the Fourth Annual Convention of the Negro American Labor Council, May 29, 1964:

> Negroes and America are in the midst of a major, full-dress revolution. It is a Civil Rights Revolution. Its basic goal is to effect a transition from second-class citizenship to first-class citizenship. Negroes are second-class citizens because while the Civil War Revolution emancipated them from the chains of chattel slavery it never transformed them into free workers in the labor market or free citizens in public life. Thus, because of a quarter of a thousand years of oppression under the labor system of slavery and a hundred years of exploitation of semi-feudal serfdom under segregation, Negroes are in the grip of economic, social, cultural and political deprivation. They are the underclass of American society, the lumpen proletariat. 33

And he continues this speech, citing statistics and relevant data until he reaches his conclusion that "in the final analysis, the problem of Negro joblessness cannot be solved until the problem of joblessness of white workers is solved. Therefore, Negro and white workers must unite to bring about this remedy."[34]

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Keynote Address, Fourth Annual Convention of The Negro American Labor Council, Cleveland, Ohio (from AFL-CIO headquaters)

[34] Ibid.

At a dinner given in honor of his 80th birthday in May, 1969, Mr. Randolph summed up what his intent and purpose had always been;

> Theccause has been the liberation of the Negro in America. I have seen fit in this endeavor to try to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement. I have been guided by the belief that Negroes are a working people, and that because of their history on American soil---a history of suffering and tragedy, but also of struggle, endurance, dignity and, ultimately, a history of human triumph---that because of this history they have been a dispossessed people who have often had to migrate thousands of miles in search of the means of subsistence. The labor movement has been the home of the working man, and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed. And, therefore, I have tried to build an alliance between the Negro and the American Labor movement. [35]

As he concludes, "salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won."[36] The theme and the plan of action remain the same as always. Agitating for acceptance of this has been the primary occupation of A. Philip Randolph.

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[35] "A Vision of Freedom" 80th Birthday Dinner, May 6, 1969 (available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute).

[36] Ibid.

Text of recorded interview
with Dr. John Slawson of the
American Jewish Committee

A. Philip Randolph
President Emeritus
Brotherhood of Sleepinc Car Porters
April 20, 1970

J.S. Mr. Randolph, you were the originator of the March on Washington in 1963. In 1941, through a certain method that you employed, you obtained Executive Order 8802 and then, in 1948 I believe, you obtained Executive Order 9981. I believe these facts are correct. You got these executive orders through a certain kind of threat?

APR That's right. In conference with President Truman, the committee of Negro leaders, of which I served as chairman, called on President Truman to issue an executive order to abolish racial discrimination which was rampant in the armed forces.

We pointed out to the President that something needed to be done to abolish this outrage against black Americans. While he was not too favorably responsive at the beginning, he finally expressed his interest in our protest. We had quite a representative group in the conference and we called for the complete integration of Negro soldiers in both the military and naval forces. The President finally granted and issued the executive order requested.

J.S. Is this 9981?

APR Yes

J.S. Now, Sir, you then came to the conclusion early in your career that a confrontation of some kind was an essential element in the strategy?

APR That is correct. I came to realize that mere statements by Negro leaders, while useful and necessary and proper, were not sufficient. It was evident that Negroes had met with top representatives in Government who could do something about the problem of racial bias, but nothing definitive was done about many of the basic problems.

I was able to involve in our conferences with the presidents prominent black leaders from different parts of the country. We made it clear to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman that we intended to pursue our demands ~~until~~ until we achieved some concrete and definitive concessions in the interest of abolishing racial discrimination in industry, labor unions, and government as a whole.

Of course, we met with some hesitancy on the part of President Roosevelt. He was definitely fearful about bringing 100,000 black pelple to Washington in a massive march, with possible resulting violence and, perhaps, death.

He called in his entire Cabinet to sit with Walter White of the NAACP and myself on this question. We talked at length about it. The President said to me: "Now, Phil, I want to abolish racial discrimination in the defense industries as much as you do, but the method by which this is to be done is important. I can't afford to permit you to bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington in a march because there is no way to manage a tremendous group of people such as that. You can never tell what might happen. Nor can I."

The President had in the conference, in addition to the members of his Cabinet, Sidney Hillman, then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, who held a top post in the President's administration. He also had a top representative from General Motors in the conference. He repeated, rather constantly, that he considered this matter extremely serious.

He observed, "Now, I want to assure you and Walter, and Negro leaders in general, that I am deeply interested in the elimination of discrimination in all areas of industry, including the defense industries and government, but there is a limit to what I can do. Now, I am not in the habit of issuing executive orders for anything. I don't know any other President who indulged in that method of dealing with various problems. But I can assure you that I will do something about this matter of racial discrimination with respect to defense jobs if you will permit me to do so. But you are going to block my effort in this respect if you insist on an executive order. We have here the entire Cabinet and they are ready to contribute their judgement on this question. Negroes are American citizens and they have a right to share in employment opportunities along with other citizens of our country. So now I want to suggest, and I am going to appoint a small committee out of this Cabinet to go into a conference room with you and Walter White to seek some solution to this problem."

He appointed Mayor LaGuardia to serve as chairman of the committee. The committee spent quite some time discussing this question. At the outset of the discussion of the question by the committee, they attempted to make it definitely clear that they had no intention of going against the President's wish with respect to a march of 100,000 Negroes on Washington. Beginning with that

position, they sought to persuade Walter White and myself to change our plan with respect to the march of Negroes on Washington for jobs.

I told them that it was utterly impossible for me to change my position on this matter because I was reflecting the spirit of the masses of Negroes throughout the nation on this question of jobs in defense industries. I indicated to them that I had, together with some other Negro leaders, been covering the country, telling the people about the nature and the magnitude of the problem and what we proposed to do about it. I pointed out that the colored people of the country were looking forward to some action, with respect to the opportunity of Negroes to get employment in defense industries. I indicated that I neigher had the right or power to change this plan for a march on Washington unless the President issued an executive order banning racial bias in employment of Negroes in defense industries and government.

Mayor LaGuardia stated that he had known me a long time and he was rather confident that the committee would get nowhere in trying to get me to change the plan for the march on Washington unless the committee recommended to President Roosevelt that he issue the executive order requested.

J.S. Was LaGuardia a part of the Cabinet at the time?

APR No, he wasn't a part of the Cabinet, but he was chairman of an important department of the government at that time. He pointed out to the committee that he believed we should work out something definite and specific in the government's attempt to deal effectively with this problem.

The committee, therefore, drafted an executive order and sent it to a group of government attorneys to put it in proper form. Among the group of lawyers was Joseph L. Rauh, who has an office in Washington. This group of attorneys worked up an executive order which they considered to be applicable to this problem. Walther White couldn't remain longer for the discussion of the question since he had to attend the convention of the NAACP in Houston, Texas. When the executive order was all properly prepared, it was presented to me. I read it and then indicated that it was all right except for one thing. Immediately, the question was raised, "What is that?" I said, "It doesn't apply to the government." The reply to me was: "You don't expect an executive order to cover the government, do you?" My answer was, "Well, we want an executive order which applies to the government because the government is guilty of racial discrimination

itself with respect to jobs for persons of color." The question was raised: "Where is this discrimination in the government?" "In what areas?" My answer was, "Racial discrimination is in practically all departments of the government."

J.S. In their own departments?

APR Yes, in various government departments.

While the committee was not convinced by my assertion concerning discrimination in the government, they presented the executive order to the President for his action. He wanted to know from the committee what I thought about it, and they told him that I thought it was satisfactory except that it didn't apply to the government. Though the President had some reservations about including the government in the order, he finally issued the order.

I was called into conference with him and the committee and he said: "Now, Phil, I want you to get on the radio and tell the colored people of this country that there isn't going to be any march on Washington for the elimination of discrimination in defense industries since I have signed and issued the executive order requested by you and the committee."

I replied, "I will be glad to do that and, in the name of the committee, I want to express our great appreciation for the position you have taken on this question." I also agreed to hold a public mass meeting in the Watergate Park in Washington with some representative Negro leaders to speak on this question.

J.S. You had set the date?

APR Yes, we had set the date.

J.S. How much time was there?

APR Oh, well, the time was just about one or two days before the march was scheduled to take place.

J.S. How did you get the message across the entire country?

APR We got this matter over to the entire country by way of the radio which had been suggested by the President. He also designated Mayor LaGuardia to arrange for radio time for me.

J.S. Do you happen to remember, Sir, what date was set for the march?

APR The year was 1941. The exact date I don't recall.

J.S. It's quite obvious without this confrontation this would not have happened.

APR This is true, because the President was definitely set against it.

J.S. Because he didn't want to, or because he thought he couldn't?

APR Well, he though that it would endanger the lives of people.

J.S. Why would it endanger the lives of the people?

APR Well, he thought that 100,000 people would be unmanageable.

J.S. Oh, no, I don't mean that. I mean why was it so difficult for him to issue the order?

APR It was not too difficult for him to issue the order but he said it was unprecedented for him to issue an executive order for the solution of problems such as this.

J.S. Mr. Randolph, he probably wasn't sure that you meant it, otherwise he wouldn't have kept it until the last moment.

APR That's right. That is possible. But I meant it, and Mayor LaGuardia told him that so far as he was concerned he knew that I meant it.

J.S. And the preparations had already been made for 100,000 people?

APR Yes, preparations had been made for the march of 100,000 people on Washington. I had gone around the country and held meetings, developed committees, and told the people the whole story. Black Americans knew all about it. They were coming from various parts of the country, representing churches, YMCA's, YWCA's, NAACP, Urban League, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and various social and educational groups.

Negroes were so aroused about being turned away from defense plants where they applied for jobs that there was no doubt about their responding to the call for the march. I knew the mood of the people at that time because I had held meetings from coast to coast to keep up the agitation in the interest of the march.

I went into hairdressing parlors, pool rooms, saloons - all forms of Negro businesses, to get the issue directly before the people. And wherever I went the response in favor of the march was overwhelming. This was why I could talk so definitely to the President about the march.

J.S. Well, now, Sir, with all the need for workmen in that period there was still exclusion, regardless of the need?

APR Exactly. Regardless of the need for workers, Negroes were denied jobs. They came into the office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and told their story about discrimination in defense plants merely because they were black.

J.S. Even though personnel was needed?

APR Even though personnel was needed, for whites were being employed from time to time.

J.S. Well, now Sir, the FEPC was formed right after that, or shortly after that?

APR Yes, FEPC was set up and began to function as a government agency. Members were appointed to serve on this committee. The 1st International vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Milton P. Webster, was appointed to the committee.

J.S. And when was that formed?

APR It was formed as a result of the executive order. but I don't remember the exact date.

J.S. So, it followed right after?

APR That's right. And following the setting up of the Fair Employment Practive Committee, I felt that we needed to make this agency permanent. I, therefore, began to mobilize public opinion to this end.

J. S. Now, the 9981 was in '48. Was that a threat to Truman?

APR It wasn't a threat to President Truman, but it was a definite statement to him on the mood of Negroes throughout the nation with respect to the manner in which they were treated in the armed forces.

Charles Houston, legal representative of the NAACP, was an active member of the committee who interviewed President Truman. There were about twenty members of the committee. At a certain stage of the conference I said to the President, "Now, Mr. President, I want to tell you about my experience on a recent trip which I made around the country discussing the question of discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces. May I say to you that I discovered that black Americans today are in no mood to shoulder a gun again in defense of this country so long as they are not full-fledged citizens of the country and recognized as such in the armed forces. They are insisting upon total abolition of discrimination in the armed forces. They are well aware of the fact that they have fought and died in every war of this nation. Now they want to fight as free men in a free army in a free country.

J.S. What was his response to that?

APR His response was, and he spoke nervously: "Mr. Randolph, I wish you hadn't made that statement, it grieves me." Somewhat disturbed by the President's attitude, Charles Houston spoke up and said, "Mr. President, you ought to be happy that you have somebody like Mr. Randolph who has the courage to come here and tell you that, otherwise you wouldn't know about it. You can never tell what might take place in the hearts and minds of people oppressed,such as Negroes are, when they know that they have fought in every war for their country and are still jim crowed in the United States Army." The President was visibly affected by this comment by Mr. Houston and he turned to me and said, "Mr. Randolph, tell me more about this matter." I began then to tell him the whole story.

J.S. This was around '48, that was after the war?

APR That's right.

J.S. In other words, the black community was fighting gallantly on a restrictive basis during the entire war?

APR Oh yes. They were jim crowed all the time, although Negroes won heroic honors in the first and second World Wars for their bravery.

J.S. That I know, but I didn't realize that it was only after the war....

APR When he issued this executive order I received a copy of it in Denver, Colorado while there discussing the problems of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters with its members.

J.S. Well, now, Sir, at that time was there a coalition with labor?

APR No. There was no coalition with labor.

J.S. Labor was not a part of this?

APR That is right. At that time I was also involved in a fight against discrimination in the labor unions. We became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1929. However, labor was sympathetic with our ideals.

J.S. Sir, during the Roosevelt era wasn't there a coalition among the "have nots" against the "haves." Or were the Negroes still excluded from the "have not" coalition?

APR Negroes have not had a place in the coalition until recent years. Out of the fight for Executive Order 8802, to abolish discrimination in defense industries, a coalition was set up which included representatives of labor unions, liberals, church leaders, and so forth. This committee included Nelson Rockefeller, David Sarnoff, Anna Rosenberg, prominent leader of liberal persuasion, Max Delson, distinguished attorney of New York City, and a number of other outstanding citizens.

J.S. Well, now, you carried on all of these activities through the nonviolent approach?

APR Yes, through the nonviolent approach. Now, in the fight for the Fair Employment Practice Committee I purposely excluded all white people because I was careful to keep the committee from being infiltrated by communists who were extremely active among Negroes at that time. I didn't know all of the white communists and hence I was unable to keep them out if I accepted white members.

J.S. Were there any black communists?

APR We had black communists whom I knew quite well. I knew how to keep them from taking the movement over or breaking it

up, and no effort was made on their part to obstruct the work of the committee. They knew that the black people wouldn't stand for anybody standing in the way of the fight for jobs for Negroes.

J.S. The committee was known as what officially?

APR Fair Employment Practice Committee.

J.S. You left out all white people?

APR Yes, we left out all white people as a part of that movement. But after we got the executive order and planned to fight for a federal law for fair employment practice, regardless of race or color, we included white liberals.

J.S. You brought in all the white people, but before you did not have white people

APR Eventually, we brought in white liberals and labor groups who were interested.

J.S. Sir, in connection with that I'd like to ask your view about this separation movement that we have in the black community to strengthen themselves and then have integration when there is equality, rather than at the present time.

APR Well, I think this is sort of a natural reaction on the part of some Negroes against what they feel white racism will do to the cause of the Negro, and they feel that in order to be sure that the program and objectives of Negroes will be realized, Negroes themselves alone should have control of civil rights movements. But I don't believe that is a sound principle myself.

I believe in the principle of the coalition because there is more power in the coalition than Negroes can mobilize by relying upon their power alone. In other words, a coalition of allies, including labor, the Jewish community, Catholic forces and liberal groups, represent more power and can achieve more objectives than can Negroes by themselves. For instance, the fight against Judge Haynesworth: the reason for the success in that fight was the coalition of Negroes, Labor, Jewish and liberal groups. Had it not been for this coalition, Judge Haynesworth's nomination to the Supreme Court could not have been defeated.

J.S. Carswell too?

APR The Carswell case is similar. I can understand why there is an upsurge of the Negro masses for the control of the machinery and program in the interest of their liberation. This is not unnatural for any oppressed group. White racism created this condition and the feeling on the part of some Negroes that they can't trust their white friends to fight honestly and effectively because they do not fully understand and feel the problem as black Americans understand and feel the problem.

I think this attitude was and is naturally the result of the tragic lot of Negroes in certain areas of the South and, for that matter, in practically all parts of the country. But that position is not common to all Negroes by any means. Even some of the more militant groups like the Black Panthers are committed to the principle of interracial and intergroup action against the Establishment.

The Black Panthers were created by white racism in this country. They represent an awakening of the black masses, and they believe that the most effective tactic and strategy is violence by all groups, including blacks and whites, who believe in the abolition of the Establishment. They probably have been influenced incidentally by the revolutionary doctrine of Mao Tse-tung, namely, that freedom flows out of the mouth of a gun. But death and destruction also flow out of the mouth of a gun.

But I don't condemn the struggle of the Black Panthers and their advocacy of violence, although I don't agree that violence is a meaningful, effective and sound method for the achievement of progressive social change. The Black Panthers policy of violence is not dissimilar from the radicals and revolutionists of the early history of America. In 1886 there was the Haymarket Massacre which was a revolt of the exploited working masses by the representatives of industry and financial capitalism. The workers resorted to violence in this instance because they could see no other way to halt the exploitation of the laboring masses. There was also the Molly Maguires who carried on a raging and violent revolt in the mining areas of Pennsylvania against the coal barons. During the Reconstruction period thousands of Negroes fought the Ku Klux Klan which had not only murdered Negroes by the thousands, but had burned them alive in the streets of the South.

J.S. And there were also Negroes who murdered whites in the 30's and 40's.

APR Yes, exactly. The resort by the downtrodden to the use of violence is not racial. Every oppressed group ~~have~~ has taken

up the weapon of violence when they could see no other way to throw off their oppressors. In other words, action is equal to reaction in contrary direction. This black revolution now abroad in the land arose as an inevitable rejection on the part of black Americans of the doctrine of racial inferiority by white America. White America should have known that this black uprising would some day occur - to throw into the dustbin of social oblivion the concept of black inferiority.

J.S. Now, you feel, Sir, that the violence is self-defeating.

APR It cannot be too strongly and clearly stated that violence is inevitable in the struggle of any people against racial and religious and social injustice. Psychologically, wherever there is pain there is reaction. Black Americans have been the ~~objects~~ subjects of social pain and racial abuse for ~~almost~~ a half a thousand years, and they were as certain to rise up against it as the night follows the day.

While this is a social and historical fact, I do not believe that violence is a rational and effective weapon for the achievement of racial and social freedom. But violence should be viewed as a social instrument which is good or bad according to the use to which it is put. Just as a knife which may be used to carve a steak can also be used to cut a man's throat, so violence which was an instrument of oppression of the Ku Klux Klan of black people during the Reconstruction period, the Civil War, which was also an instrument of violence, abolished slavery. A violent revolutionary war in 1776 beat back the Red Coats of Great Britain and achieved the independence of America. The violence of the French Revolution marked the end of the period of feudalism. No individual who is committed to social justice and the principle of national independence can condemn Israel for carrying on a war against those who would destroy her country.

J.S. Now, Sir, do you have a positive feeling toward certain aspects of black power that we talk about?

APR Black power was a natural outgrowth of the plight of Negroes who believed that if they are going to have emancipation it must come through their own power. And I don't reject this position. While we need our friends - liberal and labor groups - to join with Negroes in winning their fight for racial and social justice, in the last analysis, Negroes must depend for their emancipation upon their own power. This is not to say that Negroes can achieve their emancipation alone. But no one can become as fully committed to the achievement of black emancipation as black people themselves.

Labor seeks the cooperation of liberals and church forces to help solve its problems. But labor also understands that in the final analysis it must depend upon its own power for the defense and protection of its rights. While labor possesses great power, it realizes that it needs the help and support of sympathetic public opinion. In fact, no single group in a democratic system can win its fight for its cause without the help of public opinion. Of course, there are Negroes who are not committed to black power.

J.S. They're not?

APR No. As a matter of fact, they know very little about it - that is, the new movement of black power. But, of course, if you sit down and talk to any group of Negroes about their problems it is very unlikely that the group will reject the principle of black power.

J.S. You agree with that too?

APR Yes, I agree that Negroes must develop their own power, but they must be conscious of its limitations. They must realize that within a democracy it is practically impossible for any single group to achieve its emancipation by itself without the cooperation and help of friendly forces.

J.S. Sir, you believe in ethnic consciousness, group ethnic consciousness?

APR Yes, I believe in group ethnic consciousness. I doubt that there is any way for survival, as a matter of fact, without group ethnic consciousness. This logic also applies to an individual. Every individual, in order to live, must have the will to live, and struggle and fight to live. Individuals, like groups, must develop support for life.

Negroes are not alone who need other forces in the community to help them abolish racial oppression. For instance, the Jews, the Catholics, and labor, need the coalition of black people to help them advance their position. Negroes are becoming a force to be reckoned with in the American community. While they need the help of other groups who may be sympathetic with their cause, practically all of the various movements dedicated to social justice need the support of black Americans, and black Americans should be ready and willing to give their support to help advance the cause of human freedom.

J.S. But in many activities today, Mr. Randolph, the white people are not welcome.

APR Yes, there are many groups of black people who distrust white people and, of course, there is good cause for this. But there is no good reason why black people should reject the support of white people.

Let me observe again that while white people are probably more uncomfortable with the Black Panthers than with any other group of Negroes, yet the Black Panthers welcome the support and cooperation of white people committed to their revolutionary objectives. In fact, when a group develops a tactic which isolates it from the forces of freedom, it defeats its own cause. While a group may not endorse the total strategy and tactics of a revolutionary movement, every group should be concerned about every other group which fights for social justice. I, therefore, am opposed to any policy of keeping Black Panthers in jail for a year or more without permitting them to come into court to face their accusers and to defend their rights. No one can tell whether the position of any group in society is right or wrong when under accusation, unless opportunity is afforded the group to present its cause to public opinion.

In Chicago, following the police attacks upon the Black Panthers, I spoke at a press conference while there to address the Catholic Interracial Council . I pointed out at the press conference that although I am not in accord with all of the strategy and tactics of the Black Panthers, I considered the search and destroy tactic of the police intolerable. We have only to look at the tactics of the Ku Klux Klan against Negroes, which makes use of all forms of violence in city after city of the South, yet no police force has attacked them. One may go into various cities of the South today and see the name of the Ku Klux Klan on public display on their headquarters without molestation by the police.

Therefore, we who believe in freedom, racial and social justice cannot permit the Black Panthers to stay out on the limb alone. They are entitled to social support and an opportunity to have their case judicially considered without prejudice.

J.S. Now, with respect to that, Mr. Randolph, in appealing or protesting in your distinguished carrer, did you find that there were times when you dealt in terms of humanity, democracy, and other times in terms of the specific black group?

APR Yes, I did. For instance, the fair employment practice principle. I presented that principle to Negroes throughout the country before I began to seek the support of white Americans who were committed to freedom and social justice.

I pointed out to Negroes that before we go to our friends for help in this fight for fair employment practice, we must demonstrate that we are committed to this principle and are determined to fight for it ourselves. This approach evidently had some significance and appeal to the masses of Negroes. Some of the middle class Negroes were hesitant about becoming involved because they were doubtful that we could get 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington in the first place, and they were afraid there might be physical violence in the second place.

I told them that this was the risk we had to take if we expected to win one of the most important objectives ever developed by the race. I said, "It is obvious that we cannot live without work and we cannot work without jobs, and it is clear that we are not going to get jobs unless we fight for them"

The Negroes in the saloons, barber shops, and hairdressing parlors never indicated the slightest hesitancy about joining the movement. Nobody asked whether there was going to be trouble or not. I told them frankly that there could be trouble, but if we had trouble fighting for our economic rights we would have to fact it. Moreover, we would not be the first group of people in America who faced trouble waging war for social and economic justice.

I told them that sooner or later I expected to hold a conference with President Roosevelt on this question and I wanted to be able to tell him that 100,000 Negroes were going to march on Washington for jobs in defense industries; that Negroes would not stand idly by and be truned away from defense industries where jobs were being given to white workers every day, and fail to do anything about it. I was greatly overjoyed to note the response to this sort of doctrine. In group after group of Negroes, in various areas of the country, when confronted with this proposal for a mass march of 100,000 black people, the reply was: "Only let us know when it's going to be."

J.S. But there are times, aren't there, when you have to appeal for human rights as such?

APR Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, I don't think there is any time when you can separate the cause of

racial or labor's rights as such from the struggle for human rights. Such a procedure would impoverish the movement for social justice. This is the reason why, for instance, today, I think that the alliance between Negroes and organized labor is a powerful and effective force, but I don't exclude any other oppressed group, such as Jews, Catholics and Puerto Ricans.

J.S. Is there an alliance between Labor and...

APR For a long time there was no alliance between Negroes and labor. One reason for this was that there were few Negroes in the labor movement. Some of the first Negro delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor were representatives of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This was the beginning of a vigorous war against racial bias in the trade unions.

There was considerable resistance to the violent attacks of the delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters union against not only racial discrimination in the labor unions but in the country in general. But, finally, this fight began to bear fruit and win support in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Although William Green, president of the AFL, at the time of the admission of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as an affiliate, was not any great advocate of the cause of the delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters, he gave the great prestige of his position as the president of the AFL to the BSCP when it set a date for a national strike against the Pullman Company. He advised us to think twice before going ahead with the strike because he was doubtful that we could win. But he said if we decided to carry the strike through he would give us support.

His advice probably was responsible for the salvation of the porters' union. It was practically utterly impossible for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which had no money of any consequence, to win a strike against the powerful Pullman Company, backed by all the railroads in the nation. President Green took this position despite the fact that in various conventions of the AFL he had opposed the militant position I took with respect to black labor and the labor movement.

J.S. You still have some unions that are discriminating?

APR Yes, there are some unions that practice discrimination against black workers, but it is in violation of the policy of the AFL-CIO. I don't think we have a better and a more effective supporter of the cause of Negro freedom and the abolition of racial discrimination than George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. George Meany was not always as vigorous and militant a fighter against racial discrimination in the labor movement and the country as he now is. Today, he never lets an opportunity go by where racial discrimination is practiced, to his knowledge, without expressing his condemnation of it.

J.S. Well, you and he had some struggle?

APR I have always entertained the highest respect for George Meany, even when he was an opponent of mine, because I always regarded him as being honest. He expressed his opinion about a question in no uncertain terms. I was always conscious of the fact that the president of the AFL-CIO possessed great power, and I was interested and concerned about getting him to use it in the fight for human justice and freedom, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

J.S. Sometimes we talk about the use of benign quotas in order to eliminate the tipping point, you know, when it comes of one race? You have any views on the benign quota idea on housing, for instance? Is it principally applied in housing. The end is integration but the means that is taken is....

APR Well, I think that the Negroes of the country, along with other groups, will have to utilize whatever strength they possess to help abolish all forms of discrimination, whether it be religious, racial, political or economic. To achieve that end, we must fight against all forms of oppression, such as is being effectively done by Roy Wilkins, brilliant and dedicated leader of the NAACP. The same thing may be said of Whitney Young, director of the National

Urban League and, of course, there are many more outstanding black leaders dedicated to the cause of Negro freedom. These leaders are not only committed to the fight for the advancement of black people, but are devoted to the worldwide struggle for racial, social, religious and human freedom

J.S. I gather you would look with suspicion on this benign quota idea?

APR Oh, yes, I would not view with any form of approbation the rhetoric of benign neglect, whatever that means. It probably means dealing with the problem of the Negro in terms of gradualism.

J.S. What is the condition of black-Jewish relationship that we are worrying about recently?

APR The Jewish people have been devoted to the support of Negroes since the beginning of the Negro freedom movement. Joel Spingarn, former professor at Columbia University, joined with Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois, Mary White Ovington, and a number of other liberals, in establishing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910.

Many Negroes are aware of this fact and they are opposed to any form of anti-Semitism. There has been some expression of misgivings about so-called anti-Semitism among Negroes, but Negroes are not anti-Semitic per se. There are many Negroes who are anti-white, and they include Jews among the white people. Moreover, there is some expression of prejudice against some Jews because they happen to be the landlords and shopkeepers in the black ghetto. This expression of opposition is not anti-Semitism, it is against a group of business people whom Negroes in the ghettos consider to be unfair as shopkeepers and landlords.

When I first came to New York, some of the leading landlords in the Negro community were Negroes. Two outstanding men in that category were John M. Royal and John E. Nail. I have never heard Negroes berate and condemn any Jewish landlords and shopkeepers any more violently than they condemned and denounced the aforementioned real estate businessmen.

There was also some prejudice against Irish Catholics. Not because they were Catholics, or Irish, but because they had, at one time, control of the waterfront and sometimes discriminated against black workers getting jobs in this area. Today, it is a matter of common knowledge that great masses of Negroes, some of whom are so-called black militants, berate and condemn the so-called

middle-class Negro, viewing them as leaders of compromise with respect to racial ~~riots~~. justice

In the early period of my career in New York I, too, denounced the middle-class Negro leaders, and probably could have been characterized as expressing the doctrine of the Black Panthers. Being a Socialist, I always advocated the solidarity of the working class, without regard to race or color, religion or national origin. ~~This is the doctrine of the Black Panthers today.~~

As a matter of fact, Jewish shopkeepers are no different from black shopkeepers in seeking to get maximum profit for products sold. By the same token, Jewish landlords are notdifferent from black landlords in charging all the rental the property can provide. This is not a racial or religious matter; it is simply a behavior patters of the capitalist system.

J.S. Is this the same Spingarn, or were there two Spingarns?

APR There were two Spingarns, Joel and Arthur. I never knew Joel Spingarn very well, but I have known Arthur Spingarn for a long time.

J.S. Now, we had difficulty here in the New York area, a year and a half ago, or two year ago, on the teacher situation. What is your view?

APR I was involved in it to some extent. For instance, I took the position in support of the Teachers Union, led by Albert Shanker. One reason for this was that I am a union man myself and I did not consider that the racial aspect of the problem was as deep and significant as the union aspect of the problem, because the teachers' position was based upon the principle of coalition in a union of all teachers, regardless of race or color. I consider this to be a sound position. Bayard Rustin and myself talked about the problem at length and came to this conclusion.

J.S. You notice a backlash, a white backlash?

APR Yes, I think there is a white backlash. It is a reaction to the black backlash which is a reaction to American white racism.

I think the black backlash is directed against all white people. The reason for this is the assumption on the part of black people that their problem is the result of discrimination and oppression by white people. The only way to change this is to abolish white racism.

J.S. Okay, Sir, now in connection with that, this integration question that we've talked about a great deal....what's your views about integration as a goal immediately?

APR Well, I'm in favor of the integration of schools, all schools. I'm in favor of the integration of American life, as such. I believe that separation of the races tend to feed the fires of racial antagonisms and bring about the conditions that make for both a black backlash and a white backlash.

If you force all Negroes to live together in a ghetto and deny them decent housing, schools and jobs, there is going to be an inevitable revulsion against it which will affect every group in the area, whether they be Jews or Catholics, businessmen or workers.

Of course, the reaction of blacks against whites is the result of centuries of persecution and oppression of the Negro. People don't fight each other because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they fight each other. People fight each other because they don't know each other, and they don't know each other because they don't associate with each other because their minds have been poisened against each other by false propaganda. Consequently, Americans, white and black, will have to go through a long period of education to win the fight for racial integration and cooperation. But the fight can, must, and will be won. Every white and black citizen must be educated to accept the ideas and ideals indicating that a human being is a priceless jewel in society, regardless of his race, color, religion or class.

J.S. Now, you've had this view on the part of some black leaders at the present time: "Give us quality education where we are; give us good schools and good teachers, we'll take care of ourselves later on. We don't have to sit next to a white person, there's nothing great about that." That's what some of them are saying.

APR Now, as Americans I am convinced that we want schools for Americans, not for black Americans or for white Americans, or Jewish or Irish Americans.

J.S. That's correct, the 1954 decision was based on it.

APR Exactly, and I think that the position of some of the black propagandists is entirely unsound when they carry on a program in the interest of separation or segregation of the races. Prejudice, whether against race, religion or national origin, is a dangerous social phenomenon.

To advocate the inferiority of any people is to assume that they are not entitled to live as decent human beings.

It is this notorious doctrine of racial inferiority which was the essence of the Third Reich under Adolph Hitler. As a result of this doctrine, Europe was drenched in rivers of blood and tears and became the scene of mountains of corpses in devastated cities. The theory of Adolph Hitler was that he was the voice of the master race and that the inferior peoples of the world did not have a right to live. It will be a long time before the world can survive the infamy of Hitlerism. In very truth, it will also be a long night before America can outlive the tragic tragedy of centuries of persecution of black Americans.

J.S. You don't separate in your mind then the legal distinction de jure and de facto segregation that we've been arguing about.

APR No. You have de facto segregation on a basis of locality, namely, housing. You have de jure segregation in the South based upon local law. Now, de jure segregation in the South must be abolished, as well as de facto segregation in the North.

J.S. How?

APR By giving Negroes the right to live wherever they want to live and have the means with which to live.

J.S. It's the housing?

APR Exactly, and there's nothing sounder than that.

J.S. But, you see, in Manhattan, 75 percent of the children in the public schools are either black or Puerto Rican. The whites are somewhere else.

APR The whites have gone into the better areas of New York, not only because they are white but because they possess economic buying power. Negroes don't have comparable economic power; they are forced to live where they can pay the rent or where they can purchase a home, which is usually in the ghetto.

J.S. You always felt economic basis as being paramount in the whole situation?

APR That is the real basis of power, and the idea of black power is perfectly understandable. Negroes have as much right to talk about black power as any other group has the right to talk about its power. Fundamentally, power is based upon the ability of individuals to purchase that which they need and which will advance their social, economic and educational conditions. This is why the workers build labor unions and businessmen develop industries. They feel the need for the possession of power - economic power.

This is why I organized the Pullman porters into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was because I knew that if this group developed a union they would be able to improve their social and economic condition. We did build a union and they did improve their economic and social condition.

J.S. What about black capitalism?

APR Black capitalism is designed to encourage the development of business enterprise on the part of Negroes. There is nothing wrong about its purpose, but in a period of the development of industrial and business conglomerates involving billions of dollars of capital, there is little hope for black capitalism. In addition to Negroes not possessing the capital, they lack the economic expertise to survive as capitalists in this country of the highest form of business competition.

This does not mean that Negroes cannot develop profitable businesses. They developed profitable businesses even in the South when I was a boy. But the outlook of a black businessman becoming a great capitalist in this country of the most powerful business institutions in the world is not the most encouraging. But I don't oppose Negroes developing businesses; they have a right to do this as any other American. Many of them are succeeding as small businessmen.

However, I should like to see some of our gifted young black men, who aspire to become entrepreneurs, seek to become a part of big business institutions that are willing to give them an opportunity. They need business experience which they can only get in a growing business institution, and I am confident that there are many such business establishments that are willing to give Negroes an opportunity to work and function in some of the great business concerns in the country.

Young Negroes who have a business concern must understand that we live in a free competitive market economy where

there is no charity. You get what you can take and keep what you can hold. If you can't take anything you won't get anything, and if you can't hold anything you won't keep anything. This is the economic law which applies to everyone who seeks to buy and sell in modern America.

J.S. There are many black leaders who refute the concept of black capitalism.

APR Well, I don't think that black capitalism is the solution of the problem by any means because capitalism has been developed to such an extent that it is impossible for any group to come in today and become a factor in the capitalist world who do not have the technique, knowledge or ability.

When you go into the field of capitalism, where you have these bewildering shifts and changes in the economy involving inflation, deflation and recession, no Negro capitalist or, for that matter, any small capitalist, white or black, can withstand these forces of economic change and survive with a prosperous enterprise.

J.S. Well, you emphasize the labor aspect.

APR Yes, but I am principally concerned about the black workers. Take the South: You have a number of Negroes in the insurance business who are making great progress, but these insurance companies of Negroes in the South have no comparison with the giant insurance businesses such as Metropolitan, New York Life, and so forth. Even new groups of white ambitious business-minded people have little chance to make it successfully in the modern world of capitalism.

No new group of business leaders can develop a new steel company and expect to survive in competition with the great steel corporate systems that exist today. Therefore, it is no reflection on Negroes to point out that the day of building giant corporate business enterprises by people of small means and limited experience is about over.

J.S. Well, we were talking about small capitalism - merchants and things like that.

APR Well, I think that is just a drop in the bucket. I have suggested to some young, aggressive, enterprising Negroes to attempt to get experience in some of the great Jewish business concerns in the country. They are friendly to

Negro business aspirations, just as some of the Gentile businessmen are.

It must also be understood that there are great areas that are wholly preempted which few, if any,people can enter and prosper. For instance, no new railroads are being built, no new public utilities, no new steel or coal companies. The period when these economic developments came about was just before and after the Civil War. Then the great financial bucaneers practically took over the country. Moreover, the government gave them millions of acres of land free of charge.

Under the Homestead Free Timber Act of 1862, white citizens could go to the government and get land free to build a home. During this period Negroes were in slavery and even when slavery was over they couldn't get any land which they had helped to develop, except in extraordinarily rare cases. However, white immigrants came from Europe and got acres of land free in the West and began building homes. Negroes can't get any land today of any consequence on which to build a home. All of this contributes to the fires of the black racial distrust, if not hatred, of white Americans.

J/S. Tell me, if you were to indicate, in terms of your experience, a grand strategy to alleviate this evil that we are talking about, what would you say?

APR Well, I would say that Negroes should work to become a part of the American community as full-fledged citizens, utilizing the privilege of the ballot, electing Negroes to office. Many of them are going into the colleges and universities and are acquiring the highest levels of education in medicine, law, science and technology. I am greatly encouraged by the progress Negroes are making although it is by no means what they should make and what they will make and are entitled to enjoy.

J.S. Inner group development, is what you're saying.

APR Negroes, like other groups, should develop inner group business establishments, and they should prepare themselves by developing the educational qualifications successfully to compete in all areas of American life. They must master the various trades and the various technological areas, and that can be done. In other words, I'm opposed to letting down the qualification bars for Negro applicants to enter college.

J.S. What is your view on that?

APR My view is that Negroes should measure up to and face the requirements for eligibility to enter colleges and universities,and any other institution of learning, on the same basis as other students

J.S. And how do you increase the number of that?

APR Well, I think the number of Negro students qualifying to enter colleges in this country has definitely increased. I know that Negro students have the same innate capacity to qualify for entrance into the same courses white students qualify for. I am personally aware of this because my brother was an exceptionally gifted mathematician. I am confident that if he had lived he would have been one of America's outstanding scholars in the field of mathematics.

Therefore, I am greatly concerned that the educational standards required for a student to enter any institution be uniform and that no concessions be made on a basis of race or color. As a matter of fact, Negroes were entering some of the great colleges of America even before the abolition of slavery. Many of them graduated and entered upon the profession of teaching. Thus, the Negro boy and girl don't need any concessions to be able to qualify for any educational course any more than white boys and girls need such concessions.

It must be recognized that there has been for centuries systematic propaganda throughout the world to establish the doctrine of racial inferiority relating to the peoples of color. This propaganda can be found in the work of Arthur de Gobemeau, "Inequalities of the Races"; Houston Chamberlin, "Foundations of the 19th Century"; Thomas Dixon's "Klansman" and "The Passing of the Great Race" by Madison Grant. The purpose of this worldwide doctrine of racial inferiority was to build the foundation and justification for the subjugation of the darker races in Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea, and Negroes in America. But, of course, it was rejected by the peoples of color themselves and it has lost its force as the intellectual foundation of world imperialism.

J.A. Shall we try to help him, to prepare him?

APR Society should help youngsters, regardless of race, to prepare to enter educational institutions to become useful and creative citizens of their own community, the nation, and the world.

For instance, I am in favor of the SEEK course to help all students to become qualified to enter colleges.

J.S. This is the last question: The Kerner Report talked about separate societies as together side by side, we're tending and unequal. Do you really feel that's what's happening?

APR Well, I think you have currents moving in that direction, but you have also countercurrents moving in the direction of breaking down barriers based upon race, and I think, in the long run, that the currents in the interest of breaking down barriers will win. That's my opinion, and I think that we, who are in the field of the struggle, have an obligation and a moral responsibility to put into the minds of young black youths the fact that they are Americans, they have the intellectual qualifications to meet the standards that have been set up in this country to become anything they want to become, doctors, lawyers, economists, scientists.

J.S. Yes sir, that is true, but what do we do with the white people?

APR The white people, so far as I can see, haven't succeeded in preventing Negroes from coming into the colleges on the basis of their qualifications.

J.S. I'm talking about their attitudes generally .....

APR The attitude is going to be changed by time, and the struggle on the part of black people to change it. Black people will never stop struggling to abolish the existing system of racism in America. They can't stop fighting to eliminate white racism in this country even if they wanted to. The forces of oppression, the forces of racial discrimination so engender antagonism against racism that Negroes are compelled to do everything they can to eliminate it.

J.S. And you agree, do you not, that there has been considerable progress?

APR Oh yes, considerable progress.

J.S. On the basis of your own history?

APR Oh yes, Negroes have made great progress. I've been around various colleges in the country and I've talked to the students. There is no basic difference between a young black boy and a young white boy when it comes to developing the ability to do anything. Look at the Negroes in athletics. Some top Negro athletes are getting as much as $125,000 a year.

J.S. They used to be excluded....

APR I remember the time when they couldn't purchase a ticket for a box seat in ~~the~~ a ballpark.

J.S. With respect to white, shall we work on attitudes in a white community, or changing social conditions, or both?

APR We need to work on both, because social conditions create attitudes and attitudes, in turn, reflect on social conditions. Now there is a backlash among white people in various areas of the country. That's a natural thing; Negroes should have known that was going to happen. But you can't stop fighting for your rights because it makes some people mad. And the Negroes, fortunately, are realizing that some of them have tactics and strategy that are self-defeating, and this must be eliminated. Time will do that, and the difficulties of struggle will build strength. I have no fear or worry about the future of the young black boy. Conditions will make him move.

J.S. He's getting impatient.

APR Impatience is inevitable. Anyone who is struggling for his rights is going to meet with opposition. Opposition will create anger but you've got to overcome that. For instance, no one has had any worse problem in fighting for their homeland than the Jews have had, and still have. I was in Palestine a few years ago.

J.S. After the six-day war?

APR No, before. And I saw the people, and I talked with Mrs. Meir and Ben Gurion. Now, these are people ~~that~~ who would do anybody good to meet or see because they represent the elite of the earth.

J.S. People who have been massacred, been exterminated...

APR Who faced the fires of hatred and opposition and have overcome them. Any people who have gone through such trials and tribulations are entitled to the support and respect of the world. Negroes, too, have suffered persecution and oppression for centuries. They have gone through the fires of persecution comparable to the Jews. Negroes deserve a lot of respect from the entire world because they have exhibited the spirit never to say die. They are marching forward and I'm proud of them. They are first-class citizens now on the books, but they are in the process of experiencing a realization of this. It's bound to come, and people like yourself have contributed to this.

J.S. Thank you, Sir.

APR I have a lot of Jewish friends. I made these friends when I was publishing the Messenger Magazine and organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I also made a lot of friends, both among Jews and other groups, during my days of activity in the Socialist movement.

J.S. Oh yes, did you know Eugene V. Debs?

Oh yes. Eugene V. Debs came to Harlem to speak in a campaign for the election of my wife, on the Socialist ticket, to the New York Legislature. This was quite an occasion.

Debs was arrested at a great public meeting in Cleveland by federal agents for his opposition to World War I. My colleague, Chandler Owen, who published the Messenger Magazine with me, and I, were arrested on the same public square in Cleveland for opposition to the war.

Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas were great champions of human rights. They were quite friendly with me and I admired them greatly. They were the great spiritual leaders of Socialism, not only in America but of the world.

J.S. Mr. Randolph, I am very grateful to you. This has been a most significant interview and, for me, an historic occasion, and all Americans are grateful to you.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
International President of
Brotherhood of Sleeping-car
Porters on April 20, 1970

(1) J.S.: Mr. Randolph you were the originator of the March on Washington in 1963. In 1941 through a certain method that you employed you obtained the Executive Order of 8802 and then in 1948, I believe, you obtained the Executive Order of 9981. I believe these facts are correct. You got these executive orders through a certain kind of threat?

Randolph: That's right. ~~Working~~ In conference with president Truman, ~~I called for~~ a committee of Negro leaders ~~a~~ of which I served as chairman, called on President Truman to issue an executive order to abolish racial ~~that~~ discrimination which was rampant in the armed forces, ~~and~~ that we pointed out to the President that something needed to be done to abolish ~~that kind of thing~~ this outrage against Black Americans. ~~Whereas~~ While he was not too favorably responsive at the beginning, he finally expressed his interest in the ~~subject,~~ prettiest ~~and~~ We had quite a representative group in the conference and we called for the complete integration ~~about~~ of Negro soldiers in both the military and forces naval. ~~And~~ He finally granted ~~this~~ the and issued executive order requiring

(2) J.S.: Is this 9981

Randolph: That's right.

3 J.S.: Now, Sir, you then came to the conclusion early in your career that a confrontation of some kind was an essential element in the strategy?

Randolph: That is correct. I came to realize that mere statements by Negro leaders, ~~two~~ ~~to Negroes~~ while useful, necessary, proper, ~~and~~ ~~effective~~ THEY were not sufficient. ~~That we had to~~ IT WAS EVIDENT NEGROES HAD meet with the top representatives in government who could do something about the ~~proposition~~ DEFINITIVE PROBLEMS OF RACIAL BIAS and ~~it~~ is to that reason why I sought CONFERENCES WITH PRESIDENTS ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN. ~~that I conceived the idea of meeting with President Roosevelt in the interest of eliminating in the defense industries and particularly in industry in the country in general.~~ RACIAL DISCRIMINATION I was able to get ~~in~~ to INVOLVE IN our various conferences ~~the various~~ ~~Negro~~ BLACK leaders ~~XXX~~ from ~~various~~ DIFFERENT parts of the country and they were quite definite and sincere and clear in their ~~position~~ OBSERVATIONS so that the Presidents ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN AND saw that we meant business, that we intended to pursue ~~this thing~~ OUR DEMANDS until we achieved some ~~sound~~ CONCRETE and definitive concessions, ~~A way of~~ abolishing racial discrimination in labor unions, in industries and in government as a whole. Of course, we met with some hesistancy on the part of President Roosevelt. ~~He~~ was DEFINITELY fearful that bringing 100,000 ~~Negroes~~ COLORED PEOPLE to Washington in a March would result in violence and perhaps death. He called in his entire cabinet to sit in on this question, and we talked at length about it, ~~and He~~ HE said to me: "Now, Phil I want to abolish discrimination in the ~~armed forces and~~ the defense ~~XXXXX~~ industries as much as you do, but the method is important. I can't afford ~~for~~ to PERMIT you to bring 100,000 Negroes into Washington because there is NO way to manage a tremendous group of people such as that. You can never tell what ~~may~~ might happen." ~~And~~ He had in that conference Sidney Hillman, ~~a~~ TOP OFFICIAL of General Motors, ~~He had Simpson~~; ~~he had~~ AND his entire Cabinet. He said he considered it extremely serious, this idea of bringing ~~as many people as~~ 100,000 PEOPLE to Washington for anything. ~~So~~ He said, "Now, I want to assure you AND

And the Negro leaders ~~in general~~ and Negro People in general that I'm interested in the elimination of discrimination in all ~~forms~~ areas of industry; ~~the armed forces~~ including the defense industries and government, but there is a limit to what I can do. I'm not in the habit of issuing executive orders for anything ~~others~~. I don't know any other President who indulges in that method of meeting various problems. ~~just generally~~." ~~He said~~, "But I can assure you that ~~we'd~~ I will do something about this matter of racial discrimination if you will permit ~~us~~ me to do so. But now you are going to block it if you ~~enist~~ insist on an executive order. We have here the entire Cabinet and they are ready to contribute their judgment on this question and we believe that it must be done. Negroes are American citizens and they have a right to share in the employment opportunities along with other ~~people~~ citizens of America. ~~exactly~~ So, now, I ~~xx~~ want to suggest, and I'm going to appoint a small committee out of this Cabinet to go into ~~this~~ a room here with you and your co-workers." Walter White was in this conference with me, he was at that time the Secretary of the NAACP. ~~and~~ We went into one of conference rooms. Mayor La Guardia was in the conference, served as chairman, and ~~there~~ we began talking about ways and means of meeting the problem without going against the President's wish ~~and~~ by bringing 100,000 Negro people there in a March on Washington. So they sought to persuade me to change my position on the matter. I told them that it was utterly impossible for me to change my position on the matter because I was reflecting the spirit of the masses of Negroes throughout the Nation and that this is not something that I can change. ~~is overnight~~. I pointed out that I and other Negro leaders have ~~We've~~ been covering the country telling the people about the nature and the magnitude of the problem and what we propose,

to do about it and now these people are looking forward to some action with respect to the opportunity of Negroes getting Jobs. So that ~~it is not up to me to attempt~~ I neither have Right or power to change this ~~matter~~ plan for the March ~~because they carved it on wood~~ (if I wanted to). Mayor La Guardia ~~xxxxx~~ said to the group, "Well, I've known Phillip Randolph a long time and I dont think ~~you~~ we're going to get any where trying to change him. to change ~~xxx~~ him?

J.S.: Was La Guardia a part of the Cabinet at the time?

Randolph: No, he wasn't part of the Cabinet, but he was ~~over~~ chairman of one of ~~section~~ important departments of the government. And, so he said, I believe we want to work on something definite and specific in our attempt to meet this problem, and so ~~we~~ the committee presented to the group of ~~Negro~~ ~~government~~ lawyers ~~specialists~~, ~~in the government~~ the presidents and government leaders ~~the~~ idea of an executive order to determine just how it could be done, ~~would~~ what it would ~~like~~ be read ~~and sound~~ like ~~and so forth~~. ~~The question was~~ ~~Was it applicable~~, Was the it practicable? and so forth. So they ~~come~~ came to the ~~[illegible]~~ conclusion that they would ~~[illegible]~~ attempt to work out an executive order. It was given over to ~~this~~ a group of attorneys ~~and~~ they worked on it. Joseph ~~[illegible]~~ L. Rauh of Washington was ~~a part~~ one of the group of lawyers in the government; ~~was one of the professionals, and they~~ drew up an executive order. ~~and~~ Our committee was called ~~me~~ back, Walter White and ~~myself~~, ~~Walter White~~ Houston had to go to the convention of the NAACP, but I went back and talked with ~~group~~ the committee. ~~and~~ They presented me ~~this~~ a copy of the proposed executive order. ~~and~~ After reading it, I said, there is only one thing wrong about it. ~~And they said~~ This question was promptly asked, "What is that." I said, "It doesn't ~~cover~~ apply to the government." ~~[illegible]~~

THE REPLY WAS:

"You don't ~~[illegible]~~ think you can get an executive order to cover the government, do you? I said, "Well, that is what we want because the government is guilty of discrimination itself with respect to jobs ~~with~~ FOR ~~people~~ PERSONS of color."

J.S.: In ~~their~~ THE GOVERNMENT'S own departments.?

Randolph: Yes, in various GOVERNMENT departments. So, they ~~presented~~ PREPARED ~~this~~ THE FORM OF AN executive order ~~for form to~~ WHICH APPLIED TO THE GOVERNMENT. the President and he thought it was all right, ~~but then~~ He ~~[illegible]~~ wanted to know what I thought about it and ~~they~~ ~~[illegible]~~ they told him that I ~~didn't think~~ THOUGHT it was ~~applicable~~ SATISFACTORY, ~~I didn't think it would work and that I wouldn't accept it. So the~~ INQUIRED President ~~says what did he want? They said that he wants an executive order that applies to the government also, as well as the various defense industries. So finally he~~ THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSING SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT IT BUT granted it and then he said to me, "Now, Phil, I want you to get on the radio and tell the COLORED people of this country ~~especially the Negroes~~ ~~that~~ there isn't going to be any march on Washington for the elimination of discrimination in defense industries," ~~So~~, I SINCE I HAVE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND GOVERNMENT said, "~~Right now,~~ I'll be glad to do that Mr. President, that is what we wanted and since you have been gracious enough to respond favorably to our request, I certainly will be ~~[illegible]~~ GLAD to tell the Negroes in the country not to come TO WASHINGTON IN PROTEST AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES ~~here.~~" ~~Well, the time was short, you know.~~

J.S.: You had set the date?

Randolph: Oh yes, we had set the date.

And so, ~~he says~~, "Well, now this must be done immediately," I ~~said~~ REPLIED, "I'll be glad to do that." ~~And he~~ THE PRESIDENT had MAYOR La Guardia ~~to~~ TO arrange ~~the various groups over~~ TO HAVE radio stations ~~and so~~ TO ~~forth~~ CARRY, ~~and~~ ~~I made the~~ MY statement. But ~~it~~ THE TIME was too short to reach everybody WHO HAD PLANNED TO JOIN IN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

7 J.S.: How much time was there?

Randolph: Oh, well, the time was just about ~~a day or~~ ONE OR TWO DAYS.

8 J.S.: Way to the very end.

Randolph: To the very end. And so I agreed to hold a mass meeting in ~~the~~ Watergate Park in Washington ~~and~~ WITH Mayor La Guardia, ~~he spoke~~ AS A SPEAKER FOR THE PRESIDENT ~~there and~~ a number of Negro leaders spoke, ~~and~~ I told the people what had happened and presented a copy of the executive order TO ~~and the~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ several thousands of people had come even that day before to participate in this march ~~in~~ ON Washington.

9 J.S.: How did you get the message across the entire country?

Randolph: Well, over the radio, ~~and~~ I told them that the President had made this concession and that I EARNESTLY request them not to ~~join in~~ PLAN TO ~~the~~ March on Washington ~~for the~~ SINCE THE PRESIDENT HAD ISSUED THE EXECUTIVE ORDER AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND THE GOVERNMENT.

10 J.S.: Do you happen to remember, Sir, what date was set for the march?

Randolph: Yes. THIS YEAR WAS 1941. The exact date I don't..RECALL.

11 J.S.: It's quite obvious without this confrontation this would not have happened?

Randolph: This is true because the President was definitely set against it.

12 J.S.: Because he didn't want to or because he thought he couldn't?

Randolph: Well, he thought that it would endanger the lives of people in the government ~~and that~~ MARCH ON WASHINGTON SINCE it was impossible to control ~~it~~ such A HUGE CROWD.

13 J.S.: Why would it endanger the lives of the people?

Randolph: Well, ~~it~~ he thought that 100,000 people WOULD BE UNMANAGEABLE.

14 J.S.: Oh no, I don't mean that. I mean why was it so difficult for him to issue the order?

Randolph: Well, it was not too difficult for him to issue the order, but he said it was unprecedented and he would issue a statement himself but not in the form of an executive order.

15 J.S.: Mr. Randolph, he probably wasn't sure that you meant it otherwise he wouldn't have kept it until the last moment?

Randolph: That is right. That is possible.

[redacted] But ~~I~~ I meant it. I meant it and Mayor La Guardia told him that so far as he was concerned he knew that I meant it.

16 J.S.: And the preparations had already been made for 100,000 people?

Randolph: YES, PREPARATIONS Already been made for 100,000 people. And I had gone around the country and held meetings, developed committees and told the people the whole story. And the people ~~were~~ KNEW ALL about it. They were coming ~~to~~ FROM the YWCA, the YMCA, the NAACP, the Urban League and the Brotherhood of Sleeping-car Porters AND THE CHURCHES TO protest~~ing~~ against discrimination, against Negroes ~~getting~~ BEING DENIED jobs in defense industries, so that they were aroused and there was no doubt about their responding. I know SINCE I went into various CITIES INCLUDING ~~places~~, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, Richmond, San Francisco, BALTIMORE AND MANY OTHERS telling the people the story. I went into hair dressing parlors, ~~went into~~ the saloons, the ~~[illegible]~~ pool rooms and asked the people, "Do you ~~believe that~~ you want jobs sufficiently to march on WASHINGTON for them. I EMPHASIZED TO THEM THE FACT THAT It's going to take more than just talk in order to get an executive order to abolish discrimination in the defense industries AND GOVERNMENT. And these people, of course responded READILY AND vigorously, and I knew they would come and this is why I could talk so definitely to the President.

17 J.S.: Well, now, Sir, with all the need for workmen in that period ~~they were~~ there was still exclusion regardless of the need?

Randolph: Exactly, regardless of the need. Negroes would come into our office and tell about being turned away from various defense plants, merely because they were black.

18 J.S.: Even though personnel was needed, ~~[illegible]~~..?

Randolph: Even though personnel was needed. Whites were being employed from time to time.

19 J.S.: Well, now Sir, the FEPC was formed [redacted], right after that or shortly after that?

Randolph: YES, ~~The~~ FEPC was ~~the~~ SET UP AND BEGAN ~~the~~ FUNCTIONING.

20 J.S.: And when was that formed? [redacted]

Randolph: ~~That~~ It was formed as a result o ~~f~~ this ORDER. ~~As a matter of fact it was ~~ex~~ formed on a basis of the ~~[illegible]~~ issuance of ~~itself, this executive order~~.

21 J.S.: So, it followed right after? YES, MEMBERS WERE APPOINTED TO THE COMMITTEE BY THE PRESIDENT WITH ~~A~~ AN OFFICE FORCE.

Randolph: That's right. And following ~~that~~ the setting up of the FEPC ~~, why~~, I felt that we needed to make this AGENCY ~~a~~ permanent. ~~and that we needed~~ I BEGAN A CAMPAIGN to mobilize public opinion FOR A PERMANENT FEDERAL FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE. ~~WE BEGAN A CAMPAIGN FOR A FEDERAL FEPC~~.

22 J.S.: Now the PERMANENT EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981 was in '48. Was ISSUED BY PRESIDENT ~~that a threat to~~ Truman, [redacted]..

Randolph: It wasn't a threat to Truman, ~~but~~ WELL it was a statement to him on the mood of the Negroes throughout the nation with respect to the manner in which they were treated in the armed forces. I called ~~the~~ A committee OF NEGRO LEADERS together and ~~also~~ requested a conference with ~~the~~ President Truman; he granted it. Charles Houston, who was then the legal spokesman for the NAACP at that time, was a part of ~~it~~ the group.

Randolph: We had about twenty. ~~And so~~ At a certain stage of the conference, I ~~told~~ said to the President, "Now, Mr. President, I want to tell you about my experience on a recent trip that I made around the country talking on the question of discrimination in the armed forces. I may say to you that I discovered that the Negro today is in no mood to shoulder a gun again in defense of this country so long as he is not a full-fledged citizen of the country and recognized as such in the armed forces. In other words, they were insisting upon the total abolition of discrimination in ~~total in~~ the armed forces. ~~They~~ Negroes had fought and given their lives in wars through out the years, and now they want to fight as free men in a free army of the United States of America."

23 J.S.: What was his response to that?

Randolph: His response was, he nervously said, " Mr. Randolph, I wish you hadn't made that statement, it grieves me." And Charles Houston, who was the attorney for the NAACP replied and said, "Mr. President, you ought to be happy that you have somebody like Mr. Randolph who has the courage to come here and tell you that, otherwise you wouldn't know about ~~that~~ it. And you can't tell what explosion make take place in the hearts and minds of people oppressed such as ~~they~~ Negroes are when they know they are fighting for the country and have been fighting for the country from ~~the~~ its very foundation to the present time, and are still jim-crowed in the United States Army. So, he sat there for a while and he looked around at ~~us~~ me and he said, "Mr. Randolph, tell me more about this question." ~~And so~~ I began then to tell him the whole story, ~~and~~ I said, "we have about twenty people in this committee to talk with you, but may I assure you that

this question touches the hearts of millions of black people throughout this nation, and they are comitted to the idea of Negroes fighting as free men and full-fledged citizens in the armed forces of the nation. We had planned to have a picture taken with him, I requested it. But the excitement and tense feeling that ensued resulted in the abrupt ending of the conference.

24 J.S.? This was in the year that was after the war? '48.

Randolph: That's right.

25 J.S.: In other words the black community was fighting gallantly on a restrictive basis during the entire war?

Randolph: Oh yes, they were Jim Crowed all the time. As a matter of fact they won heroic honors in the first Second World War.

26 J.S.: That I know, but I didn't realize that it was only after the war...?

Randolph: When He issued this order, and I received a copy of it in Denver Colorado, I was out there carrying on a program for the Brothers of the Sleeping-car Porters, when I got it I presented it for the people to see and they were overjoyed to hear about it. So these were two very significant confrontations. They bore fruit.

27 J.S.: Well, now, Sir, at that time was there a coalition with labor?

Randolph: There was not a coalition with labor.

28 J.S.: Labor was not a part of this.

Randolph: That's right. At that time, I was also involved in the fight against discrimination in the labor unions and of course we had not been affiliated with the AFL too long, we became affiliated in 1929 so that we didn't have a coalition principle to apply at that time, but there were men in labor who were sympathetic with our ideals, ~~Our programs and proposals but I knew that we had to show the President Roosevelt and also President Truman that black workers, black people in the army themselves, were demanding this change with respect to the recognition of Negroes in this country.~~

29 J.S.: Sir, during the Roosevelt era wasn't there a coalition among the "Have nots" against the "Haves." Or were the Negroes still excluded from the Have Not coalition.

Randolph: Negroes have not ~~been upon the~~ had a place in the coalition until recent years. I may say that out of Executive Order 8802, we began to develop the coalition. For instance, I set up a national movement for a federal employment practice law, and we had as a part of that effort some of the distinguished people of this country. I recall we had a meeting in one of the leading hotels in this city and at that meeting we had a number of prominent citizens such as Nelson Rockefeller. He was not governor then, David Sarnoff, and Rosenberg, Max Dielson, a prominent attorney, and a number of other distinguished citizens.

we had Anna Rosenberg, we had the President of the National Broadcasting Company, Sarnoff, we had, then, he was not Governor, but he was an active person whom I knew very well, Nelson Rockerfeller, and we had one of the leading people of the country, I've forgotten his name now, it has been quite a while, and in other words it was a magnificent demonstration of the concern of people who had means and prestige and in the nation about the idea of fair employment practice, And, I know that one young man who worked with me on it was the son of Dr. Cohen of City College, Felix Cohen, Morris Cohen's son.

He felt that we had a brilliant group of men working on tactics and strategy to get federal law for fair employment practice written and on the statute books of United States of this country, and it was making headway. As a matter of fact, I don't say this boastfully, but the fair employment practice laws we have now, that a part of the legislation of 1964 is the result of this movement. As a matter of fact, they never would have raised the question had there not been this precedent in the states. As a matter of fact we had fair employment practice laws in city after city throughout the country and also state after state, but not federal. So that this really represented the basis of the 1964 law.

J.S.: And that's still all we now have at the present time.

Randolph: That's right.

31 J.S: Well, now you carried on all of these activities through the non-violent approach?

Randolph: Through the non-violent approach; that's right. Take for instance, the fight for the fair employment practice law, I purposely excluded membership of all white people in the committee and I did that because I knew that the communists were extremely active among Negroes at that time and they would penetrate the committee and eventually take it over, because they were far more active and persistent than the other people were.

32 J.S.: Were there any black communists?

Randolph: They had black communists and I knew most of them, but I didn't know very many communists. ~~the white as well as I knew them. I knew how to control them and keep them from taking over, but the white communist I didnt know so well and so I excluded all white~~ I did not accept any white people ~~who were~~ members, and I was told that there was a great concern about my being a socialist and excluding communists from membership in this committee--I've always been a socialist, you know--so I said, "Well, being a socialist I know the communists, I know their tactics, I know their strategies, I know their methods ~~determinations~~, when and how they plan ~~want~~ to take over something, how they do it. And therefore, I knew the only way to keep them from ~~doing it~~ breaking up or taking it over was to keep them of out the committee, I knew that of course, no doubt, some of them in various parts of the country would penetrate the committee any way.

33 J.S.: This committee was known ~~as what~~ officially as the

Randolph: Fair Employment Practice Committee.

34 J.S: You left out all white people.

Randolph: Left out all white people as a part of that movement but after we got that Executive Order and we planned to make it national, and in order to secure to ~~have~~ a Federal Law ~~well~~ then I ~~sought~~ worked ~~in order~~ to mobilize all the forces we could. Of course, we didn't ever bother with the Communists, ~~but we had meetings, for instance, take the same man now who is on the Supreme Court, Judge Thurgood Marshall, Felix Cohen, and Max Nelson, all these were noted lawyers. And we had Anna Rosenberg and these people worked with me closely in developing public opinion, public forces.~~

35 J.S.: ~~Before the issuance of the order?~~

Randolph: ~~After the order. Because we then began working on getting a permanent Federal law.~~

36 J.S.: You brought in all the white people, but before you did not have the white people.

Randolph: ~~Before we didn't~~ ... EVENTUALLY, WE BROUGHT IN ALL WHITE LIBERALS WHO WERE INTERESTED. IN OUR PREVIOUS STRUGGLES WE HAD ONLY WHITE LIBERAL SUPPORT.

37 J.S.: ~~While you were organizing the March?~~

Randolph: That's right.

38 J.S.: That's very important.

Randolph: Because I knew enough about the strategy and the tactics of the communists to know that they can out wit the average group...

39 J.S.: It was only because of the communists.

Randolph: Only because of the communists.

40 J.S.: Sir, in connection with that then, I'll like to ask your view about this separation movement that we have in the black community to strengthen themselves and then have integration when there is equality, ~~s~~ rathern than at the present time?

Randolph: Well, I think this is sort of a natural reaction on the part of some Negroes against what they feel white racism will do to the cause of Negroes and they feel that in order to be sure that the program and objectives of Negroes that Negroes themselves alone should have control over Civil Rights Movements ~~the~~ scene. I don't believe that that's a sound principle, myself. I believe in the principle of the coalition because there's more power in the coalition then in Negroes relying ~~solely~~ upon their power alone. In other words a coalition of allies. For instance, the coalition of labor, of the Jewish Community, of the Catholic forces, and of the liberal groups. I believe that ~~those~~ these forces represent more power and can achieve more significant objectives than Negroes can achieve alone. Take for instance,

this fight against Haynsworth, Judge Haynsworth. The reasonsfor the success in that fight was the coalition of ~~the~~ Negro forces, the American Federation of Labor and other labor groups, JEWISH and the liberal forces. Had it not been for this coalition, we never could have won.

J.S.: 41 Carswell too.

Randolph: And the Carswell case is similar. So that I, at the same time, I can understand ~~why~~ why you have this upsurge of the Negro masses for control of the machinery and program in the interest of their liberation, this is the natural ~~thing~~ OF ANY OPPRESSED GROUP. ~~[redacted]~~... White racism created that condition because of the feeling on the part of SOME Negroes that they couldn't trust the white ~~people~~ ~~forces~~ FRIENDS to fight honestly and effectively ~~[redacted]~~ ~~they couldn't if they would~~ because they don't FULLY understand AND FEEL the problem OF BLACK AMERICANS. ~~as they felt~~. ~~This is the young group~~. I think that this was naturally the result of the TRAGIC lot of Negroes in the South, AND PRACTICALLY IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. ~~the manner in which they have met their problems in various of the country~~, But that is not ~~[redacted]~~ TRUE all Negroes by any means. ~~[redacted]~~... The more militant groups like the Black Panthers ARE COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE INTERRACIAL ACTION AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT. ~~have that attitude and feeling and I say~~ ~~say that~~ The Black Panthers ~~are created~~ WERE--were created by white racism in this country. They represent an awakening too, ~~and~~ they, however, believe that the most effective ~~methodology~~ TACTIC AND STRATEGY is violence. ~~and~~ They've been influenced, incidentally, by THE REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OF Mao ~~Tse Tung, and the doctrine of the Chinese revolutionists~~ NAMELY that freedom flows out of the mouth of the gun. But I think this is a passing attitude and feeling, ~~and~~ It is not dissimilar FROM THE RADICALS AND REVOLUTIONISTS OF

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
AN THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ARE COMMITTED TO THE
COALITION IN THE FIGHT FOR RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.
PRINCIPLE OF ~~[redacted]~~ NON-VIOLENT ACTION

~~to~~ the early history of America. You had for instance the Haymarket massacre 1886 in Chicago where the workers resorted to violence. You had the Molly McGuires in the mining areas of Pennsylvania during ~~and for instance when~~ the Reconstruction Period, thousands of Negroes were murdered by the ~~Klans~~ the Klu Klux Klan. Many were burned alive in the streets of the South ~~from all over the country~~.

42 J.S.: And there were also Negro soldiers killed ~~who murdered~~ whites when attacked ~~in the XXXXXX~~ upon their return from the first & second ~~30's and 40's~~. World Wars.

Randolph: Oh yes, exactly and so that this militaney of violence is not racial it ~~is~~ not unprecedented. It's a part of American History and white America should have known that this period black revolt was coming because it is impossible ~~to murder~~ to disfranchise, and treat negros ~~LIKE~~ as second-class citizens ~~to keep people from making progress in~~ the ~~interest of the maintenance of their rights~~ without provoking a reaction from them. In other woreds action is equal to reaction in contrary direction. This Black Revolution now abroad in the land ~~It~~ was just as ~~XXXXXXX~~ inevitable as that a ball will bounce back when you throw it against ~~the~~ a hard wall. Now white America should have known that, now ~~and here~~ it has come up against this black uprising ~~it now~~ and there is no way to do anything to stop ~~about~~ it until it expendes its force and, of course, that will come, too.

43 J.S.: Now, you feel, Sir, that the violence is self-defeating. ~~X XXXXXX

Violence is inevitable because one strikes back when he is a victim of oppression and in other words it is not a volitional thing; it is not something that people go off and plan. It's inevitable. In other words, where there is pain there is reaction. And black people have been the object of social pain, and racial abuse ~~pain for all these years, and it was inevitable that this form of reaction would come.~~ almost a half thousand years are as certain to rise up against it with violence as the night follows the day. But I don't believe that violence is a rational and effective weapon to achieve constructive and creative social change.

J.S.: Now, Sir, do you have a positive feeling toward certain aspects of black power that we talk about.

Randolph: Well, now black power ~~is~~ was a natural outgrowth of the plight of the Negro who believe that if they are going to have emancipation they must be emancipated by their own power. And, this ~~way~~ route is not unusual. You have had the same thing for a long time, labor looked to the liberals and at looked to the church to help them ~~heat~~ solve their problems but they finally understood and realized that labor must build its own power. Labor power to fight for the protection of its ~~xxxxx~~ rights. But now labor realizes that it, too, ~~looks to~~ needs public opinion in support of its cause and the Negroes, a great mass of ~~Negroes~~ them, are not committed to ~~xxx~~ black power.

J.S.: They're not?

Randolph: No, not the great mass of Negroes. A matter of fact they know very little about it. But of course, if you sit down and talk to them, they will agree that the Negro should have their own power, black power—if you will, they feel that's necessary.

J.S.: 46 You agree with that too?

Randolph: I agree with that too that they must have their own power but not use that power on a basis of bias, racial bias. In other words, there is no more excuse for racial bias against another person than there is excuse for another' person's bias against me.

J.S.: 47 Sir, you believe in ethnic consciousness, group ethnic consciousness?

Randolph: Oh yes, I believe in group ethnic consciousness, I think there is no way for survival as a matter of fact, without group ethnic consciousness, But I believe that every group should understand the limitations of its power and in order to increase its power it should develop the principle of coalition. There are other forces in the community that are in the same position of Negroes. Take the Jews, for instance, Take the Catholics, take labor; labor is by no means in possession of all the rights they ARE ENTITLED TOO received and consequently, labor needs the coalition of black people, Of Jewish people, of Irish Catholics and so forth so that in my opinion, I believe that we did quite a bit in giving strength and force to the principle of coalition in the fight for Fair Employment Practice because we brought in the various sources to help us carry on this battle.

J.S.: 48 But in many activities today, Mr. Randolph, the white people are not welcome?

Randolph: Yes, Oh yes. There are many groups that... DIS/RUS/ALL WHITE PEOPLE

J.S.: 49 Not alone the Panthers.

Randolph: No, No, not alone the Panthers. There are other groups too. ...and this is another fact, the result of this reaction against white racism which is inevitable and natural but any tactic can be carried to such a point as to exhaust its utility and its value in achieving its objective. In other words, when you develop a tactic which isolates you from the forces of freedom, you will suffer from it, and no person who is seeking freedom can afford to separate himself from the forces of people WHO ARE ALSO FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM and this is what any kind of extreme racial or religious or nationality program will do.

J.S.: 50 Now with respect to that, Mr. Randolph, in appealing or protesting in your distinguished career, did you find that there were times when you deal in terms of humanity, democracy, and other times in terms of the specific black group?

Randolph: Yes, I did, for instance, you take this Fair Employment Practice principle as applied. I applied that principle to the Negroes throughout the country as I talked to them, I said, 'how, about the fight that you've got to wage If we carry 100,000 Negroes to Washington you've got to make up this group and march there yourself, because you are the victim of discrimination."

J.S.: 51 But there are times, aren't there when you have to appeal for human rights as such?

Randolph: Oh, yes, as a matter of fact, I don't think that there's anytime when you can actually separate the whole cause of human rights as such from any section of a struggle for human rights because you impoverish your movement when you do that and you weaken it. And this is the reason why, for instance, today, I think that the alliance between Negroes and organized labor is a very powerful force.

J.S.: Is there an alliance?

Randolph: There is an alliance at work today--at the present time. In other words, in this fight against Haynsworth & Carswell and in this fight for Fair Employment Practice Commission ...during the period when we were fighting for it in the Congress. President Johnson, (he knew that Negroes, LIBERALS, the Church Forces and labor were fighting for this principle) and he was sympathetic with the fight and the same thing was true with President Kennedy. We knew that there was this coalition. Now at one time, we didn't have that coalition.

J.S.: Between Labor and...

Randolph: Between Labor and the Negro because we didn't have any Negroes in the labor movement of any consequence. ...Representatives of the Brotherhood of the Sleeping-Car Porters were perhaps the first actual delegates of any consequence that were active

in the AFL Conventions from time to time.

Now, there were Negroes in AFL from the very beginning, that is a few. But when we organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters and went into the AFL why, we had a program, our program was to breakdown racial bias in the union of the AFL. There was no ~~It wasn't the~~ CIO then, it was the AFL only and we fought to that end and although ~~where~~ we didn't get any cooperation of any consequence, we did get the opportunity to state our case. In ~~the~~ convention after convention...

J.S.: You still have some unions that are discriminating?

Randolph: You do have some unions, but ~~now I'm a member of and~~ its against that policy of the AFL-CIO and action will be taken ~~executive~~ to abolish it. I don't think we have a better and a more effective supporter of the cause of Negro freedom, the abolition of racial discrimination than George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO

J.S.: Well, you and he had some struggle?

Randolph: He has not always had that attitude, but he not only has it now but fights for it. And he is a man of ~~some~~ much power. I have highest respects for him because even when he was an opponent of mine, he was honest and expressed his opinion about problems.

He took the Board position that it was necessary for the workers in this country to work together in order to achieve their objectives. I have a lot of respect for him, ~~and~~ I always took the position that he had power, that you had to get him to work with it, and he ~~has done~~ is doing that. OF COURSE, THE FIGHT TO WIPE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION MUST AND WILL GO ON AND THE FIGHT WILL WIN.

J.S.: 16 Sometime we talk about the use of benign quotas in order to eliminate the tipping point, you know, when it comes of one race? You have any views on the bengin quota idea on housing for ~~xxx~~ instance? It is principally applied in housing. The end is integration but the means that is ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ taken is....

Randolph: Well, I think that the Negroes of the country will go along with other groups have to utilize whatever strength they have to help abolish all forms of discrimination. Whether it be religious, racial, POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC whatever it may be, because we will HAVE MORAL ~~profit~~ STRENGTH where there is no discrimination and we will be the victims where there is discrimination. To achieve that END we must fight for it, and I believe the Negroes have made some success in=this struggle, AND THEY ARE DETERMINED TO FIGHT ON UNTIL VICTORY IS WON NOT ONLY FOR THE NEGRO BUT FOR ALL AMERICANS. You take the NAACP, under the leadership of Roy Wilkins who is a very ~~xxxxxx~~ abled ~~man~~ LEADER. and dedicated. The same thing ~~with~~ MAY BE SAID ABOUT Whitney Young of the Urban League, THERE ARE NUMEROUS BLACK LEADERS ~~Committed~~ ~~he is another~~ committed to racial and social justice, and they are making headway. We and the Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters were perhaps a little more aggressive than they were because we had ~~a~~ NO MONEY AND WAS FOUGHT BY GREAT CORPORATE POWER, THE PULLMAN COMPANY. hard problem to deal with. But I'm proud of the record ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that Negroes are making fighting for thier own rights and fighting also for the whole ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxx~~ scope of human decency and liberalism, racial and social justice.

J.S.: 57 I gather ~~XXXXX~~ you would look with suspicion on this benign quota idea?

Randolph: Oh, yes, we would not ~~believe~~ have any part of benign neglect, whatever that means, that....

J.S.: 58 All quotas, are malignant?

Randolph: Exactly, that's right. Now, the Jewish forces have been a great support to Negroes. One thing about the Jewish forces is they have a broad concept of racial and social justice and they fought for it and they have ~~can~~ won battle after battle, and I'm opposed to any form of anti-Semitism, and any form of anti-Catholicism. Let. also observe that Negroes are not anti-Semitic. But many of them are anti-white and they consider Jews to be white.

J.S.: 59 What is the condition of black/Jewish relationship that we are worrying about recently?

Randolph: Well, I don't think that there is any widespread anti-Semitism among Negroes in the country. I think this a natural reaction of white racism and of course, Jews are recognized as white people~~xx~~ and they have contributed very freely to the life and work of Negroes. Take for instance, the beginning of the NAACP. ~~was~~ . . . ~~to some of the~~ Jewish leaders which among the small group of white ~~and one of the professors at Columbia University~~ who organized the NAACP. The first meeting to form the NAACP was held in ~~was held in his home~~ ~~in New York~~ one of the homes of Joel Spingarn, ~~former~~ (Armenia) He was a professor at Columbia University. ~~And if it can be said that there is such an Irish~~ ~~A thing as a Civil Rights Family in the country it is the Spingarn Family.~~

Jewish landlords and shop-keepers are no different from Black landlords and shop keepers.
Irish Catholic longshoreman are no different than Black longshoremen. Both are fighting to get the keeper off their backs.

and so the NAACP, if there is such a thing as civil rights family in this country, it is a Jewish family. Arthur Spingarn, President of the NAACP for quite a long time, he is still alive, is one of the faithful and unadulterated fighters for racial justice and Joe Spingarn was a man, who was at Columbia University for years and the first meeting of the organization of the NAACP was in his home upstate New York

J.S.: 60 Is this the same Spingarn or were there two Springarnes

Randolph: No there were two Springarne--Joe and Arthur--two brothers.

J.S.: 61 Oh, I see.

Randolph: I didn't know Joe Spingarne very well but I know Arthur Spingarn very well.

J.S.: 62 Now, we'had difficulty here in the New York area, a year and a half or two years ago on the techer situation. Whats your view?...

Randolph: I was involved in it to some extent. For instance, I took the position...I supported the teachers union, Shanker, LEADS ALBERT One reason for it was that I'm a labor man myself so he and I...I didn't believe that the problem, the racial aspect of the problem was as deep and significant as the teachers' aspect of the problem because the teachers aspect of the problem was based upon coalition, based upon unity of all teachers regard-

less of race or color, in a union fighting for all the members of that union regardless of race or color. ~~That was~~ Than the position of some of the black people who wanted to have only a black school with black teachers and who wanted to exclude white teachers not only Jewish but any other for that matter, WAS WHOLLY UNSOUND AND WAS DEFINITELY AGAINST THE INTEREST OF BLACK TEACHERS WHO LIKE WHITE TEACHERS NEEDE UNION TO FIGHT FOR DECENT SALARIES AND WORKING CONDITIONS In other words it was a surge of so-call black racialism ~~and~~ which considered ~~it~~ unsound and joined in carrying an ad in the New York Times on that matter, ~~XXXX~~ Bayard Rustin who is one of the able leaders of the Negroes had the courage to stand up ~~for~~ on this ~~thing~~ ISSUE, But you know, ~~now I~~ AS A LEADER OF LABOR, ~~being on the~~ executive council of ~~a~~ the AFLCIO, I consider it an obligation for me to take a sound position on a labor question regardless of the race, religion, nationality and this does not mean that I don't recognize the limitations of some labor people on the matter of race. There are some who don't have the full conception of the scope of the labor movement itself. But as I was about to say, I am on that executive council of AFLCIO and I don't recall... AS I look over THE COUNCIL ~~there isn't~~ a single man sitting around that table who reflects the principle ~~of like~~ OF racism. There is not one sitting around here and of course ~~x~~ I am talking about various problems THAT ARISE from time to time. But I have a high regard and admiration for these men ~~and~~ But, of course, at one time, I was A STORMY PETREL ON THE COUNCIL AND IN THE AFL-CIO CONVENTIONS ON THE RACE QUESTION. and that was necessary at that time because the idea of Negroes fighting for various things was PRACTICALLY unknown, ~~don't you, and the~~ know idea of MYSELF getting on the executive council, ~~but, now right~~ AT A TIME WHEN I WAS ~~in~~ in the midst for instance, of ~~the~~ a conflict between George Meany and myself, George Meany made me a member of the executive council as a result of a request by one of the international vice-presidents, THE LATE MILTON P. WEBSTER FIRST INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS.

~~of~~ my organization, ~~the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters~~. He said that he would give it consideration, He presented it to other members of the council and it resulted in putting me on.

J.S.: 63 You notice a back lash, a white ~~XXX~~ backlash?

Randolph: Yes, I think there is a ~~black~~ white backlash; white is A REACTION TO BLACK BACK-LASH - THIS IS THE MECHANICS OF SOCIAL ACTION AND THE PROCESS IS INEVITABLE ~~, now, that's inevitable too.~~

J.S.: 64 Now, which group is this?

Randolph: I think THE BLACK-BACKLASH IS against all white people

J.S.: 65 All of or certain sections?

Randolph: ~~XXXX~~ Well, I wouldn't say all of them but where you have an expression of antagonism against the group, ~~then~~ the members of that group will strike back. It doesn't make any difference who they may be, just as the antagonism against Negroes and black people that has brought on this backlash from Negroes against whites, and the backlash of Negroes against whites is provoking a backlash from whites against blacks. And this is an unfortante form of confrontation don't you know, which has got to be dealt with with some judgment and sound tactics and strategy that will prevent devastating explosions.

J.S.: 66 Okay, Sir, now inconnection with that, this integration question that we've talked about a great deal, Some ~~of~~ ~~the~~ pushed ~~of~~ in that direction does produce a backlash--the bussing of children? What's your views about integration as a goal immediately?

Randolph: Well, I'm in favor of integration of schools, I'm in favor of integration of American life as such. I believe that separation tends to feed fires of racial antagonism, and to bring about the conditions for a real backlash, ~~Because~~ If you huddle all Negroes together here ~~at Harlem~~ in a ghetto and deny them decent housing, schools and jobs ~~and so forth, why,~~ there ~~was~~ is going to be a revulsion against it and that revulsion doesn't ~~pick~~ relate ~~out~~ any particular ~~white~~ racial group, ~~but it's revolution against white people as such~~ of citizens in the area. whether they be Jews, or Catholics ~~or Irish or Labor~~ business workers and even other Negroes. or whoever ~~they maybe. the great masses of Negroes in the streets, they don't make any discrimination. They believe that white people as such are against black people.~~ Of course of blacks against whites is the ~~Well, now that's a~~ result of ~~these long years~~ centuries of this persecution and oppression of the Negro. People don't fight each other because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they fight each other. And they fight each other because they don't know each other, and they don't know each other because they don't associate with each other. They don't associate with each other because their minds have been poisoned against each other by ~~XXXX~~ false propaganda and consequently, ~~you~~ Americans, white and black, will have a long ~~problem~~ period of education. ~~A long~~ A difficult problem involving the problem of the propagation of sound ideas and ideals indicating that ~~man~~ a human being is a

By emphasizing the idea of two different societies with implications of racial inferiority. It affects every group to win the fight for racial integration. But the fight can must and will be won.

~~pick~~

priceless jewel in society regardless of race, color or religion

J.S.: 67 Now, you've had this view on the part of some black leaders — at the present time, give us quality education where we are; give us good schools and good teachers, we'll take care of ourselves later on. We don't have to sit next to to a white person, there's nothing great about that. That's what some of them are saying.

Randolph: But as Americans, I think that we want schools for Americans not for black Americans, not for white Americans, not for Jewish Americans or Irish Americans but for Americans.

J.S.: 68 That's correct, the 1954 decision was based on it.

Randolph: Exactly, and I think that the position of some the black propagandists is entirely unsound when they carry on a program in the interest of separation or segregation. For instance, if you do that, in as much as all the power is in the hands of the whites they can exclude the Negroes from those agencies, forces that can make for developing competency and ability, strength, to help him raise himself in the American community so that segregation is self-defeating for people who aredown at the bottom already. Why are they down there. It is because they have been segregated from the beginning of their coming to this country. They have been

segregated from the educational forces, the religious forces, political forces, economic, and so forth. Now, you don't want to continue that and keep them down by perpetuating this policy of segregation. So I think that segregation is basically unsound and this does not mean that Negroes may not have developed any kind of religious movement, artistic movement, [redacted] of any sort just like the Jews, just like the Irish Catholics, just like other groups but when you come down to the matter of a school system where you're moulding the minds of people, why, their minds must be strengthened and their minds will not be strengthened if there is the idea [redacted]..in their minds that they are inferior to other people, that they don't have the rights of other people. And segregation is a living exhibition of the doctrine of racial inferiority.

J.S.: 69 You don't separate in your mind then, the legal distinction de jure and de facto segregation that we've been arguing about. You have

Randolph: de facto segregation on a basis of locality--housing. You have de jure segregation in the south. Well, de jure segregation in the South must be abolished [redacted] and de facto segregation in the North ought to be abolished.

J.S.: 70 How?

Randolph: By giving Negroes a right to live wherever they want to live.

J.S.: 71 It's the housing?

Randolph: Exactly. And there is nothing sounder than that.

J.S.: 72 But you see in Manhattan 75% of the children in the public schools are either black or Puerto Rican; the whites are somewhere else.

Randolph: The whites have gone into the better areas of New York and have gone into these areas on a basis of their economic power. Negroes don't have that economic power, they don't have the purchasing power, if they can't pay the rent...

J.S.: 73 You always felt economic basis as being paramount in the whole situation?

Randolph: Because that's the real basis of power, whereas you can talk about black power and the idea is perfectly understandable how it came about. You would in certain instances, no doubt, where people would speak about Jewish power or Catholic power but when you come down to the analysis, you will find that power is based upon the ability of individuals to buy and purchase that which they need and that which will advance their social, economic and various conditions. So that, I think, this is one of the reasons I started to organize The Pullman Porters because I doubt that we needed to have a stronger base in labor and industry. And, I be-

lieve our union has made great progress in that respect because we have not only fought for the Pullmon Porters but we have fought for black workers as such to be integrated in the whole movement of labor and industry and progress is being made in that respect. We have more than two million Negroes now in the AFLCIO.

J.S.: 74 And you feel that's an important channel?

Randolph: Exactly. I remember the time when we joined the AFLCIO, I doubt that they had 100,000 Negroes.

J.S.: 75 What about black capitalism?

Randolph: Black capitalism, I think that Negroes ought to develop businessess just like anybody else, and in my opinion, however, black capitalism is not the solution of the problem.

J.S.: 76 I know, but you were talking about labor and economics, now how about capitalism?

Randolph: That's right. I believe, however, Negroes ought to develop businesses.

J.S.: 77 There are many black leaders who refute the concept of black capitalism.

Randolph: Well, I don't think that black capitalism is the solution

of the problem by any means because capitalism has been developed to such an extent that it's impossible for any group to come in today and become a factor, a force in the capitalist world, who do not have either the means or the technique or the knowledge and ability, don't you see when you go into the field of capitalism where you have these large shifts and so forth in the economy--inflation, recession and so forth--no Negro capitalist can withstand these forces and consequently, this is not the road to economic freedom. At the same time, I wouldn't get up on the platform and tell Negroes they shouldn't go into business. One day they can go into business if they want to and they ought to go into business in various areas.

J.S.: 78 Well you emphasize the labor aspect.

Randolph: Yes, but I am principally concerned about the workers. Now you take in the South, you have a number of Negroes in various businesses especially insurance people, and they make great progress, but in a high organized capitalist system such as this country has, not even a new group fo white people can come up and make any great headway in various areas of capitalism. Take steel. How many groups of white people can come up and make headway in developing a steel system - they just can't do it.

J.S.: 79 Well, we were talking about small capitalism--merchants and things like that.

Randolph: Well, I think that's just a drop in the bucket. Now, for instance, I tell these Negroes from time to time, if you want to develop business, go out and work with the Jewish people because they know business and I say, now, this is a practical thing and you can go forward when you get into a business and you watch it and become a part of it and you are trained and this is the opportunity that the Jewish people can give Negroes and they are willing to do it, but now you take for instance, steel and railroads, how many groups of white people today can start a steel corporation or railroad or coal company.

J.S.: 80 No, it's out of the question.

Randolph: They just don't have the means. Not only do they Not have the means, they don't have the knowledge and consequently its a false road down which Negroes are being told to go.

J.S.: 81 Tell me, if you are to indicate in terms of your experience, a grand strategy to alleviate this evil that we're talking about, now what would you say?

RandolpH:: Well, I would say that Negroes work to become a part of the American Community as a full fledge citizen utilizing the privileges of the ballot, electing Negroes to offices and setting their heights at the top with all other people in the American community and that they should go into the schools and become technologists, they should master various fields of education such as medicine and

all of the various technical...

J.S.: 82 Inner- ments group develop, is what you're saying?

Randolph: As a part of the American industrial life. Not trying to set up a Negro steel company. Nothing of that sort, but to master the various trades and the various technological areas of American life and that can be done. In other words, I'm opposed to letting down the qualification bars for Negro applicants to enter college.

J.S.: 83 What is your view on that?

Randolph: My view is that Negroes should measure up to and face and effectively go through all of the qualifying courses that whites are required to go through in order to be eligible to enter the various colleges.

J.S.: 84 And, how do you increase the number of that?

Randolph: Well, I think the number has already been increasing and, as a matter of fact Negroes have been qualifying to enter college in this country before the civil war and why can't they qualify now. For instance, I had a brother who was a mathematician and if he had lived, he perhaps would be in the school of mathematics in Princeton, don't you know, or any of these various colleges. He had a genius for it, and many black boys have that genius. As a matter of fact, I think it's a sad commentary upon any black youngster who is required or asked to let down the bars of quali-

fication for entrance into a college. He ought to be glad to be able to meet or attempt to meet the standards and he can do it.

J.S.: 85 Shall we try to help him, to prepare him?

Randolph: Oh yes, take for instance, you have the SEEK course. Now that's perfectly a legitimate thing, but...take for instance, the Negroes in athletics, you can't require Negroes to be less competent as a short stop in order to become a member of the Yanks or the Mets, he's got to measure up with everybody else on the team otherwise he can't get on there and he shouldn't be permitted to get on there.if he can't measure to them.

J.S.: 86 This is the last question: The Kerner Report talked about separate societies as together side by side, we're tending and unequal, do you really feel that's what's happening?

Randolph: Well, I think you have currents moving in that direction, but you have also countercurrents moving in the direction of breaking down barriers based upon race and I think in the long run that the currents in the interest of breaking down barriers based upon race will win. That's my opinion, and I think that we, who are in the field of the struggle have an obligation and a moral responsibility to put into the minds of young black youths the fact that they are

Americans, they have the intellectual qualification to meet the standards that have been set up in this country to become anything they want to become--doctors, lawyers, economists, scientists, and they can become them, they are already becoming them.

J.S.: 87 Yes, Sir, that is true, but what do we do with the white people?

Randolph: The white people, of course, so far as I can see haven't started trying to keep the Negroes from coming into these colleges on the basis of their qualification.

J.S.: 88 I'm talking about their attitudes generally....

Randolph: The attitude is going to be changed by time and the struggle on the part of black people to change it. Black people will never stop struggling to change the existing system racism in America. They couldn't do it if they would. They can't stop fighting to eliminate white racism in this country even if they wanted to. Because the forces of oppression, the forces of racial discrimination so engender antagonism against racism that they Negroes are compelled to do everything they can to eliminate it racism. ~~And you [illegible] unless you are able to measure up to the standards of...~~

J.S.: 89 And you agree, do you not, that there has been considerable progress?

Randolph: ~~Oh, my!~~ considerable progress.

J.S.: 90 On the basis of your own history.

Randolph: Oh, yes, Negroes have made great progress in this country. You take the Negroes...I 've been around in various colleges in this country, I've talked to them and and there is no basic difference between a young black boy and a young white boy when it comes to developing the ability to do anything. You look at these Negroes in athletics, Some of the Negro athletes are getting $125,000 a year.

J.S.: 91 They used to be excluded....

Randolph: Exactly. I remember the time when they couldn't purchase in the of a park and so forth and I, you will know, organized a group of Negro ballplayers helping them to win their rights so I have no fear about the ability of the Negro to make progress. I have no fear at all. I have no doubt about it, I was sure of everything as I am, that young Negroes are going to make the same basic progress as young white boys. ~~The progress is sure of everything as I am of that. I'd be...~~

J.S.: 92 With respect to white, shall we work on attitudes in a white community or changing social conditions or both.

Randolph: We need to work on both because social conditions create attitudes and attitudes in turn reflect on social conditions. So that we need towork on both at the same time, and now there is this backlash among white people in various areas of the country; that's a natural thing. Negroes should have known that was going to happen but you can't stop fighting for your rights because it makes some people mad. And the Negroes, fortunately, are realizing that some of them have tactics and strategy that is self-defeating and this must be eliminated. Time will do that and the difficulties of struggle will build strength. You take our Brotherhood of the Sleeping-Car Porters. It took us forty years to build it. And we were alone, we didn't have any support from the powerful labor unions such as the AFL but in time they changed and so that now the organization is respected. Although we've lost a lot of members because the railways have been going down, I have no fear, or worry about the future of the young black boy. Conditions will make him move.

J.S.: 93 He's getting impatient.

Randolph: ...Impatience is inevitable, anyone who is struggling for his rights is going to meet with opposition. Opposition will create anger and so forth but you've got to overcome that. You take the Jews for instance in fighting for their homeland. No one has had any work in problem that the Jews have had and still have. I was in Palestine,

about five years ago.

J.S.: 94 After the six-day war?

Randolph: That's right, and I saw the people and I talked with Mrs. Meir and I had a wonderful time with Ben G urion, now these are people that would do anybody good to meet or see because they represent the elite of the earth.

J.S.: 95 People who have been massacred, been exterminated...

Randolph: Who faced the fires of hatred and opposition and have overcome same. And now you take people who have gone through such as that they are entitled to the support of the world.

And you take the Negro, the Negro has gone through perhaps as excruitiating or torture exterminating a quality of life of any people in the world. They are on the same basis of the Jews You take four hundred years of slavery and one hundred years of segregation which is still not eliminated. The Negroes deserve a lot of respect from the world as such for the role they played here and as a matter of fact they have never become anarchists and it is to their credit that they haven't becuase they couldn't survive if they had. They don't have the power, they don't have the number s and so forth and furthermore it is wrong, you can't win trying to tear down and pull somebody else down but Negroes are moving forward, they are marching forward, and I'm proud of them. I know that I won't live to see it, but I know that they are becoming free and first-class citizens. They are first-class citizens now

on the books, but they are in the process of having a realization o f this and it's bound to come and people like yourself [redacted] have contributed to this.

J.S.: 96 Thank you, Sir.

Randolph: And I have a lot of Jewish friends and I spend a lot of time with the Jewish [redacted] Daily Forewor[redacted] group. I speak on the corners all over New York for the socialist party.

J.S.: 97 Oh yes, did you know Eugene V. Debs.

Randolph: Oh yes, Eugene V. Debs came to Harlem to speak for my wife. She was running on the socialist ticket for membership in the state legislature in New York; he came here and spoke for her. And, Eugene V. Debs and myself were arrested by the same Federal agents in Cleveland and so that I have his history and I think that we have to...Negroes have the responsibility of helping to make America great and helping to keep her great, [redacted] In order to keep America great, America must realize that everybody in America must be free--black and white together and when people are free, when people have the opportunity to live upon the basis of their ability and so forth [redacted] when they have a [redacted] right to education, they are going to win; they are going to win.

J.S. 98 Mr. Randolph, I am very grateful to you, this has been a most significant interview and for me historic occasion and all Americans are grateful to you.

4588 Dickson
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
May 13, 1990

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I am sending you a copy of the term paper I prepared for my course "Radicalism and Reform" taught by Prof. Richard Polenberg. I would appreciate reading any comments you might have.

I realize that you are quite busy. Yet as a Black student in recent American History, I could not resist trying to get some remarks from you, a true maker of this history.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Fran Marie Dogan

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH:
PHILOSOPHER OF THE BLACK MASSES?

Frances Marie Dogan
History 480
May 5, 1970

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: PHILOSOPHER OF THE BLACK MASSES?

During the 1940's, there seem to have been definite changes in the philosophy of A. Philip Randolph. It would be interesting to consider those changes and possible reasons for them. For by doing this we can determine not only the consistency or inconsistency of his philosophy, but also whether or not it was geared toward the Black masses. That is, we can attempt to determine whether the strategies espoused by A. Philip Randolph were understood and accepted by the masses; whether A. Philip Randolph was the philosopher of the Black masses throughout the 1940's.

In 1941, Randolph, as spokesman for the MOWM, stressed the importance of "direct action, mass action, and, of course, always, non-violent action" in order to "project the cause of the Negro into the main stream of public opinion."[1] Thus, Randolph called for a nonviolent mass march on Washington to protest discrimination in the armed forces and national defense. He saw mass action as important because "...it places human beings in physical motion which can be felt, seen and heard. Nothing stirs and shapes public sentiment like physical action...All people feel, think and talk about a physical formation of people whoever they may be."[2] Randolph seems to have believed, at this time, that negotiations and persuasion had failed. Nothing less than a massive demonstration against Jim Crow would get the attention the problem deserved. As Sterne writes:

> This was no time, in Philip Randolph's opinion, to carry on thestruggle in the old slow ways of education, persuasion and legal action. For the leaders of the old organizations merely to speak

> out was not enough. For the federal government to counsel patience was not enough. 3

Only the pressure exerted by a massive organizarion of Blacks would lead Roosevelt to issue the desired executive order.

In building up this organization, in preparing for the MOW, A. Philip Randolph appears to have shown much concern for the place of the masses in the movement. He asserted that:

> Mass social pressure in the form of marches and picketing will not only touch and arrest the attention of the powerful public officials but also the 'little man' on the street...mass efforts are a form of struggle for Negro rights in which all Negroes can participate, including the educated and the so-called uneducated, the rich and the poor. It is a technique and strategy which the 'little Negro' in the tavern, pool-room, on the streets, jitterbug, store-front preacher, and sharecropper, can use to help free the race. 4

Randolph elaborated on the importance of the 'little Negro' taking part in the movement when he stated:

> By fighting for these civil rights the Negro masses will be disciplined in struggle. Some of us will be put in jail and court battles may ensue but this will give the Negro masses a sense of their importance and value as citizens and as fighters in the Negro liberation movement and the cause for democracy as a whole...We must have every Negro realize his leadership ability...In the March on Washington Movement the highest is as low as the lowest and the lowest is as high as the highest. Numbers in mass formation is our key, directed, of course by the collective intelligence of the people. 5

Thus, even though Randolph managed to get the support of the NAACP, the

Urban League, and voters' leagues, he depended on and courted the support of the Black masses.[6] He wanted to use the simple tactics of marching and picketing to draw out the 'little Negro.' That his philosophy is, in 1941-1942, appealing to the masses is made more evident in his "Keynote Address to the Policy Conference of the March on Washington Movement." In the speech he again referred to the necessary job of organizing millions of Blacks and of having "huge demonstrations because the world is used to big dramatic affairs."[7] Moreover, he stated as part of the MOWM program:

> The mobilization and proclamation of nation-wide series of mass marches on the City-Halls and City Councils to awaken the Negro masses and center public attention upon the grievances and goals of the Negro people and serve as training and discipline of the Negro masses for the more strenuous struggle of a March on Washington, if, as, and when an affirmative decision is made thereon by the Negro masses of the country...[8]

Randolph, in this address, continued to show that his philosophy was one directed toward and centered around the masses. He called for an educational program "developed around the struggle of the Negro masses," so that the masses "can be given a practical and pragmatic view of the mechanics and function of our government and the significance of mass political pressure."[9] His philosophy, in 1941-1942, expressed much confidence in the masses, in their collective, organized wisdom. He maintained that, "Power and pressure do not reside in the few, the intelligentsia, they lie and flow from the masses. Power does not even rest with the masses as such. Power is the active principle of only the organized masses, the masses united for a definite purpose."[10] In order to unite the masses, as we have stated, he realized that he must keep his strategy and tactics simple enough for the 'little Negro' to comprehend them. Also, Randolph, during these years, saw that he needed to limit the number of aims of the

MOWM. Actually, the MOWM finally rallied around one issue, the end of discrimination in national defense, because this was of great importance to the masses. In his "Call to Negro America to March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense on July 1, 1941", Randolph stated that:

> The Negroes' stake in national defense is big. It consists of jobs, thousands of jobs. It may represent millions, yes, hundreds of millions of dollars in wages. It consists of new industrial opportunities and hope. This is worth fighting for.
>
> Most important and vital to all, Negroes by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATIONS IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS...AND NATIONAL DEFENSE. 11

Thus, as Garfinkel maintains, the "Call" contained a practical goal which rationalized the emotionality that A. Philip Randolph stirred and a program simple enough to be grasped by "ordinary masses of people" and within the powers of Roosevelt. to implement.[12]

In a letter to Black youth who wanted the march on Washington to take place in spite of the issuance of Executive Order 8802 and the creation of the FEPC, Randolph reiterated the reason for the simplicity of the objectives of the MOWM. He wrote that:

> These were objectives that the people could understand, visualize, and feel. These objectives were developed in harmony with sound mass psychology; namely that the people cannot struggle for an omnibus program with a multiplicity of aims, but must have one central and vital issue around which to rally... /3

and that:

> The Negro masses who want jobs now would have hurled curses upon the heads of the leaders of the Negro March-on-Washington Movement if they had sacrificed

> an immediate and practical opportunity to secure employment opportunities for Negro masses in defense industries in order to satisfy a handful of Negro youth who apparently were more interested in the drama and pyrotechnics of the march than in the basic and main issue of putting Negroes to work. 14

In mid-1942, A. Philip Randolph still appealed to the masses with his philosophy based on simple tactics and aims. In fact, in 1942 he comes up with the idea of "spectacular rallies" to serve as substitutes for the march. He seized upon the idea of the rallies because "Something was needed to sharpen the threats that a march would take place if action was not taken, something more pointed than a warning but less dangerous than a march."[15] To dramatize the meetings, Randolph and many of his associates used "street-corner talk". This "street-corner talk" also served the functions of being attuned to lower-class speech and communicating a sense of militancy. The success of Randolph's efforts to gather the 'little Negro' at these mass rallies is described in <u>When Negroes March</u>. We read:

> The meetings organized by the March in 1942 were mass rallies not only in their size but in their lower class composition and character. In New York, "The prominence of the porters gave the Rally a decidedly working class atmosphere..." In Chicago: "The crowd, made up of an overwhelming number of working men and women, responded with..a deafening ovation to a ringing demand by A. Philip Randolph...for the right of Negroes to participate equally in the defense program. 16

Randolph seems to have managed to put on a great demonstration of Black protest, "greater than anything therefore produced with the possible exception of the Garvey movement."[17] He had brought together an all-Black, preponderantly lower-class audience to make a militant demand for equality. Yet by July 30, 1942, the MOWM seemed to be on the decline. Because of

Executive Order 8802 and the FEPc, there appeared to be no need for "spontaneous involvement of large masses of Negroes in a political protest without the collaboration of whites."[18] The MOWM had come into being at a time when Blacks felt alienated from the rest of the country and felt demoralized because there was little improvement with their lot in comparison with other Americans. This crisis provided a source of cohesion among Blacks and made possible the organization of a mass movement. The channels of influence were closed off to the established Black leaders so that there was a chance for new leadership. Randolph took advantage of this opportunity and for a while rose to pre-eminence. He recognized the fact that Blacks in large numbers would have to take independent action because their economic condition had not improved with the rest of the country and because liberal white friends were preoccupied with the war along with the administration. As we have seen, Randolph's philosophy in 1941 and early 1942 was one that appealed specifically to the masses. However, after the executive order was issued, Randolph himself appeared to realize that he could not utilize a philosophy geared to the masses over a bread-and-butter issue. He could no longer attract the man-on-the-street to large meetings by talking of jobs. In late 1942, in spite of the fact that he had earlier stated that objectives should be kept simple to keep mass support he presented an "Eight Point Program" which "ranged over the entire civil and political rights fields" in an attempt to keep the movement alive.[19] His general program now seemed to overlap with those of the other older organizations. Moreover, the major strategy of the March also "seemed generalized as it became increasingly dubious that a physical march would or could tke place."[20] The question then became "If general aims and traditional tactics were to be employed, what justification was there for the MOWM?"[21] The question was considered in some detail by the Pittsburgh Courier:

> ...what reason has the March on Washington movement for continued existence if it is to merely duplicate work already being done, to inflame the masses with oratory and then leave them stranded by constantly postponing loudly advertised measures...? how will this differ from the work so efficiently being done by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People...22
>
> The NAACP has the background, the prestige, the skilled staff, the experience and the organization to do the job colored people want done, and there is no justification for another organization in the field unless that organization has new tactics and strategy which it is prepared to put into practice. 23

Recognizing that he was now infringing on the programs of established groups and was losing not only their support, but also the support of the masses, Randolph searched for a new militant tactic to differentiate him and his MOWM from other groups. In 1943 he acknowledged that he had found this tactic when he called for massive civil disobedience. Randolph, in discussing this new aspect of his philosophy, which he admitted was inspired by the Gandhian movement, said that the "non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation" he was considering did not "involve the armed forces of Negro workers in the defense industries."[24] Instead, he asserted:

> It is a form of social protest and revolt against unjust, unfair and undemocratic laws that violate the basic moral and human citizenship rights of the Negro people. Instead of hindering the war it will help the war by developing a deep sense of national unity because it seeks to achieve namely, democracy. 25

Randolph's plan, which Embee says the Black leader called "civil obedience," included having Black and white friends go in groups to insist on equal service in restaurants, theatres, hotels and stores.[26] In the south, he urged special boycott days against Jim Crow trains, busses and schools. He insited that there must be no violence in these actions. If in the

course of them Blacks or white friends suffered any injury, they must not fight back or use violent language or try to recover damages in court. Randolph stated that, "This is part of the price which must be paid; in sacrifice and suffering to eliminate an evil which has been acquiesced in and permitted to exist through inaction and fear."[27] Most significantly, however, Randolph said that,"Training and education will be extensively carried on before this program is projected to develop the proper moral and intellectual attitude with a view to making this technique successful;"[28] and "...all persons who participate in these nonviolent projects are required to go through a rigid training and discipline to develop self-control and the requisite moral and spiritual resources and armament with which to meet the most trying ordeal in order that the principles of MOWM may not be compromised."[29]

This call for civil disobedience does indicate that a definite change had taken place in the philosophy of A. Philip Randolph since he promulgated the strategy and aim of the MOWM in 1941-1942. Of course, this was not a new tactic since interracial groups were already working in several cities. Randolph did seem to attempt to differentiate his plan from that of CORE by calling it "Non-violent Goodwill Direct Action" instead of just "non-violent direct action." However, as Embee maintains this proposal was the "least clear" aspect of Randolph's present program.[30] Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. wrote that, "The movement suffered its final death-blow when it decided to call a civil disobedience campaign in May of 1943."[31] According to Powell, the philosophy was "contrary to the mood of the times" and could not live.[32] It does seem to be true that Randolph's plan was, as Embee said, not original and very vague. Moreover, it seems true that,as Powell wrote, a call for massive civil disobedience was impractical since it was issued after Pearl Harbor and at a time when many Blacks were working in national defense. The Pittsburgh Courier went so

far as to state:

> In suggesting that colored citizens resort to civil disobedience in order to win their rightful demands for equal rights, A. Philip Randolph is guilty of the most dangerous demagogery on record.
>
> The 'March-on-Washington' plan was bad enough, but alongside a call to civil disobedience, it seems quite sane. 33

The Pittsburgh Courier feared that a massive civil disobedience campaign would lead to the slaughter of Blacks by "irresponsible and vicious elements" of whites. The Courier hoped that "this latest Randolph bid for leadership" would be repudiated by the Black masses. Yet the Pittsburgh Courier, Powell and Embee did not appear to have grasped the most important aspect of this change in Randolph's philosophy. It was S.W. Garlington who seemed to perceive the significance of the change in philosophy. Writing of the civil disobedience program in his column in the Amsterdam News in a manner seemingly similar to other critics, Garlington stated that after the Madison Square Garden Rally:

> It seemed like NMOW was on its way out as a top flight organization with national significance.
>
> Rather than admit this "handwriting on the wall" and devote his full time to his strong sleeping car porters group (which made him what he was), Randolph concocted a suicidal civil disobedience program for NMOW. It received a nice plug in the papers at first, but could not gain enough support to be put into operation. Thanks to the high heavens! It is impractical to subject the Negro to attack and to sit and think he will only turn the other cheek. 34

However, Garlington went on to discuss the main aspect of the change in Randolph's philosophy. We read:

> The most confusing element in NMOW is its attempt to tie up its Civil Disobedience program with its proposed march of Washington. The two are in definite conflict. The CD campaign calls for special training.

> (NMOW will sponsor a special course in how to be obedient in the face of abuse at the next session of Howard University. These students will be the people to put CD into operation instead of the masses.)
>
> NMOW heads a plan to let this new styled CD leadership direct the grand march on Washington--if such ever occurs. The faulty element in this plan lies in an unrealistic attempt to effectively combine an intellectual movement with a mass expression. Of necessity, the latter must be without emphasis on reason and intellect to be effective. At best, any such "pressure" expression can only be interpreted as an "agitational plea" instead of a resolved live-or-die ambition to secure its demands. Without the latter, the "threatened march" will not be taken seriously by the boys on Capitol Hill. Hence, NMOW stands liable to be judged as a farce. 35

This lengthy quote is most important. For as we have mentioned, it points up the most significant aspect of the change that has occurred in Randolph's philosophy since 1941. Randolph was no longer speaking specifically to the masses. He was no longer using "street-corner talk." He was no longer putting forth a simple program with simple objectives that could be understood and accepted by the masses. To revitalize the MOWM, he had borrowed a militant tactic, a tactic that required special training. Randolph was now appealing to the intellect, not to emotions. Thus, in calling for civil disobedience, Randolph addressed himself, as Garlington said, to an elite, not the masses. Randolph was no longer relying on the collective wisdom of the organized masses. He was instead trying to revive MOWM by using specially disciplined students. Randolph talked of massive civil disobedience, but again as Garlington maintained, this showed inconsistency and conflict in his philosophy. The "faulty element" in his program for civil disobedience was "an unrealistic attempt to effectively combine an intellectual movement with a mass expression." However, because the program never caught on, Randolph again found it necessary to change his philosophy.

In an attempt to preserve his identity with FEPC since other groups had adopted it for their programs and activities, Randolph set up the

National Council for a Permanent FEPC in September, 1943. Randolph had to set up this organization outside MOWM in order to unify a broadly organized protest behind FEPC. Unlike the MOWM there were whites working with Randolph to Save FEPC, particularly as the war drew to a close. In the fight to save FEPC, Randolph employed traditional forms of protest, including picketing and marches on city halls. He also tried legislative-lobbying but lost faith in this method because of the results of the election of 1946 and the composition of the Eightieth Congress (1947-48). Because of the "absence of direct and spontaneous grass-root pressures--as in the hey-day of the March movement, Randolph had to continue to work with the established groups to keep FEPC the "prime symbol of the civil rights fight."[36]

His work with the National Council showed that Randolph had moderated his philosophy. He no longer appealed to the masses specifically and dramatically as he did in the MOWM. He now used the traditional forms of protest and worked with whites. Yet the lack of success that the National Council had with the Eightieth Congress seems to have prompted Randolph to "another bold activity reminiscent of the March."[37]

Once more we note changes in Randolph's philosophy when he and Grant Reynolds appeared before a Congressional committee in 1948 and said that they would conduct a civil disobedience campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces. Randolph told the Senate Armed Services Committee that he would "personally pledge...to openly counsel, aid and abet youth...in an organized refusal to register and be drafted."[38] The Pittsburgh Courier criticized the Randolph-Reynolds program because, "...it is unalterably opposed to the advocacy of any extremist policy which would certainly boomerang against all of our people with unfortunate promptitude."[39] Also, the Courier maintained that:

> If the majority of the Amrican people are not

> at this time prepared to drop the color bar in the armed services, Negroes must and should bow to the popular will as they would expect any other minority of the population to bow to the popular will in any other case.
>
> In a democracy it is necessary to take the bitter with the sweet.
>
> We should battle the issue to the point of decision, and then, if defeated, peacefully accept the decision and cooperate in its implementation. 40

In a similar manner, the Amsterdam News talked of the duties and responsibilities of the Black citizen in a democracy. According to the News, the Black citizen "must accept his full responsibilities as a citizen in the defense of his country, as he should wage a determined campaign; short of the violation of law, to achieve his full citizenship rights within the American democratic system."[41] Although these papers were primarily considering the Black citizen's place in a democracy and possible repercussions from a civil disobedience campaign against the draft, it is difficult to understand how they could fail to recognize the change in Randolph's philosophy. For with this new call for civil disobedience, Randolph was once more appealing to an elite, "young educated Negroes."[42] Indeed, they were the ones that could understand his philosophy of resistance to the draft to protest the Jim Crow armed forces, not the more numerous draft-age masses who saw the service as a way of escaping some of the inequalities of American society.

Black leaders avoided openly repudiating Randolph, but most seem to have accepted his "diagnosis but rejected his proposed cure" of the problem of segregation in the armed forces. According to the Amsterdam News:

> Several individuals and groups are supporting the Randolph-Reynolds (program), but most of them are like Champ Joe Louis who gave the campaign his blessings last week without mentioning the civil

disobedience strategy. 43

Thus, it seems that this change in Randolph's philosophy, this adoption of a program of civil disobedience against the draft was one that was directed to and acceptable to only a few Blacks, "Negro college youth of draft age."[44]

It is apparent that during the 1940's the philosophy of A. Philip Randolph did undergo several changes. Randolph began in MOWM by appealing to the masses on a simple, emotional level that they could understand and accept. "The-March-That-Never-Was" showed the masses that they had power when they hitched up for action.[45] As Kempton said, Randolph's "March on Washington touched the ordinary Negro as nothing had since Garvey."[46] Yet after Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 and established the FEPC, Randolph could no longer appeal to the masses on a simple bread-and-butter issue. He attempted to broaden the program of the MOWM and utilized traditional protest tactics, but lost more of his mass support and the support of older established groups. To give his movement a reason for existing, he borrowed a more militant tactic from CORE, civil disobedience, which would involve specially trained students and whites. In other words, he began to address himself to an elite. The civil disobedience, or "civil obedience" program as he called it, did not jibe with a mass movement. As Garlington pointed out, Randolph was trying to mix an intellectual movement with mass expression, but this was unworkable. While Randolph continued to talk of the masses, he did so to an increasingly lesser extent. He began addressing himself more and more to an elite, to young educated Blacks. After 1942, Randolph continued to talk of mass action, but at the same time espoused ideas that marked him not as a philosopher of the Black masses but as a philosopher of the "Talented Tenth."

FOOTNOTES

1. Logan, p. 153.
2. ibid., pp. 153-4.
3. Sterne, p. 36.
4. Logan, loc. cit.
5. Broderick & Meier, p. 207.
6. Sterne, op. cit., p.37
7. Broderick & Meier, loc. cit.
8. ibid.
9. ibid., p. 208.
10. Garfinkel, p. 97.
11. ibid., p. 57.
12. ibid.,
13. ibid., p. 68.
14. ibid.
15. ibid., p. 82.
16. ibid., p. 93.
17. ibid., p. 96.
18. ibid., p. 8.
19. ibid., p. 117.
20. ibid., p. 119.
21. ibid.
22. ibid.
23. Courier, January 2, 1943.
24. Randolph, Negro Digest, March, 1943. pp. 27-8.
25. ibid.
26. Embee, p. 226.
27. ibid.
28. Randolph, loc. cit.
29. Logan, op. cit., p. 151
30. Embee, loc.cit.
31. Powell, p. 159.
32. ibid.
33. Courier, Negro Digest, March, 1943, pp. 28-9.
34. Garlington, July 17, 1943.
35. Garlington, July 31, 1943.
36. Garfinkel, op. cit., p. 160.
37. ibid., p. 161.
38. Wittner, p. 186.
39. Courier, April 1o, 1948.
40. ibid.
41. Amsterdam News, July 24, 1948.
42. Newsweek, June 7, 1948.
43. Amsterdam News, April 17, 1948.
44. Newsweek, loc. cit.
45. Sterling, p. 150.
46. Kempton, p. 252.

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(j) Garlington, S.W. "Generally Speaking." Amsterdam News (July 17, 1943), p. 11.

(k) Garlington, S.W. "Pointed Points." Amsterdam News (July 31, 1943), p. 6.

(l) "To March or Not To March." Pittsburgh Courier (January 2, 1943), p.6.

(m) "Segregation in the Armed Services". Pittsburgh Courier (April 10, 1948), p. 6.

(n) Pittsburgh Courier. "Is Civil Disobedience Practical To Win Full Rights for Negroes?" Negro Digest, (March, 1943), pp. 28-9.

(o) "Crisis in the Making: US Negroes Tussle with Issue of Resisting a Draft Law Because of Racial Segregation." Newsweek, 31(June 7, 1948), pp. 28-9.

(p) Randolph, A. Philip. "Is Civil Disobedience Practical To Win Full Rights for Negroes?" Negro Digest, 1(March, 1943), pp. 27-8.

[1970]

11420 SW. 108 AVE.
Miami, Fl. 33156

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
127 W. 125 ST.
N.Y., N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you as a part of a Civics project. What is your job like?

I would like to know your opinions on such things as Drugs, Civil Rights, Inflation, And the ghetto. What do you think of the intergation system?

Very truly yours,
Miss Mary F. Cannon

P.S. If you can, please write back and send me an autographed picture of you?

Thank You

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Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

~~127 W. 125 ST.~~
~~New York, New York~~

Advise your correspondents or publishers of your correct mailing address.

February 9, 1970

Miss Mary F. Cannon
11420 S.W. 108 Avenue
Miami, Florida 33156

My dear Miss Cannon:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter requesting my opinion on the following subjects:

My Job: I don't have a job. I retired on October 1, 1968.

Drugs: Drugs are a menace and a danger to our youth. They not only destroy one's usefulness, but also destroy life.

Civil Rights: All citizens should be concerned about civil rights since no American, black or white, can play a useful role in our American society unless he has the status of a citizen, and he hasn't the status of a true citizen unless he enjoys civil rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. This is why black Americans have fought for civil rights since the days of slavery and are still fighting for them. Fortunately, much progress has been made and it is obvious that black Americans will, sooner or later, enjoy their full civil rights with all other Americans.

Integration: Integration is a natural form of social existence with people who live together in a country. While there may be groups that carry on certain group interests, such as fraternal groups, athletic associations, business movements, religious societies, etc, all people who are living in one country inevitably are compelled to have forms of integration. Any people who are legally denied the right of certain forms of integration are being denied the right of freedom, of self-development and expression. Even the various peoples of the world are gradually moving towards integration, as expressed by such international movements as the United Nations.

Ghetto: The ghetto is marked by poverty, deprivation and frustration. This is basically due

to the fact that it lacks economic sufficiency for those who live in the ghetto. The ghettos must be abolished, and they will be abolished. While Negroes are the chief victims of the ghetto in America, there are ghettos in every country in the world because there is poverty and frustration in every country in the world.

I wish you success in your Civics project and I hope these answers to your questions will prove to be helpful.

I am enclosing a photograph as you requested.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

P.O. Box A
Nevada, Missouri 64772
June 23, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
230 W. 150th St.
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student at Kansas State College of Pittsburg currently doing research at the Truman Library concerning President Truman's achievements in the Civil Rights field. I am trying to prove John Hope Franklin's statement that Truman has done more for the Negro than any other President.

Because of your position as founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and your efforts to achieve equal rights for all Americans during Truman's Administration I would be most grateful for any personal comments, recollections or suggestions you could give me which would help me in writing my paper. I feel that any comments you could make would greatly enhance my paper and I would be especially interested and appreciative in receiving your personal evaluation of President Truman's role in the advancement of Civil Rights.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,
Patricia B. Rooney
Patricia B. Rooney

July 1, 1970

Miss Patricia B. Rooney
P. O. Box A
Nevada, Missouri 64772

Dear Miss Rooney:

In reply to your letter of June 23, may I say that I consider President Truman to be one of our country's great presidents. He stood forthrightly for the cause of civil rights.

I had the honor and the opportunity to carry a committee of Negro and white citizens to confer with him in the interest of his issuing an Executive Order to abolish racial discrimination in the Armed Forces. He issued the said order.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Interviews, Notes, and Other Information

14

(3)

FITZGERALD/HEMINGWAY ANNUAL

Editors: Professor Matthew J. Bruccoli Department of English University of South Carolina Columbia, South Carolina 29208
C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr. 1490 Sodon Lake Drive Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013

August 2, 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
AFL-CIO
127 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

F. Scott Fitzgerald saved the enclosed clipping. I have a hunch the letter was written to you. Can you possibly remember?

Is there a run of the Messenger for 1923 in the Washington area? I need the volume, date and page for this clipping.

Sorry to bother you.

Cordially,

Matthew J. Bruccoli

Matthew J. Bruccoli
Editor

MJB/jma

Bkr
Dussen

...oying with deft, unpleasant gestures ...
ir own ... anemic and exclusive Vanity Fair. It is
accomplishment to have captured them so—with sophis-
ion, satire, occasional bitterness, and a pervading irony.
A thoroughly interesting and capable novel. The writing is
d throughout, and sometimes beautiful. Like Sinclair Lewis
l Woodward Boyd, the author has little sense of selection—
ems to have poured the whole story out in a flood. The book
ks the careful balance of "Three Soldiers," and it is not nearly
successful in handling its three or four protagonists. It skips

... such books as this will have cleared his way. ... of t...
...us and often muddy lakes of sincere and ...istica...
...ation will flow the clear stream—if there is to be a clear
stream at all.

Incidentally, the remarkable portrait of Valeria is the best single instance of artistic power in the book. The entire personality and charm of the woman is conveyed at second-hand. We have scarcely a glimpse of her, and she says only one line throughout. Yet the portrait is vivid and complete.

...can Authors at a Glance

...h Proper Apologies to Carl Van Vechten

By SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

...RGESHEIMER: Fancy
...nbedded in stained glass.
...ranch Cabell: Peter Abe-
...broom-stick.
...ald: A skin you love to

...derson: Casey Jones with

It is almost certain that Scott Fitzgerald would not this year shout so vehemently that it is "only the young who are important—only the young to whom interesting things happen!"

Great Neck, L. I.,
May 25, 1923.

DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

I read THE MESSENGER from cover to cover and thoroughly enjoyed its intelligent editing and its liberal point of view. Many congratulations to you, and many thanks for sending it to me. . . .

Sincerely,
F. SCOTT FITZGERALD.

One had o...
swear Tennyson for Ezra Pound; Walter Scott
Fitzgerald; James Russell for Amy Lowell; and
T. S. Eliot.

Add bis

August 30, 1971

Professor Matthew J. Bruccoli
Department of English
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

Dear Professor Bruccoli:

This will acknowledge your letter with copy of clipping from the F. Scott Fitzgerald papers.

Relative to your inquiry about the Messenger for 1923 in the Washington area: I think you may be able to locate the issue you need in the Library of Congress.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

Oscar Joseph
29 Beakes Street Apt 2B
Trenton, New Jersey
January 11, 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
230 West 150th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I hope this correspondence finds you and your family in the best of health for the New Year. I am a student at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and am doing a paper on you and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Specifically, I am interested in those early years of formation. There are some questions that I would like to ask you if you would be so kind as to answer them.

First I would like to ask: Were you still a professed student of "scientific radicalism" upon becoming the General Organizer of the BSCP? If you were, at what point, if any, did you abandon that philosophy? Do you feel that it affected in any way your performance as the General Organizer? At what point did you become interested in the BSCP? How long had you known Mrs. DesVerney Totten, and Lancaster before you organized the BSCP?

Secondly, how did you organize the BSCP? Did you adhere to any particular school of thought in this respect? Would you describe your organization as highly centralized or did the local bodies maintain large degree of autonomy? Did this structure fluctuate at any time between 1925 and 1936 to any great degree? Thirdly, can you explain the apparent break between you and Mr. Chandler Owen as co-editors of the periodical The Messenger?

Finally, was your entrance into the cause of the Pullman porters predicated on your belief of unions for the Negro and/or the white laborer or was it at first primarily motivated by your concern for that of the porters?

May I thank you in advance for any cooperation that you may give. Also I would like to add my praise to all the others which you have received for this and the other monumental work you have done for the cause of the Negro specifically and humanity in general. History will have lied if it does not in the future consider you as one of the Twentieth Century's great men of America.

Thank you,

Oscar Joseph

Oscar Joseph

February 3, 1971

Mr. Oscar Joseph
29 Beakes Street
Trenton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Joseph:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 11 posing some questions concerning my work. I shall attempt to answer them as best I can.

When I became General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters I was a member of the Socialist Party and construed Socialism as scientific radicalism. I never abandoned that philosophy and I don't think it affected my performance as General Organizer although, undoubtedly, there were people who didn't want anything to do with my work because of my Socialist philosophy.

I became interested in the organization of the Pullman porters around the early part of 1925. It was at that time that I met Brothers Totten, DesVerney and Lancaster.

I organized the Brotherhood by following the simple rule of holding numerous meetings of the porters all over the country, emphasizing the importance and value of trade unionism to the workers, black and white. I did not adhere to any particular school of thought.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was highly centralized, with the local divisions possessing some autonomy in conformance with the general plan of organizing trade unions. The

structure of the organization did not fluctuate to any great degree between 1925 and 1936.

There was never any break between Chandler Owen and myself in the writing and management of the Messenger Magazine.

My interest in the cause of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was primarily motivated by my concern for the porters and a desire to organize them to fight for more wages and better working conditions.

I want to thank you for your letter and express my appreciation for your friendly comments on my efforts.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

November 13, 1971

Mr. Alexander M. Johnston
Department of History
Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18015

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of November 4, and the question you raise concerning the attitude of the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters toward non-black workers seeking jobs with Pullman.

As a matter of fact, the problem of the right of non-black workers securing jobs in the Pullman service was never raised. The Brotherhood has always been quite definite in its policies concerning the right of all workers receiving employment where available.

Relative to the officials of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters taking action on this matter, may I say that no policy action was ever assumed, or necessary, because of anti-racial or nationality discrimination among the Brotherhood's black members. Therefore, I think it would be unnecessary for you to research the Brotherhood's papers with respect to securing information about this subject.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA 18015

DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY

November 4, 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I write to you at the suggestion of Mr. Richard Parrish who I wrote previously regarding source materials for a research project.

During the course of preliminary research for a graduate research seminar in American labor history I became interested both in your career and the history of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Mr. Brazeal's work on the early history of the Brotherhood answered most of my original questions concerning the Brotherhood's early history, organization, relations with the American Federation of Labor etc. However, the book raised some other questions in my mind.

One in particular is the problems surrounding the Pullman Company's efforts to subvert Brotherhood unity by hiring Filipino, Mexican and Japanese porters. I sense that the problem was crucial for the Brotherhood as well as placing its leadership on the horns of a dilemma. My hypothesis is that this action by the Pullman Company generated debate among Brotherhood members and leaders as to how to deal with the problem. I find some evidence in Mr. Brazeal's work and elsewhere that some members/leaders wanted to approach the problem by attempting to practice exclusion while others wished to push for the incorporation of non-black porters into the union.

My preliminary investigations lead me to believe that after some debate the problem was ultimately solved in a manner which should have been exemplary to other labor organizations viz. the non-black porters were organized with full privileges and protections attendent to union members.

Assuming my hypothesis is at all workable or worthy of further investigation, I would like to pursue it focusing on the internal debate within the Brotherhood. In such research your papers and/or suggestions and advice would be invaluable.

If it is possible to research your papers I would appreciate information as to where and when they are/will be available. I would also be most grateful for any advice or suggestions you may have on the subject.

Respectfully,
Alexander M. Johnston

[1971]

Columbus School
7th and Alston
Berkeley, California
94710

Dear Mr. Randolph,

We studied about you through Black History and we learned that you have helped your people immensely.

We have heard that your Birthday is in April and we want to wish you a very happy one. Enclosed is a poem that our class wrote about you. We hope you enjoy it.

Sincerely, Room 106
and Miss Wolfe and
Mrs. Wolf.

April 16, 1971

Mrs. Renna Wolfe
Columbus School
7th and Alston Way
Berkeley, California 94710

Dear Mrs. Wolfe and Class 106:

I was greatly pleased to receive your letter of recent date stating that you had studied my life and work in your Black History class.

I shall always cherish the beautiful poem you wrote about me and I want to congratulate the class on the art work on the card depicting the Pullman and railroad porters at work.

My heartfelt thanks and best wishes to all of you.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

3/24/71

Born in Crescent City, April 15, 1889,
A man who has put his life on the line,
Who established a Union for
Sleeping Car Porters,
By pressuring presidents through law
and order.
A. Philip Randalph we will
remember,
In our minds;
Because he is gentle, peacful and kind.

Class 106
Columbus School,
Berkeley, Calif.

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN LANGUAGES

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts · Southeastern Massachusetts University · North Dartmouth, Massachusetts 02747

30 April 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
230 West 150th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I would like to take this opportunity---after delaying for too long a time---to express my most sincere and heartfelt admiration for your outstanding career as a most distinguished American labor leader. I am a French professor at the above named University and have been greatly interested and fascinated by your work for many, many years now. In this respect, I have attempted to follow your manifold endeavors, to the best of my ability, throughout the years. I do want to thank and congratulate you most heartily for your important, impressive accomplishments and achievements which have truly and justly won you countless devotees and admirers from all over.

At this time, I would like to address you several questions, sincerely hoping you will take time from your present schedule, busy I presume, to answer this query. I really hope you won't mind this request from a most interested, longtime and inveterate follower of yours and aficionado of your work.

Mr. Randolph, what are your present activities?
Who has influenced you the most in your fructuous career?
Lastly...What do you personally consider the highlight of your work?

As you proceed with your future endeavors, whatever they may be, you should know that you have both my deep appreciation and respect. My entire family, equally admirers of yours, joins me in extending to you best wishes of good health and prosperity. God bless you in your important work.

With my kindest personal regards, I am

Respectfully yours,

Melvin B. Yoken

Melvin B. Yoken

June 11, 1971

Mr. Melvin B. Yoken
Department of Modern Languages
Southeastern Massachusetts University
North Dartmouth, Massachusetts 02747

Dear Mr. Yoken:

I want to thank you for your letter with inquiries concerning myself. I need not tell you that I am immensely appreciative of your good wishes and admiration.

May I say that I retired from my work as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on October 1, 1968. I am presently engaged in writing my memoirs.

I note your question as to who influenced me most during my career. This is a difficult question for me to answer but, aside from my immediate family, I was greatly influenced by Chandler Owen who was my associate in publishing The Messenger magazine. Chandler and I spent considerable time not only in editing the magazine but in reading the works of Lester Ward and Karl Marx. We were primarily concerned with the fight for racial and social justice and our magazine was militant.

Other forces that affected me were the Pullman porters who became members and leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I was influenced by Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas with whom I associated. I was also greatly influenced by my wife Lucille who was active in the Socialist movement with me.

I consider the highlight of my work the publication of The Messenger and the signing of the contract with the Pullman Company for and in behalf of the porters in its employ.

I want to express my profound gratitude to you for your expressed interest in my life and work.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/bw

1820 South Michigan Ave. • Chicago, Illinois 60616

July 30, 1971

Dear Mr. Randolph: As the world's largest black magazine, many of EBONY's readers often write us asking whatever happened to many of their favorite celebrities of the past. They are curious about those unforgettable personalities whose lives captured the imagination of millions, yet for some reason have dropped out of the news.

Many want to know are they still alive or actively participating in their particular fields and many just want to know their opinions on the current scene. Sometimes it's just to settle an argument. One reader wrote us from Houston, Texas that immortal triple-crown boxing champion Henry Armstrong was painting boxcars in Alaska. Another reader from Camden, N.J. insisted he had left the U. S. to become president of a little known African republic. As you can see, there is quite a bit of confusion and disagreement as to what many of the headliners in the past are doing today.

Last June, the editors of EBONY began a monthly feature titled, "Whatever Happened To...", designed to answer all those questions and settle as many arguments as possible. In the first issue of the feature, we found child pianist "Sugar Chile" Robinson in Detroit, Michigan. In subsequent issues we set the record straight about Henry Armstrong (who's working with Boys Clubs in St. Louis, Mo.) and the "Mother of the Civil Rights Movement" Rosa Parks (she's a receptionist in U.S. Rep. John Conyer's Detroit office).

Recently, we've been receiving a lot of mail from readers who want to know whatever happened to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the man who organized the Pullman Porters. Is he still alive; what's he planning for the future? Is he married? How's his wife and kids?

We would like to provide your fans and our readers with some of the answers. Enclosed you will find a preliminary questionnaire, which seeks to provide us with a few of those answers. For others, we would like to send a writer-photographer to visit you at your earliest convenience. The editors of EBONY are anxious to hear from you soon so that we can possibly include you in a forthcoming issue.

Sincerely,

Theophilus Green

Theophilus Green
Assistant Editor

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

TG/ba
encl.

1. A. Philip Randolph

2. Retired

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. I am not in accord with the idea of developing a black trade union movement since this will only serve to divide the workers.

8. It began in New York with the publication of the Messenger Magazine, a militant civil rights organ. And, also, the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Brotherhood developed as a result of a group of Pullman porters interviewing me on ways and means to increase the wages and improve the working conditions of porters on railroads throughout the nation. The Brotherhood became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and, in 1955, I became a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, a position which I still hold.

9. My career spanned a period of 50 years as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and editor of the Messenger. Presently, I am serving as president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute of which Bayard Rustin is director.

10. I retired because of advanced age.

11. My plans for the future include writing my memoirs, and to advance the movement to train apprentices ~~to become competent~~ in the field of technology, enabling them to become members of the building trades unions.

Ghost

12. ~~September 28 or October 5.~~ Oct 21, Oct 28, Nov 4

119 Hollywood Court
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

September 12, 1972

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Your career is the subject I have chozen to explore for my Master's thesis at Northeastern Illinois University. The more I research the more impressed I become with your outstanding accomplishments; therefore, I would greatly appreciate any information you would care to contribute. I am particularily interested in some of the questions I have hereinafter set forth:

(1 -Were your ideas about mass nonviolent direct action tactics original or did you find inspiration for them from CORE which was started about the same time as your March on Washington Committee?

(2 -Why do you feel that mass nonviolent direct action tactics as formulated by you for the March on Washington Movement failed to catch on as mass strategy in the early 1940's although it subsequently suceeded in the mid-1950's?

(3 -In retrospect do you feel that had you maintained your civil disobedience campaign organization of 1948 intact that it may have sparked the civil rights revolution at that time rather than seven years later?

I would deem it an honor if I were given the opportunity to meet with you personally. If this can be arranged at any time convenient to you I would be available to fly to New York for such a meeting. If for personal reasons this would be impossible, I would then respectfully request a written reply to the questions I have outlined above and any additional material you might care to contribute.

Sincerely,

Paula F. Pfeffer

Paula F. Pfeffer

September 29, 1972

Miss Paula F. Pfeffer
119 Hollywood Court
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

Dear Miss Pfeffer:

May I express my pleasure in noting your interest in my advocacy of the philosophy of nonviolence as one of the highways for fundamental social change.

I was perhaps originally inspired to pursue this course from the life of Jesus Christ, and also Gandhi, but before I had ever heard about Gandhi I got the belief in the moral and spiritual power of nonviolence from my father who was a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Jacksonville, Florida. While he was not a man of great erudition, he had high moral commitments.

The March on Washington Movement preceded the organization of CORE. As a result of the MOWM, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in June 1941. I believe CORE was founded in 1943. May I say that I give much credit to the leaders and members of CORE (many of whom I knew and admired immensely) for their influence in developing the movement of nonviolence to achieve an effective civil rights and human revolution. Perhaps one of our major differences consisted in the fact that CORE was largely a movement of black and white integrationists, and I had the idea that the power of such a movement could only be achieved in the hands of the workers. That is why I initiated the MOWM. I think the record will show that the MOWM definitely did catch on as mass strategy in the early 1940's.

The 1948 Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training was organized for one specific purpose. When President Truman issued an

executive order abolishing discrimination in the armed forces there was no further reason to maintain the committee.

With respect to your making a trip to New York to talk with me about this question, my reaction is that it would be unnecessary since if there are further questions you wish to have me answer I will be happy to do so by mail. However, I don't say this to discourage you from making the trip if you so desire.

Finally, I am highly flattered to note that a young intellectual from far-away Illinois is concerned about the origin and scope of the March on Washington Movement.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

119 Hollywood Court
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

October 26, 1972

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Thank you so very much for your most illuminating reply to my letter. It was very gracious of you to answer me and I truly appreciate it.

I would like to take advantage of your offer to answer more of my questions. From reading the Black Worker I note that you were a guest in the home of E. D. Nixon in Montgomery, Alabama in August, 1943. Would you recall whether you discussed your strategies of non-violent direct action at that time? If so, do you feel that these discussions contributed in a concrete way to Mr. Nixon's voter registration drive of 1944 and therefore to the bus boycott of 1955? I would be most interested in your own assessment of your influence on Mr. Nixon.

In Murray Kempton's book Part of Our Time he relates that after you and Milton Webster received no concrete assurances for jobs for Negroes in defense industries from President Roosevelt during a conference you subsequently said while riding South in a train, "I think we ought to do something about it. I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue and protest against the discriminatory practices in this rapidly expanding defense economy." (p. 250). However, Mr. Kempton cites no sources and hence I am unable to verify that this was really the way the March on Washington idea was born. Would you please either verify or deny the incident for me?

In September, 1948, you and Grant Reynolds issued a statement on page 1 of The Black Worker in which you said that the religious pacifist nucleus within the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training hindered the work of the Committee by using it as a front for ulterior purposes. You said that although you welcomed pacifists such as Bayard Rustin because you thought their experience would help keep a potentially violent movement non-violent, unauthorized letters and statements to both political parties and to the press by Rustin violated

your injunction to clear all such releases and you therefore became disillusioned with the pacifists. In view of the fact that Bayard Rustin later said that it was at your suggestion that he went to Montgomery in 1956 to help with organization of the bus boycott, I wondered when and under what circumstances the rapprochement between you occured. Any light you could shed on this matter would be most appreciated.

Thank you once again for your kind cooperation.

With sincere best wishes for your continued good health, I remain

Sincerely,

Paula F. Pfeffer

Paula F. Pfeffer

The University of Massachusetts Press

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS 01002

September 20, 1972

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear **Mr. Randolph,**

The University of Massachusetts Press has contracted to publish a volume entitled The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois, Volume I, Selections, 1877-1934. The book, edited by Dr. Herbert Aptheker with the full cooperation of Dr. Du Bois' widow, will contain representative letters written by and to the late Dr. Du Bois. All letters, both to and from him, that appear in the volume, will be published in full. Editorial comment is limited to factual data and historical background. Among the letters which we are anxious to include (duplicates of which are attached):

A. Philip Randolph to Du Bois, September 10, 1925
A. Philip Randolph to Du Bois, December 28, 1927

May Dr. Aptheker have your permission to reproduce these letters in the aforesaid volume? The book will indicate, of course, that permission has been graciously offered.

Two copies of this letter are enclosed. If we may have your permission, please sign as indicated below, and return one copy, for our records, by November 15.

With appreciation for your consideration,

Cordially yours,

Malcolm L. Call
Assistant to the Editor

Dr. Aptheker has my permission to reproduce the letter(s) specified above, in The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois: Volume I, Selections, 1877-1934, to be published by the University of Massachusetts Press.

A. Philip Randolph 9-28-72
(signature) (date)

(A return envelop is provided for your convenience.)

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

New York, September 10, 1925

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Just a word to acquaint you of the fact that I have organized the Pullman porters into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This occurred on the 25th of August, in the Elks' Auditorium, 160 West 129th Street, New York City.

May I request you to address the men on either Tuesday or Wednesday evening, September 22nd or 23rd, at 8:30 P.M., at the above named address? I assure you that the men will appreciate it.

*** _____

*Editorials by Du Bois urging support to the organization work of Randolph appeared, for example, in The Crisis, January, 1927 (XXXIII, 131); and December, 1927 (XXXIV, 348).

It may be interesting to you to know that the movement is getting the whole hearted support of white organized labor. Mr. W. J. Orr, special Organizer of the Locomotive Engineers and Ernest Bohm, representative of Mr. Hugh Frayne, have addressed the men. Mr. Hugh Frayne, Organizer of the A. F. of L. will speak on the 17th of September. We hold two meetings every week.

We hope to organize 51% of the men in the next 60 days, and the prospects are that we will get them.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

General Organizer

September 14,1925

-667

New York, December 28, 1927

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Permit me in behalf of the members and officials of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to express our sincere appreciation for your interest in and cooperation with our Movement.

Your able and brilliant editorials on our fight have been constructive and helpful. (*)

May we wish for you a happy and long life of service for the cause of Negro freedom in particular and the freedom of all mankind in general to which you have dedicated your great ability and fine soul. Kindly accept our best wishes for the season's greetings and felicitations.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

---

* As the editorial, "Pullman Porters," in The Crisis, December, 1927 (XXXIV,348).

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA 18042

ENGLISH.

September 15, 1972

Miss Bernice Wilds
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Miss Wilds:

Your letter of September 13 was received today. I will try to get into New York within a month to see the letters from Mr. Owen to Mr. Randolph. They will be of use to me because, since last corresponding with you, I have been asked to write a short biography of Mr. Owen for the forthcoming Dictionary of American Negro Biography.

I'm glad that both you and Mr. Randolph are enjoying my manuscript. If, as you read it to him, he expresses disagreement or comment, and it would not interrupt your recitation, I would appreciate your noting the substance of the comment so that I may take it into consideration as I revise the manuscript.

Thanks again for your help, and your interest in my project.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Kornweibel Jr.

Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.
Assistant Professor, American
Civilization and History

TK:bb

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA 18042

ENGLISH

August 23, 1972

Ms. Bernice Wilds
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Ms. Wilds:

Let me thank you for your promptness in sending me the biographical materials on Mr. Randolph. They have been very helpful.

You might be interested to know that there are several important items from the Messenger period in the NAACP collection housed in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division. Included are letters nominating Mr. Randolph for the Spingarn Medal and a rather large file of items relating to the Brotherhood--press releases, personal correspondence to and from Mr. Randolph, letters of NAACP officers involved in publicizing the Brotherhood's activities. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Collection, also in the Manuscript Division, has, as I think you know, almost nothing on the period before 1940.

I have been in contact with Elaine Owen Ratliff, through her attorney (see enclosures). I gather from them that Mr. Randolph has kept some letters he exchanged with Chandler Owen, and that Jervis Anderson has been allowed to see them. I, too, would be very interested in seeing this correspondence. Can you secure Mr. Randolph's permission to see them, and let me know where I can look them over?

Thanks again for your assistance in setting up the interview with Mr. Randolph. I wish I could tell you that my manuscript is completed, and off to my publisher, but I have simply found too much new and important material this summer to finish writing. That I don't regret--significant new material is always welcome. When things go to press, I'll be sure to send along a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Kornweibel Jr.

Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.
Assistant Professor, American
Civilization and History

TK:bb

Enclosures

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA 18042

HISTORY

April 23, 1973

Ms. Bernice Wilds
The A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Ms. Wilds:

I am about ready to begin final revisions of my manuscript on the Messenger years, and would appreciate receiving any of Mr. Randolph's comments which you may have jotted down while reading my dissertation to him.

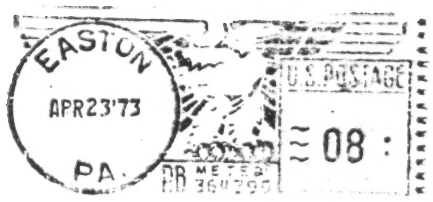
Thanks again for your assistance in past matters.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Kornweibel Jr.

Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.

Kornweibel
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA 18042



Ms. Bernice Wilds
The A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

SAMUEL K. WEINER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
—
STATE 2-1766

SUITE 1013
7 SO. DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

August 1, 1972

Prof. Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.
American Civilization and History
316 Pardee Hall
Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania # 18042

Dear Sir:

Your letter of July 18, 1972 directed to Elaine Owen Ratliff has been referred to my office as her personal attorney.

Mrs. Ratliff regrets being unable to refer you to any other parties wherein you might obtain additional information as requested.

However, she did receive a letter several weeks ago from an author suggesting he has just completed writing a book on the life of A. Philip Randolph and seeking permission to use material contained in letters from Chandler Owen to Mr. Randolph.

Perhaps if you will write to this author he will provide you with necessary additional information as requested.

The author is: Jervis Anderson
227 Riverside Drive
New York, New York # 10025

Further Mrs. Ratliff has no objection to your use of any material contained in such letters as may be obtained in contact with Mr. Jervis provided nothing of a derogatory nature is used insofar as Mr. Owen or the Owen family. She also requests that your book not contain any reference to her own name at all.

You may otherwise proceed within the limiations set forth above.

Yours very truly,

Sam Weiner

SAMUEL K. WEINER

SKW/rs

SAMUEL K. WEINER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
—
STATE 2-1768

SUITE 1015
7 SO. DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

August 21, 1972

Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania # 18042

Attn: Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.

Dear Sir:

Relative to your letter of August 14th please be advised that in his letter to Mrs. Ratliff of July 14th Mr. Anderson referred to being allowed to quote from the private papers of Mr. Randolph among which were a number of letters he received from Mr. Owen. This permission is indicated as being received from Mr. Randolph.

There is also reference to his contact with the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Perhaps your direct contact with these sources will give you such needed further information.

I trust this answers your questions and I wish you good luck in your efforts.

Yours very truly,

SAMUEL K. WEINER

SKW/rs

October 9, 1972

Dear Mr. Randolph,

My name is Henry Williams and I am a senior at Princeton University. I am now engaged in researching my senior thesis which deals with the attitudes of Black people toward the various Marxist-oriented organizations and movements in America in the 1920's. Your own involvement in the socialist movement of this period has prompted this letter.

Most of my research has consisted of sampling the editorial opinion of the numerous Black newspapers and magazines in the United States. Although this approach permits reasonable generalizations about the ideological position of the Black middle class during this era, it does not shed much light on the attitudes of the large majority of Black people: the working class. Though most secondary sources attempting to define the views of the Black worker toward Marxist thought have stressed the economic conservatism of the Black working class (notably Spero and Harris' The Black Worker), I am not satisfied that this "conservatism" was so formidable as to negate the possible effects of extensive and intensive Socialist and Communist organizational drives among this class. Perhaps a large part of the failure of these organizations to attract the Black worker is found in their organizational difficulties and not so much in the so-called invincible barrier of Black working class "conservatism". It is clear that neither factor was the only reason for the subsequent failure of radical thought among Black people, but I am not sure that the hypotheses of such authors as Spero and Harris have accurately located the fulcrum.

I am writing you in the hope of trying to come to a clearer vision of the attitudes of the Black working class in the 1920s toward Marxist thought. If any documents or materials exist that could illuminate this issue, I would appreciate your directing me to them. And, though this is asking much, I would appreciate any opinions you may have on this matter. Your personal involvement in the Socialist Party of New York is obviously pertinent to the matter at hand. Please send any further correspondence to the following address:

Henry Williams
15 Patton Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

I thank you very much for your consideration and time.

Sincerely yours,
Henry Williams
Henry Williams

October 30, 1972

Mr. Henry Williams
15 Patton Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Williams:

Relative to your inquiry concerning the extent of involvement of black people in Marxist-oriented organizations and movements in America in the 1920's, may I say that there was no extensive activity among any considerable groups of Negroes in the communist movement during the period indicated. Most of the agitation was developed and carried on by a small group of young black leaders in New York, Chicago and the Pacific Coast.

The reason why there was no dynamic mass movement of black socialists and communists in America during this period is due to the same reason that there was no widespread dynamic movement of communism and socialism in white America during these times, namely, basic conservative thought - political, economic and social - in the white and black working class.

Most of the socialist and communist activities during this period had their loci in the black and white intelligentsia. I spent a lot of time going throughout the country speaking on socialist and communist questions and found the only interest was among the middle class, who were primarily interested in seeing and listening to a black radical but had no intention of becoming involved in such a militant movement.

I think the black audiences who came to listen to the The Messenger editors and other black

radical speakers were not so much concerned about the exposition of Marxist and socialist thought as they were in listening to the attacks by the speakers on conservative advocates. They were also interested in seeing someone who had been in jail, or ought to be put in jail, because of attacks upon the American government.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

4 April 1973

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Ave. South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am the race relations instructor for the three thousand plus men of the 197th Infantry Brigade, Ft. Benning, Georgia. I am currectly organizing an 18 hour block of instruction which every man, from private through colonel will be exposed to. I would like to have your opinions on the following topics: segregation, integration, forced school busing, the Black Panther Party, La Raza Unida Party, the KKK, and any other area you would care to comment upon.

Thank you for your time and assistance. Any infomation from you will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Marcus Disbrow

Marcus Disbrow, LT
RR/EO Office
197th Inf. Bde.
Ft. Benning, Georgia 31905

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

RR/EO Office
197th Inf. Bde.
Ft. Benning, Georgia 31905

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1973

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

June 15, 1973

Lieutenant Marcus Disbrow
RR/EO Office
197th Inf. Bde.
Ft. Benning, Georgia 31905

Dear Lieutenant Disbrow:

Permit me to submit, in accordance with your letter, my opinions concerning the topics you listed.

I am definitely opposed to any form of racial segregation and I am committed unqualifiedly to the principle of racial integration.

I believe that forced school busing may be necessary to eliminate segregation in public schools.

I am not too familiar with the purposes and aims of the Black Panther party and cannot give an opinion on it. Neither am I familiar with the aims of La Raza Unida Party.

I am completely committed to the abolition of the Ku Klux Klan.

My best wishes to you in your work as race relations instructor at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

June 30, 1973

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Last October 30, in answer to my request for your views on the nature of black reactions to Socialist and Communist appeals in the 1920s, you were kind enough to respond with a two-page reply. I would like to ask your permission to use excerpts from that letter in my forthcoming book, Black Response to the American Left: 1917-1929. The book will be printed by Princeton University Press.

Specifically, two quotations will be used. The first is:

> Most of the socialist and communist activities during this period had their loci in the black and white intelligentsia. I spent a lot of time going throughout the country speaking on socialist and communist questions and found the only interest was among the middle class.

The second is:

> The reason why there was no dynamic mass movement of black socialists and communists in America during this period is due to the same reason that there was no widespread dynamic movement of communism and socialism in white America during these times, namely, basic conservative thought - political, economic, and social - in the white and black working class.

Would you please send future correspondence to the following address:

Henry Williams
33 Laurie Blvd.
Bethpage, N.Y. 11714

Thank you again for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,
Henry Williams
Henry Williams

4.00

July 18, 1973

Henry Williams
33 Laurie Boulevard
Bethpage, New York 11714

Dear Mr. Williams:

This will reply to your letter of June 30.

You have my permission to use the two quotations from my letter of October 30, in your forthcoming book, Black Response to the American Left: 1917-1929.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

July 13, 1973

Miss Paula F. Pfeffer
119 Hollywood Court
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

Dear Miss Pfeffer:

Thank you for your letter. I shall make an attempt to answer some of your questions:

I could not give all of the time necessary to building a mass organization, and it is not easy to convince people that it is worth their while to become a part of a mass movement.

Bayard Rustin and myself have always worked together and we have never had any serious conflicts,so far as I was concerned, on tactics and strategy except that I was never a pacifist. Bayard was a pacifist and in that sense there was a difference in strategy and tactics, but we never became unfriendly with each other.

The idea of the first March on Washington was first discussed by Milton Webster and myself while on a trip for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on our usual organization program.

I feel that I had an influence on E. D. Nixon. Brother Nixon was one of our most effective members. He built up the Brotherhood's work in Montgomery and was active in all of my other activities trying to solve Negro and labor problems.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

June 6, 1973

DISCUSSION FOR THE AFRICAN LABOR HISTORY CENTER

A. Philip Randolph
Executive Council Member, AFL-CIO
President Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Interviewer: Maida Springer Kemp

Participant: Miss Bernice Wilds

The African Labor History Center is well served in this discussion with you, Chief. Thank you so much for making it possible to do this section of the Oral History of the African Labor movement, for as Executive Council member of the AFL-CIO you helped to make those discussions which has shaped AFL-CIO policy on Africa. While much of the cataclysmic transition in Africa occurred after 1945 or Post World War II, your challenge against economic and human discrimination goes back to World War I, for you spelled out the world wide implications of Apartheid in Southern Africa before 1920.

Could we begin with some of your recollection of the Black working man in Africa at that time.

AFL-CIO Projects -

1. Harvard - 1956
   GHANA INDEPENDENCE
2. Kampala Labor College
3. Visits to U.S.
4. Employment programs for African students studying in the United States.
5. Vocational training programs
6. Personal reflections on associations

Labor Officers -

John Tettegah - Ghana

F. E. Tackie Menson - Ghana

Tom Mboya
Arthur Ochwada - Kenya Federation of Labor

Rachidi Kawana
Michael Kamaliza - Tanganyika Federation

Nigeria Labor Leaders

Role of the Messenger: - worldwide in scope.
considered a radical publication
Socialist-oriented
Street meetings in Harlem or other black communities - black or white radicals

Madan, Tuesday. June 26

June 6, 1973

Oral History Program
African-American Labor History Center

Springer

Today we are going to begin a discussion for the African Labor History Center with Brother A. Philip Randolph, executive member of the American Federation of Labor and CIO Executive Council. Brother Randolph became a member of the Executive Council in 1955 and has continued to serve in that capacity as one of those who makes the decisions on the policies of the Council between conventions. Brother Randolph as importantly, and certainly on behalf of the thousands and thousands of black workers in this country, is the President Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and was the catalyst for so much that has happened to black workers in all of the trade unions here.

I am joined today in this interview, for my role is as a Consultant for the African-American Labor History Center....I am joined in this, as a participant throughout this discussion which may extend over several occasions, by Mrs. Bernice Wilds, longtime secretary, associate, confidante, loyalist, to Brother A. Philip Randolph.

Those who know Brother Randolph well, and I am fortunate to be one of his proteges, affectionately call him Chief. And today the African Labor Labor History Center is well served in this discussion with you Chief. Thank you so much for making it possible to do this section of the oral history of the African labor movement, for you have contributed so much,and I hope in the discussion you will talk about the Harvard program, Kampala Labor College, vocational training programs, and a lot of things which you helped to make the decisions on.

But while much of the cataclysmic transition in Africa occurred after 1945, post World War II, your challenge against economic and human discrimination goes back, as an adult, to World War I, and as a youth, to 1900. I wonder, Brother Randolph, could we begin with some of your recollections as you travelled with your father, who was a minister and concerned with missions all over the world. Chief, Brother Randolph, would you tell us a little of that early period?

Randolph — Well, my good friend Maida, and Mrs. Wilds, I am afraid that my memory will not enable me to talk in minutiae about this very significant and important question of the African problem.

I may say that I got my first interest in Africa from my father who was an African Methodist Episcopal Church minister, who took me to the annual conferences where the subject of Africa was very prominent. There were bishops attending these conferences who made special addresses about the problem of Africa and it must be credited to the African Methodist Episcopal Church that it is one of the American religious movements which made the question of Africa prominent in its activities, not only by expressing concern about the Africans' future but by contributing thousands of dollars to the African struggle. This is where I got my first interest in Africa and when I began making....made several trips to New York where I came in contact with some of the aggressive and militant black leaders, as well as white labor leaders, I began then to think about practical aspects of working in the interest of Africa.

My first main effort was going to Africa where I met some of the best minds in this great continent and, for that matter, some of the best minds of the world. Now, Maida, I think that after I give some time to going over this material I can talk more meaningfully about this question.

Springer — Chief, I would like to reming you that I am the fortunate possessor of one or two copies of the Messenger. This magazine, which you edited, was considered a radical magazine and its scope was worldwide. You talked about exploitation in this magazine. Could you tell me a little bit more about it since I only have that one copy, or two.

Randolph — Yes, the Messenger was devoted to the problem of the exploitation of the black worker in particular and the exploitation of workers in general. It was basically Socialist-oriented, and discussed the doctrine of Socialism as one of the forces for the liberation of the worker in general, and the black worker in particular. I, together with a number of other black and white radicals, spent a lot of time getting the Messenger circulated among black leaders.

Springer — Who were some of those leaders? I know one man who was your associate - Chandler Owen. Are there some other men whom you recall?

Randolph — Yes, George Schuyler, Theophilus Lewis....

Springer — Who were these men, what did they do?

Randolph — Theophilus Lewis was a writer and Chandler Owen was co-editor, with myself, of the Messenger. Schuyler was business manager of the Messenger, and we had about a half-dozen other young Negro writers who gave their time to the struggle of the liberation of the black people from American racial oppression.

Springer — Brother Randolph, the name of Frank Crosswaith comes to mind because, as a partisan for the moment, he was a member of my union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. He, too, was a pamphleteer. Was he an associate in this struggle, both national and international, on exploitation?

Randolph — He was a member of our group. As a matter of fact, he was one of the original builders of the movement, and he also represented the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in various meetings. I had him to make trips throughout the country for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and he was probably one of the most knowledgeable of all the people we had on matters of labor and Socialist propaganda. I had great faith in and devotion to him, and he would spare no pains in carrying the message for the liberation of black workers, and workers in general, all over this nation - without pay....we had no means of paying him but we did what we could to keep him on the road. But the time came when we could no longer maintain him.

Springer — Brother Randolph, while we were discussing this a little earlier you and Mrs. Wilds kept referring to a number of people who were contributors, who were concerned, and who were brillaint men in the struggle against exploitation. I wonder if I could just push Mrs. Wilds a little and ask her if she would tell us, in terms of names, some of the men with whom you were associated, to give you a greater recall on this, because she is the documenter.

Wilds

Wilds — Well, I recall Mr. Randolph mentioning Hubert Harrison as one of the great, black intellectual leaders of that era during the Messenger period, and he also contributed to the Messenger. I think Mr. Randolph was very impressed with Mr. Harrison and they did have a good friendship. ~~Mr. Randolph, was Mr. Harrison involved in the African movement, was he interested in what wa~~

Mr. Randolph, was Mr. Harrison involved in the African movement, was he interested in what was going on in Africa. Did he express his interest in writing.

Randolph — Yes, he did

Springer — Are some of those documents available?

Randolph — Some of them are, I think.

Springer — Well this would be an excellent opportunity then, Brother Randolph, if you would tell us a little about this man's mind and thinking. Also of W. A. Domingo.

Randolph — Well, W. A. Domingo was a close associate of mine and he was one of the brilliant leaders of our era. He, together with Hubert Harrison, George Schuyler and a few others, carried the torch in behalf of black radicalism.

Springer — Or either black justice, which was considered radical.

Randolph — That's true. I had great devotion to him. We had quite a number of these militant leaders and we organized various movements in which they were factors.

Wilds — Did you hold forums on Africa? I know you held forums on trade union and the black workersand conditions in America. As a group, did you talk about Africa?

Randolph — Yes, we held forums and we had some very far-reaching discussions about the role of the black American in the struggle of the African people. It meant a lot to the young Negroes coming on today because they looked upon this as something of great significance - the fight for Africa.

Springer — Chief, again we were talking about the approaches which you and your colleagues made on public education and public information. Did you hold street meetings and a part of this public education, and where?

Randolph — Yes, street meetings represented one of our most effective educational agencies at that time, and I may say that our participants were not altogether black. We had some young white radicals who shared the soapbox with us in carrying the message and

the fight against imperialism in Africa.

Springer — Can you name any of them?

Randolph — One very prominent man was Jay Lovestone who is now one of George Meany's right-hand men in the AFL-CIO. Jay Lovestone was a brilliant mind, and has a long record of struggle and propaganda for labor in general and world socialism in particular. I know him very well and whenever I am in Washington at the A.F. of L. we spend some time together. We always hoped that we might be able to get more converts but we never were disappointed or discouraged because we didn't get as many as we sought.

Springer — Could you pinpoint for me and for those of us who will be priviliged to hear this and to have this as a reference - some of the places at which these street meetings were held. Were most of them on 125th Street in Harlem, New York City?

Randolph — Well, most of them were on 135th Street on Seventh Avenue and Lenox Avenue, and also on 125th Street. Then we also went downtown to Union Square.

Springer — Now what would you call Union Square at that period, because Union Square today does not have the same symbolic importance.

Randolph — Well, it's practically in the heart of New York, and not very far from the offices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. We held meetings there for our fight for the election of Socialist and liberal government representatives and also to spread the doctrine of the liberation of Africa. It was one of the great educational, democratic centers of the world....Union Square. It's known everywhere. You go to Africa, they know about it.

Springer — Yes that's, I suppose, similar to Hyde Park Corners in London. I wonder were meetings held in Brooklyn, because you had a large black community. Did you carry the message there?

Randolph — Yes we did. We held meetings in Brooklyn too, and we were fortunate in being able to get some of the black intelligentsia coming out not only to listen to the speakers but to publicly announce their support of this movement we were developing.

We also held meetings in various areas of Chicago on the question of Africa. So our movement was nationwide and the interest was mounting from time to time, not only among the blacks but also the liberals.

Springer — This/seems to me was part of the genesis of the coalition idea - that we needed one another, that humanity had a common denominator, and color was not the real factor.

Randolph — That's a very important point Maida and, as a matter of fact, it's the heart of the movement for the liberation of the oppressed people of the world. No one single group has the key to the solution of such world problems. You need a world impact against these evils, and in order to develop it you must have participants from all areas of modern life and, especially, among the oppressed class to bring their weight to bear in the interest of the liberation of the people under imperialism.

Springer — It would seem to me that this then would give the thrust of your concern as a member of the Executive Council in the AFL-CIO, seeing labor's role both domestically and internationally, and the work which you have done all over the world. I would like you to just give a word on that before we deal with that more specifically.

Randolph — I had played some role on this question in the conventions of the AFL-CIO. I was interested in the college at Kampala, and wanted that some money would be raised among the labor people and that the leaders would support the movement.

Springer — Now, Kampala is in Uganda, is it not, and that is in eastern Africa.

Randolph — Yes, eastern Africa. I also was interested in the labor movement in this country supporting the African students who came over here to attend these colleges. And many of them came to the conventions of the A.F. of L. - that is, the meetings, and many of them looked for me in order for me to help them with their problems here.

Springer — Indeed! I would say that was the understatement of the day since, in many instances, I acted as a small buffer so that you would not be always overwhelmed.

Randolph

I met with some opposition, Maida. You take, for instance, the representatives from England who always attended the AFL conventions. They vigorously opposed my position on the fight in the interest of justice in the liberation of the African people. In fact they didn't like the idea of my calling upon the AFL-CIO to put funds in the Kampala College and they didn't like the idea of my getting up on the floor and raising the question. They had one meeting where there was quite some fight about the matter. I wanted to make a speech at that meeting but the English representatives kept me from doing it. And they did it by getting some of the AFL-CIO representatives to use a parliamentary procedure in closing down the meeting before I could get the opportunity to get in and make a statement. Some of them didn't feel that that was right, and they regretted it.

This struggle was hot. I was insisting on young Africans going to Harvard, going to Boston College and these big eastern institutions of learning. The English representatives said that was unnecessary; this is where the conflict came in and I had the problem of trying to win the support of the American Federation of Labor leaders in backing this position. There were a large number of people who didn't think that all this money should be spent in the interest of bringing these students all the way from Africa here. The English, especially, fought the idea bitterly. I got up on the floor and supported it but they eventually prevailed.

Springer

But you won that fight. The college was built, which served young men and women from twenty-seven countries in Africa, in a resident college with the highest possible standards, with black and white instructors from across the labor world. You won that fight!

June 28, 1973

Oral History Program
African-American Labor History Center

Springer — Good afternoon Brother Randolph, or, better still, my beloved Chief. Today we are going to do another segment of some of your recollections. The 1955 merger convention in December of the AFL-CIO...in that delegation was included a young African, John Tettegah, who was the General Secretary of the Ghana Trade Union Congress.. Would you, Chief, consider this American unity congress of significance to African trade union leadership?

Randolph — Yes, I would. I think that it marked a significant turning point in the position of black leaders of labor in America along with black leaders of labor in Africa. I think that the work of John Tettegah was of tremendous significance by way of awakening a new interest in the struggle of black labor in Africa.

Springer — Indeed. And, as the General Secretary, he was speaking on behalf of the total continent of Africa, was he not?

Randolph — That's true, he was. And he was recognized too, by African workers, as their voice at one of the crucial periods in the history of that great continent.

Springer — But it does seem to me that the fact of the merger convention offered additional recognition to the continent of Africa, to the leaders there, of American labor's concern.

Randolph — Surely. And it also gave great spiritual strength to the American labor movement because the American labor movement had not fully grasped the basic faith of the black workers of Africa in the world unity of labor, in the interest not only of the liberation of African workers but also American workers. In fact, the American labor movement needed the spiritual inspiration which contact with African labor gave them. Many of them had no

concept whatsoever of the fact that the hopes and dreams of black labor in Africa had such reality. I was, myself, basically interested in getting the American labor movement completely involved in this struggle because I knew what it meant to this country, especially our black workers here in this country. I began to see that the American labor movement was manifesting increasing interest in this struggle. It gave a lot of strength to me to note that.

Springer — Among the African trade union leaders who sought your counsel and support and who recognized your consistent position on the question of Africa, Tom Mboya was perhaps the best known in labor circles.

Randolph — He was, indeed. Tom Mboya was one of the fine youngsters who had thoroughly caught the vision and the spiritual course which the movement of labor organization on that continent had developed. he knew, too, the shortcomings of black workers in America, as well as the shortcomings of white workers when it came to the world's perspective on this issue. We, in America, did not have the great world outlook on the role which labor meant to civilization at this period. However, I am glad to say that George Meany was always ready to lendd the hand of the American Federation of Labor in the development of labor organization and labor education in Africa. Tom Mboya was looked upon and regarded as one of the fine beacon lights of the labor movement of the world.

Springer — Out of that continuing interest and respect for the understanding and awareness of Tom Mboya, you gave rather special attention to the problems in Kenya and the needs of the Kenya Federation of Labor in your capacity as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This took some very positive action which you engaged in, in the Council and in Kenya.

I wonder if you could perhaps indicate a few of those...like the contribution of $35,000 from the William Green Fund for the construction of Solidarity House.

Randolph — That was a very significant development in this whole movement of labor in Africa and America.

Springer — Did you go overseas in order to make the presentation, and did you meet with the trade union leaders in that (then) very difficult country?

Randolph — I met with a number of trade union leaders in various areas of Africa and I was greatly uplifted by the recognition of their complete understanding of labor as a force in society, as well as in Africa and this country. As a matter of fact, many of them were far ahead of some of our American trade union leaders.

Springer — Did you find this unusual as you met with these young men, and a few women, in East Africa...this was in Kenya...as you met with these young men who were under very serious pressure? This was during the period of preventive detention, and a lot of other things, in Kenya. Do you feel that they recognized in you - this brother from America representing the total labor force who could help them to carry forward the work ahead.

Randolph — The African labor people were very friendly to me,very kind, as a matter of fact, in welcoming my presence among them and also giving ear to my discussion of the role of organized labor and the whole movement for the liberation of the workers in particular, and society as a whole.

Springer — Was the money which you presented from the William Green Fund for the building of a trade union center in Kenya...this is Solidarity House.

Randolph — That is right. Yes, this was for the purpose of helping them develop and maintain Solidarity House, and have it serve as one of the forces for the organization and education of African workers.

Springer — Did you have opposition by the then colonial government - the fact that American labor was making this first contribution for the building of a nerve center for African workers in education, and in the study of the labor movement, and a meeting hall for all of the workers who could be housed there.

Randolph — Well, I never met with any strong opposition from any of the government - that is,imperialist government forces because,perhaps, I imagine, they felt that I represented the voice of American labor and that American labor had the spiritual support of America as a whole.

Springer — But this was not true of the young men who tried to reach you and/to carry on the business at hand with you.

Randolph — That is right. They, of course, were up against the forces of colonial rule which had no intention of giving any recognition to African labor whether it was supported by the American labor movement or even the American government, because they felt that the workers, the common people, the forces of Africa who were the heart of labor, had to be under the guidance of colonialism, of imperialism. Therefore, the African labor forces were up against, perhaps, the most difficult problem that labor has faced anywhere in the world. And yet they held their own. I understand that progress is being made even now, in all areas of Africa.

The political climate in Kenya was definitely anti-labor, especially organized labor. The workers in Kenya were conscious of this fact and they were not altogether convinced that I would be able to do anything effectively to enable the Kenya workers to develop without the oppression of colonialism.

Springer — Would this be in 1956, prior to Independence?

Randolph — It was. As a matter of fact, my visit was viewed with great concern as to how I, myself, would be able to carry on the program without being annoyed and opposed by the colonial forces. Fortunately, however, the young Kenya African labor leaders who were willing to place their security and freedom on the block. It was one of the great points of change, political and economic change, in the life of African labor. I was gratified to note that, and when I returned to America many of our labor leaders were amazed to know that I had gotten even the ear of the growing forces of labor in Africa.

Springer — Did you travel beyond Kenya? Did you visit any of the labor leaders and/or political leaders in Tanganyika? I know that you had very serious conversations with Rachidi Kawawa, who was then the General Secretary of the Tanganyika Federation of Labor.

Randolph — That is true. It's been a long time, and that period is not as clear in my mind as I would like it to be. But I was gratified to note that the future of African labor was undoubtedly greatly encouraging and the leaders of the movement were conscious of the fact that progress was being made and would be continually made by African labor.

Springer — The Tanganyika Federation of Labor at that time was just about two years old because with the assistance of Tom M'Boya the Federation there became an entity. With your help, I believe, the Federation was saved at one time when they faced serious colonial difficulty. Do you recall that period when emergency help was sent? What did that do for the strengthening of our bonds then as worker to worker.

Randolph — It gave the workers a new faith and tremendous encouragement to know that someone had come to talk with them and to work with them, who was dedicated to the workers. I spent a lot of time trying to convince the African labor leaders of the fact that no labor movement could develop and grow and become a force without opposition from the ruling forces, and that opposition would come regardless of the nationality, race or faith. And, to my great surprise and encouragement, the young African leaders were probably more aggressive than myself. They knew what they faced and they were not unwilling to take the consequences. They gave me great encouragement because I had gone through this sort of thing here in this country , you know, and began to tell them about what this might involve and that, also, they had great support from the American labor movement.

The understanding of the African problem by American labor was not too clear but American labor realized that a worker is a worker and, in the last analysis, they had to stick together and work together in order to survive.

Springer — The Tunis conference in 1957 exemplifies much of what you are saying. After your speech at that congress, do you feel that a great deal of the work of the AFL-CIO in support of the African trade union freedom and the independence movement was accelerated?

Randolph — I think so, unquestionably. It reached quite an important and significant stage in the struggle of black workers in Africa. One of the things that gave me great encouragement was that the young Africans were so conscious of their problems and of their ability ultimately to solve them. This was of great importance and significance to American labor too - that they were face to face with a group that had the consciousness of their role in Africa, which the American labor movement didn't have here in this country.

Springer — It has been stated over and over again by those who attended the congress, the Tunis congress, that the life style of the African leader in terms of what he saw as the goals, the way to reach them was literally changed by your participation and the total American position which you symbolized.

Randolph — That is right. African labor had great respect and appreciation also for William Green. William Green was one of the great forces for the emancipation of African labor and he was followed by Meany and the forces of labor, as a whole, here in this country. And it was a great education to me because it wasn't easy to get the young Africans to fully grasp the significance of the struggle they were in. Of course it was a great education for me, in the first place, getting in to Africa, and being able to work among the African youngsters and leaders was almost a revival and religion to see what was going on. I spent a lot of time talking with the young African leaders. It meant so much to me.

The black workers, and not workers alone, but the NAACP and Roy Wilkins, they were amazed on my return to America, at the fact that I had played some role in Africa among the workers there.

Springer — One of the things that comes to mind about Africa, not only about the trade union movement but the relationship of the trade union movement and the independence movement - you were present at the independence of Ghana, were you not?

Randolph — That's right.

Springer — Would you say that labor played an important role in that transition?

Randolph — Unquestionably. And the Ghanians were conscious of that fact. They knew that they had no hope without an organized labor movement, especially with the support, cooperation and understanding of organized labor in America.

Springer — You knew Dr. Nkrumah rather well, didn't you?

Randolph — Very well, that's right. And,he was basically friendly to the labor movement. He, of course, was one of the great African leaders and he had problems with the colonial forces. But he knew where he was going and he also had the support of Dr. DuBois.. DuBois had given his life to the written word and to the emancipation of black Americans from racism. Nevertheless, Dr. DuBois was willing to give his life to Africa and, as a matter of fact, he practically did.

Springer — Is it true that Dr. DuBois was responsible, with some others, for initiating congresses which brought black men together to talk about world affairs?

Randolph — That is right, and he must be given credit for that. He knew that I had, perhaps, a deeper concept of the role of labor than he did. DuBois, of course, was a great scholar but he didn't know very much about the role of labor, organized labor, and he wanted to get my concept of it and my cooperation and support in order that he might be useful among the black workers in Africa.

Springer — Brother Randolph, did you prepare the project, or the memorandum, which began the Harvard trade union scholarship program?

Randolph — Well, I should say that I undoubtedly helped to prepare it and helped to develop the force to give it reality. I think that we were fortunate

in having some people in Harvard who were committed to the idea of organized labor and immediately supported and backed the labor forces of the country. Because you didn't have the leaders of the colleges committed to the principle of organized labor. They had to be brought up to the realization of what labor meant, not only in America and Africa but throughout the world.

Springer — Brother Randolph, your deep commitment to study opportunity for young Africans was such that you must of had a long-range perspective as to the role they would play. Could you give us a little of that reasoning which went into that memorandum which began the Harvard program.

Randolph — That is absolutely correct. I had a feeling and recognition of the fact that African labor should not get the idea that they were incapable of grasping and comprehending the principles of organized labor, and that they should not have the contact with the forces of education in America, especially those educational agencies in America that were committed to organized labor, such as Harvard University.

I got a lot of opposition on the floor of the A. F. of L. when I supported the idea of Harvard having the opportunity to give of its great educational resources to the advancement of African labor leadership. In this instance, I was concerned about development of African leadership so that they would be able to give the African working masses the benefit of both their educational and spiritual strength.

Springer — Did you think that the African leaders had sufficient opportunity to deal with management as American labor does in the free exercise of negotiation for wages?

Randolph — The African workers didn't have as many leaders as they needed to enable them to understand the principles and the history of the struggle of the workers, not only in Africa but throughout the world for a better life. I wanted the African workers to have the contact with a great educatio nal institution as Harvard.

Springer — Did you feel that these young men and women only needed the opportunity to utilize their potential?

Randolph — Yes, I was conscious that they, if given the opportunity, had the ability to utilize it and also to help advance the great cause of education in Africa. I supplied the leadership for the development of that program on the floor of the convention of the AFL-CIO and, I might say, that I got the opposition of the British representatives who were in this country at that time. They didn't believe that the African workers needed this kind of leadership. They felt that they ought to come up the hard way, and that there wasn't the time, there wasn't the opportunity to give them this kind of education.

Springer — Would you say that that was more political than it was reality?

Randolph — It was more political than anything else. You're quite correct. Of course, all the British labor people didn't feel that way, but there were some there that were definitely opposed to me and definitely opposed to my program, as far as having Africans, young Africans, come here to this country and go to courses at Harvard and other universities. And many of them did come.

Springer — It is true, then, that this program continues to today. on various levels, but there is still a Harvard program.

Randolph — There is a Harvard program and, as a matter of fact, it is enlarged.

Springer — In addition, there are many on-the-spot programs, I believe,in Africa as a result of that early work with the Harvard seminar.

Randolph — That is right.

Springer — Is it true that some of those leaders have returned to effectively do a teaching job in their own country?

Randolph — They have, that's true. As a matter of fact they were also instrumental in giving strength to the Kampala College idea which was not welcome by some of the British labor leaders and by some of the American leaders.

But I felt that the Africans had the capacity and had the right to the highest levels of education because they had a country to develop, a continent to develop, and that meant that they need to know something about the instrumentalities of modern progress as it applies to all workers and, especially, black workers in Africa.

This was an important period in my time in the labor movement. They wanted to know: if you can't get any unions built in America by the Harvard program, how are you going to get it done in Africa? I pointed out to them that the African workers needed inspiration and that they needed to feel and understand that they were as entitled to access to the highest level of education in the world, just as much as the white workers. This was what the Harvard program was providing.

There was a lot to that struggle, Maida, and sooner or later I'm going to write something about it. That was quite a period and I enjoyed it immensely. There is talk even now - George Meany, only recently, was talking about the Kampala program. I fought for that program. At one time there was some disposition to drop it but of course Meany felt that it was necessary and the AFL-CIO leadership, as a whole, came around to that view.

You know, Maida, credit ought to be given the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations under the leadership of Green and, especially, George Meany for giving the strength of the American labor movement for the purpose of advancing the cause of trade union development of African workers in order that they may realize that there is great hope in the modern world for Africa and for African workers. I want to give great credit to the American labor movement for the role it has played in giving its material and spiritual and educational support to African labor. No other single agency in America and, for that matter, in the world has done as much to this end as the American labor movement.

I spent a lot of time trying to step up and accelerate the program and I can say that the very heart of the American labor movement was given

over to Africa and they appreciate it.- the possibilities of the future of the labor movement in Africa. No other single group in America had that attitude, had that spirit. They have developed and maintained,consistently, a program to carry forward this ideal.

Springer — Is that the program of the African American Labor Center out of which hundreds of programs have been developed?

Randolph — Yes, that is true.

Springer — Are there some special things you would like to refer to?

Randolph — Well, chiefly, the work of organizing a union - a labor union in Africa. That's something that is educational itself. But in addition to that, there was the plan, and idea, of fostering a broad educational program in Africa and that was symbolized in the Kampala organization and educational plan. The money for the Kampala development has come from the American labor movement.

Springer — Would you say it came from the American labor movement in the main?

Randolph — In the main, that's right. Of course it had support from other workers, such as England and France, and so forth.

Springer — That would be following tne emphasis of American labor?

Randolph — The emphasis and inspiration of American labor.

Springer — Are there some permanent institutions in Africa today which reflect this American commitment in any of the countries?

Randolph — Well, I should say Solidarity House in Nairobi; the Kampala College perhaps is an outstanding institution...

Springer — Is the Kampala College,in this context, anAmerican

1

West Side School

COLD SPRING HARBOR, N. Y. 11724

T. B. HILTON, PRINCIPAL

March 27, 1974

My dear Mr Randolph,

Having been a long-time admirer of yours I was delighted when one of my 4th graders chose to "do" you. Despite some factual errors it was a fine report for a 10 year old. The world of Black America and the world of the Unions is far from his world but he did seem to grasp the significance of your work. I couldn't resist sharing it.

Best wishes for your continued good health.

Cordially,
Katherine Dell'Olio

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Did you know that A. Philip Randolph was the first Negro to start a labor union?

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, April 15, 1889. His father was so poor that he couldn't support his family. Philip had to do odd jobs as a child, like he was always looking for a grocery store. When he wasn't working he liked to read. As a boy he read all the books in his father's library.

After high-school he decided to go to the

College of the City of New York. The Reason he went was that he felt he was just another mouth for his parents to feed. He went to the North because it would be easier to get a education, being a Negro. Philip didn't have much time to study though, because he had to work his way through college.

When America joined World War I, he and a friend started a monthly magazine called the Messenger. They wrote articles about how nice it would be if all men were treated the same.

For ten years black leaders had been trying

to form the black train porters into a union. Finally Randolph organized a train porter union called the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925. (Forming a union would force higher-paying jobs.) Before the union was formed the porters had to live on tips. Now they could count on a regular salary.

can you explain why

In 1941 the bosses weren't hiring Negroes. Randolph didn't like this. He complained to President Franklin D. Roosevelt about it. Roosevelt said he would try to help and he kept his word. Soon the government and industry bosses had to hire men off all colors.

He was a labor
leader for 45 years and
received many honors.

Jeffrey Putnam

West Side School
Cold Spring Harbor
New York, 11724
March 29 1979

May 10, 1974

Miss Katherine Dell 'Olio
West Side Elementary School
Laurel Hollow Road
Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y. 11724

Dear Miss Dell'Olio:

I regret my long delay in responding to your letter of March 27 but I have been away from the city.

I was greatly moved when I read the composition by young Jeffrey Putnam; it was interesting and perceptive and I will keep it as a priceless addition to my biography.

My congratulations and cordial good wishes to Jeffrey and yourself.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

April 18, 1974

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss
Edward Waters College
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Dear Dr. Voss:

Just a word of remembrance and to apologize for my delinquency in writing to express my thanks for the three volumes you sent me about the life and work of Rabbi Stephen Wise and the Reverend John Haynes Holmes.

I read them with great interest and profit, both for the fact that they were leaders of great spiritual and intellectual strength and because the work is done in stately diction. You are to be congratulated on your contribution to the preservation and dissemination of the spiritual forces these great men reflected.

I greatly regret that my physical frailities prevented my keeping my promise to visit Edward Waters College and enjoy the spiritual and educational life of that splendid institution with you, the faculty and student body.

My father, who was a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, placed my brother James and myself in that institution when we were mere youngsters. One of the reasons for his taking this action was that Edward Waters College was established and being maintained by the A.M.E. Church. When we grew older we were placed in Cookman Institute

which was, and is, maintained by the Methodist Church North. We remained there until we had completed the high school courses.

I wanted you to know about this background of mine and I want to also express the hope that I may be able to visit Edward Waters College some time in the not distant future.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

The University of Massachusetts Press Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

23 January 1974

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph;

The University of Massachusetts Press is engaged in the long-range project of publishing the papers of the late Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. Two volumes appeared in 1973: The Education of Black People and The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, Volume One, Selections, 1877-1934. The series is edited by Dr. Herbert Aptheker with the full cooperation of Dr. Du Bois's widow.

Currently being prepared is the second volume of Dr. Du Bois's Correspondence which, like the first, will contain representative letters written by and to Dr. Du Bois. All letters, both to and from him, that appear in the volume will be published in full. Editorial comment is limited to factual data and historical background. Among the letters which we are anxious to include (duplicates attached) are:

A. Philip Randolph to Dr. Du Bois 5/24/35
7/3/35

May Dr. Aptheker have your permission to reproduce these letters in the aforesaid volume? The book will indicate, of course, that permission has been graciously offered.

If we may have your permission, please sign as indicated below and return one copy of this letter, for our records, at your earliest convenience. A return envelope is enclosed.

With appreciation for your consideration,

Sincerely yours,

Betty St. Martin

Betty St. Martin
Assistant to the Editor

Dr. Aptheker has my permission to reproduce the letter(s) specified above, in The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois: Volume II, Selections, 1934-1944, to be published by the University of Massachusetts Press.

A. Philip Randolph Jan. 29, 1974
(signature) (date)

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

105 West 136th Street

New York, N.Y.

May 24, 1935

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta University

Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On the 27th of May or a few days after, the Pullman porters, by order of the National Mediation Board, will be given an opportunity to vote in a national election for the organization they want.

This is the first time that Negro workers have had the opportunity to vote as a national group in an election under federal supervision, for thei economic rights. It is an extraordinary occasion. It is the result of 10 years of militant, determined and courageous fighting by a small band of black workers against one of the most powerful corporations in the world. It may be interesting for you to know that on the Pullman Board of Director sit J. P. Morgan, R. K. Mellon, Alfred P. Sloan, George F. Baker, Harold S. Vanderbilt, George Whitney and others. These men rule Wall Street, Amer ica and practically the world of capitalist finance and industry. And yet the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has, in the face of nameless oppo sition and terror, stood its ground through one of the worst depressions ever witnessed in America, and has come to the point where it has caused a national election to be called to determine the organization the porters really want.

Now the election will be secret and off Pullman property. On the balli will be the names of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Pulls

Porters and Maids Protective Association or the Company Union. The Pullman Company caused the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association to be formed when the amendment to the Railway Labor Act by the 73rd Congress killed the old company union known as the Plan of Employee Representation. The law does not allow railroad companies to finance employees' organizations and so this new company union was planned to come within the law from the point of view of appearance. The Company, however, is financing the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association secretly.

Because of the great significance of this election to Pullman porters in particular and the race in general, I am herewith requesting that should you make any addresses at any time during this election, which will extend from May 27th to June 22nd, will you say a word on behalf of the Pullman porters' union in its fight to break down the company union? The porters who have suffered, sacrificed and struggled to conquer the Pullman monopoly will be grateful for your cooperation. When the Brotherhood wins this fight, it will probably be the most significant economic victory and stride of substantial and constructive progress the Negro has made in history.

The story is yet to be written of the great sacrifice that were made to bring this fighting organization to this point where we are quite certain of winning the fight.

If the porters, who are the vanguard of the black workers of America, feel that their press, church and education are backing them, it will mean much to their morale when they face the organized millions of the Pullman Company.

The election will be held in 66 districts and agencies, from coast to coast, throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/de

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

125 West 138th Street

New York, N.Y.

Chicago Division Headquarters

4231 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

July 3, 1935

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,

Atlanta University

Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed copy of telegram is self-explanatory. ~~Mx~~

May I request that you be present at the hearing indicated and bring all the facts and material you may have purporting to establish discrimination by trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor against Negro workers.

I hope you may find it possible to be present because of the great importance of this ~~mxx~~ matter and the special strategic position you hold in being able to shed light on it.

With cordial good wishes, I am

~~Xxxxx~~

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph, National President,

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

APR:bc

Essex County College
31 CLINTON STREET, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102
201-621-2200

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

July 21, 1975

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
280 9th Avenue
Apartment 5-B
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a copy of the transcript made from our conversation in May. I hope you'll excuse the many errors of typing which reflect the fact that it was done by an amature--me.

At the end of the transcript you'll find an explanatory paragraph and an indication of how I intend to use the material. If you would care to add anything to what's here, I would be happy to hear from you.

Thank you, again, for taking the time to give me this interview. Together with the other material I have, your comments and information are most helpful.

Best wishes,

John Seabrook

John Seabrook
Department of History, Philosophy and Religion

JS:yw

Interview: A. Philip Randolph (A.P.R.)
Richard Parrish (R.P.)
Date: May 1, 1975

R.P. Layle Lane--I guess was one of our first black national vice-pres. of the American Federation of Teachers. She was what you call a "general" vice-president--in other words, she was to organize Negroes all over the United States. Frank R. Crosswaith was a general organizer. He was to organize Negroes...all over the city, or wherever the call may come: in the south, in the midwest...

JHS He was right out of Dubinsky's office?

R.P. No, he was located in Harlem, at the center...(tape broken and repaired at this point.) But he never had an area, a field, which other organizers had, with which you would have people that you knew, that you would negotiate contracts for, and who, in a sense, became loyal to you, so you had a constituency with some power. And that's what I'm trying to get to about Frank. It was a tragedy...and the only reason I came into the operation of the NLC was when I found out that he was only a general organizer. I always thought he was an organizer for New York City, or for the Harlem area. But he was a general organizer. And this job was given to him as a means of having a livlihood, in addition to the Negro Labor Committee, which was based on unions, paying dues. But it wasn't enough (the amount of dues) to really run an area. And the responsibility that Frank had, of educating the Negroes in the Harlem area, of making them acquainted positively with the labor movement, to try to organize themselves into bona fide trade unions--this was a tremendous responsibility. And no other organizer...had a more difficult job than that. And he only got $75.00 a week. And then, when he came of retirement age, naturally they were going to cut that loose, if he couldn't carry on. So I found out that he was coming along in years, and had a heart conditions, I then came in to try to carry on the Negro Labor Committee so that he could maintain $75.00 per week.

J.H.S. Would it be true to say that from somewhere in the mid-'50's, that he was only the formal head? I get the impression that he was not that active from then until he died.

R.P. The late '50's would be a good approximate date.

J.H.S. And that's when you were active.

R.P. I was quite active at that time. When I found out what was happening, then I told Mrs. Gittens that he really should retire. (Comments heere about Mrs. Gittens and her extensive knowledge of Committee affairs.) So, I kept it up until such time as he passed away, which was about '65 or so.

J.H.S. Would it be true to say that he was assigned to the Labor Committee as his job when he was not being called on by the union?

R.P. Well, Brother Randolph might recall when they formed the Negro Labor Committee, around 1935 or so. They had this big convention. Out of this convention came the structure of the NLC, as such, and the Negro Labor News; in other words, he was given a name, and had a structure

A little bit more than a general organizer. And at that time in the labbr movement was a tremendous need to get blacks into the labor movement, ~~because xxxx

talking about a different period, when theblacks realize that they have to come together and have a common identity before they can grasp the hand. In those days ....

J.H.S. Were y;ou both involved in the 19th A.D. Socialist local?

A.P.R. I don't think I was. That is, working with it ~~particularly~~ specifically.

R.P. Are you speaking of the time when Frank ran...In the '20's we had a solid socialist party. Becker was the organizer for the Socialist Party on 125th Street. (This seems to refer to the '40's--not clear.)

(In response to a comment that Socialist leaders like Parrish, Owen, and Randolph moved into the labor movement, Parrish pointed out that the Party had always supported the labor movement. He also pointed out that all had to make a living: "I don't see how you could make a living on the Socialist Party!" He also commented: "In the process of becoming a labor organizer, andmoving up and becoming the top man, you have a big budget, you begin to have the power, you begin to forget. You deal with business leaders, managers, heads of big corporations...you don't have enough time to do the running of a political Socialist movement. Now, they all theoretically, are Socialists...but they are registered in the Democratic Party, and they won't contribute anything to the Socialist Party.")

R.P. For a while we were talking about a labor party...there again, whenever you're dealing with Socialists and Communists, and Trotyskites, and so forth, whenever you're dealing with those types of idealogues, the chance of splitting up is extremely high.

A.P.R. Yes, it is. So many theoriticans...political theoriticans, economic theoriticans. There was that intellectual conflict. But, basically, I think, it had an enrichment of the black community, and of young black people coming along. They could see that there were some people in the community who had some itdea. They were not trying to capture any particular realm where the money was, or try to get too close to it. I know there was a young fellow, Chandler Owen, and myself published what is known as the Messenger magazine. All we had were ideals. We had no money. And there was no way to get any money, as a matter of fact. Because there were few heads of organizations...top leaders..few of them would give the Socialists any though whatsoever. They looked upon them as nonentities. And intellectuals, of course, we tried to tell everybody what to do and how to do it, so far as running the government was concerned, and carrying on the fight and the struggle for the elimination of discrimination of all kinds. We were dedicated to that. And, as a matter of fact, I have never been concerned with trying to make money, out of the Socialist movement, or even out of the Brotherhodd of Sleeping Car Porters. Chandler Owen and I organized that. We had members all over thenation. And they were committed to our program, and they believed in our organization. We didn't only fight for the rights of our workers as black workers; but also for the elimination of racism. And one of the things that gave us some strength was that we never wavered on the right of the black man to complete equality, in American life andin the world system. And that was really the root of the Messenger magazine.

(Questioner established a framework of dates for FRC's activities, covering the period, 1918-1935. The purpose was to elicit details of Crosswaith's activities during these years.)

J.H.S. I understand, for example, that he went on speaking tours at one time.

A.P.R. Yes, that's right.

J.H.S. When was that--early '20's.

A.P.R. Yes, that's right. He was a noted orator. He was one of the best we had.

R.P. He was definately the black Gene Debs.

J.H.S. I can't track down who called him that.

R.P. But that was a fact. That was a fact. He was extremely eloquent.

A.P.R. That's true; and he had evident sincerity. When he spoke to an audience, he captured an audience--not only by his diction, his knowledge, and so forth, but by his dedication to the cause of Socialism andthe struggle for Negro rights. I don't think there was anyone who a higher record than he, do you?

R.P. No. That came through very strongly. Even in his later years ~~he~~ even in his good years, when he was Commissioner of Housing, they tried to buy him off, for $14,000 a year job. In those days that was like a $30,000 a year job today. Now here's a man who never had anything. He refused to take it. O'Dwyer, I believe it was, was the mayor at the time. He offered him this job. But he said, 'No, if I take this then I will be obligated to the mayor, I'll be obligated to the Democratic party. And I'm here to represent all the people, all the workers.' So he turned them down.

You see, when he was on the Housing Authority, he again acted by high idealism---he could not be bought. ---- I think there was a lot of wheeling and dealing, profiteering. He would have nothing to do with it. He also believed in inter-racial housing. He was the first person to say, 'There will be no discrimination in any housing unit built with public funds.' And he held on to this.

J.H.S. He was one of the first to do this?

R.P. Well, you know, federal housing was segregated. It was up to city housing, based on the liberal stance of the politicans, who actually ~~carr~~ carried out inter-racial housing. And he was one who fought for that.

Another thing that he fought for was to have housing projects named after labor people. And he was very careful not to be called, 'the Negro representative.' (Following Socialist ideas, FRC chose to take a position that he represented all workers; he did not want to be segregated in any way.)

J.H.S. He was appointed to the position in 1942. You(Randolph) were the candidate for the job. Did you recommend Crosswaith?

A.P.R. I recommended Crosswaith. LaGuardia and myself were good friends. I had faith in him. I considered him honest. He was an able administrator. In fact, LaGuardia had a good name among Negroes.

J.H.S. And among, Socialists, too, evidently.

A.P.R. Oh, yes. Well, he was practically a Socialist himself, at one time. Wouldn't you say so, Dick?

R.P. He was a Socialist.

J.H.S. So he knew Crosswaith already, then?

A.P.R. Oh, yes.

R.P. That's part of it. Brother Randolph, do you remember in 1941, when you organized the first March on Washington? Bro. Crosswaith naturally wanted to be a part of it. So, of course, he had to be considered. I'll never forget. He came to me and said, 'Dick, I hear that Randolph's going to organize this. Will you keep me informed? I want to be a part of it.' He wanted to be a part of anything that Mr. Randolph was a part of, particularly a th;ing which was for freedom for all people. And it was the force that we developed out of the MOWM that gave the punch and the bargaining power for the Mayor to make a concession, just as it was for President Roosevelt, to make a concession. And it was that organized, mass power that Mr. Randolph was one of the first to advocate, if not the first to advocate. But he was certainly, for the last fifty years, the first and foremost advocate of non-violent, mass action which, as you know, always has political overtones. And we held a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden. Blacks had never had such a meeting. And at that time the Mayor announced that Crosswaith would be named as the first...you see. But Brother Randolph, that was because of the March on Washington. It wasn't because LaGuardia was a friend of yours, or because he was a Socialist. (A.P.R. That's right.) The thing that did it was the Ma5ch on Washington. That scared these people like no other thing. Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, H. Rap Brown, all wrapped together, never had the power, the real power, and threat that that first March had.

J.H.S. Mr. Crosswaith was involved with the March? (R.P. Actively.) Was he present in Wahshington when you met with Roosevelt?

A.P.R. He was, I think, there. My memory is not too good now, but Frank was with me in practically everything. He was dedicated. I knew that he was dedicated. People knew.

J.H.S. This was something that I was not too clear on...if he was...it seemed that he was involved in so many things that I wondered if he was just loaning his name...(A.P.R. Oh, no.)

A.P.R. As I recall, he was there. (He then went on to praise, in general, those who had worked with him, especially singling out for praise Chandler Owen.) I think, more than any other single thing, that period was enriched by the fact that those who were

involved in it had endless courage.

J.H.S. One of the things that Mr. Crosswaith complained about, although not until later, was that, when he organized the Labor Committee in '35, a bunch of unions joined it that turned out to be Communist unions, or locals, joining with the idea of taking over. He said that when they found out that they couldn't take over, they pulled out and tried to destroy it. Problem: what unions was he talking about?

A.P.R. Some of the members of many unions. The radical unions: needle trades, longshoremen, some of the hotel workers. The miners, and so forth.

J.H.S. How much did this constant battle with Communists prevent the Labor Committee from doing other things that it should have, or, how much was that a part of its work?

A.P.R. Well, the Communists never took over anything that our group ran.

J.H.S. But it was a constant fight. Did this prevent the Labor Committee from doing other things, that it wouldhave been doing had it not been fighting?

A.P.R. No. The scope and the bredth of the fight on the part of the Labor Committee and all of the various movements with which ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ our group made a treaty was never taken over by anybody, especially the Communists. Now, we were not like ~~xxx~~ some groups who denounced the Communists because of theoretical reasons, claiming that it was a plot to conquer civilization and so forth, because the Communists were preaching their gospel, and I thought people ought to hear it and give their view about the matter, and poerhaps understand that they would have to fight to preserve the life of their community and union, to keep it from being captured by the Communists. I never have come out and said that I am against communists because it is a doctrine that is against the progress of the world, because the Communists have made a contribution, by way of criticism and discussion. And their attempt to take over unions (and I"ve been in union meetings where Communists rose and preached their doctrine, and it had some value because there were some people in the labor movement who didn't know anything about the labor movement or Socialism)....I and my group opposed the Communists because they were trying to take over the Socialist movement.

J.H.S. The Conflict, then, grew out of the Soc.-Comm. split. It didn't grow out of disagreement about goals, or who should control labor unions?

A.P.R. Oh, yes. The Communists wanted to take over labor unions. And they would have if the Socialists were not so strong.

J.H.S. Well, this is what I'm getting at. Was it, in effect, a part of Crosswaith's job and the labor committee's job to help fight this Communist move for power?

A.P.R. Oh, they did that.

R.P. It was part of the Labor Committee to organize a democratic labor movement. And this is where Crosswaith did spend a good bit of time on this. He ran into difficulty with the Communists, who

wsnted to block thiss... And this is what made him so definately against the Communist operation.

J.H.S. I started out thinking that the anti-Communist thing distracted the Committee from other things. But it was a basic part of the whole thing....

R.P. A part of the whole thing. I haven't got the number of unions that were organized by Mr. Crosswaith and the Labor Committee at that period....

J.H.S. Could I back up to this earlier period: the teens, '20's, and before '35. When he went on tour as a public speaker, was that mostly in the '20's, before he went to work for you?

R.P. Yes, that was during that period, but it was a long period, because he was always on the road....

J.H.S. He was working mostly for the Socialist party during that time?

A.P.R. The Socialist Party; working for me; working for (R.P. the Rand School)...that's right.

(Comments followed on the Rand School. A.PR pointed out that it was not Communist, but strictly Socialist, and one of the great schools of the country.)

J.H.S. Did Mr. Crosswaith resign from the Brotherhood? Or was he invited to resign?

A.P.R. No. As a matter of fact, most of us didn't have a lot of money, and Crosswaith had a family, and we talked about it. As a matter of fact, I couldn't live on what we got out of the union--the Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters. We had various lectures, among black and white people...it was a period of great enrichment for us, as well as trying to help other people understand what the forces were that were shaping society and all people. Socialism was one of the great movements of the world.

J.H.S. How wouldyou rate Mr. Crosswaith in terms of the work he did for you?

A.P.R. He was priceless, because he was one of the best speakers we had. The best orator, not only in theunion, but one of the best orators in the country.

J.H.S. But you never sent him on any trips for you.

A.P.R. Oh, yes we did. We sent him to unions (J.S. I mean around the country) Yes, around the country. He went on trips for the Bro. He was an effective force in the organization.

J.H.S. Did he leave, then, by a sort of mutual agreement?

A.P.R. Yes, because Crosswaith had a family, and he needed to make money.

J.H.S. Do you know, then, what he did when he left you?

A.P.R. Well, he was active in some of the unions, other unions, then, wasn't he, Dick?

R.P. Well, at that particular period, I think he spent a good deal of time with the Socialist Party. He ran for office, he ran a school, he was in demand (A.P.R. And he spoke around the country.)

J.H.S. So, after he left you, did he go back to his travels, back to his speaking?

R.P. I don't think he ever left it. He was in demand in the colleges...

A.P.R. Yes, and he never left the Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters. He never left me, in the sense of saying, 'I'm not going to participate any more.' Nothing like that. As a matter of fact, Crosswaith never was seperated from the Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters, or from myself. We were always active together. And he was a person of great spiritual quality, too. He had the capacity to convert people to the ideals for which he stood, and for which he fought.

J.H.S. When did he go to work for the ILGWU?

R.P. I wouldn't know that.

Did you have anything to do with getting him that job?

A.P.R. No, I didn't. Of course, we didn't have any money, and we couldn't give him the money he needed to have.

(Parrish commented that, without the work of the Bro. Women's Auxiliary, "I don't see how they could have survived.")

J.H.S. He ran for public office several times. In 1939, in the Labor Party, he ran for city council. His petitions were thrown out (R.P. He was cheated.) Now, honestly, could he have been elected that year?

R.P. He could have been elected.

A.P.R. That was possible, yes.

R.P. Ketchum (?) beat him out.

J.H.S. It's the standard thing, for someone to say, 'if this or that hadn't happened, I would have won.' But y;ou never know for sure.

R.P. Well, you take a look at the people around at that time. Crosswaith stood up at the top. Crosswaith had tremendous authority all over the city.

(Speaking of the struggle against both Communists and racket-unions, "I guess you could say that, since it had to be done in his view, it was a part of his job." R.P.)

(Asked about the circumstances surrounding the abortive attempt to create a Negro Labor Committee, U.S.A., R.P. replied that, while he knew of this, he was not directly involved, and that Alfred Baker Lewis could provide more information. He suggested that at least a part of the problem was one of personality clash, between Noah Walter and FRC.)

J.H.S. Is it possible that, in this particular case, Crosswaith felt like he was being moved out, pushed aside?

R.P. Well, you take a man (after an interuption) I was never around Mr. Crosswaith during this period, even though I became quite close when I saw what the real situation was in terms of power and in terms of his security. But you must remember that a man of Crosswaith's ability, and the accolades he would receive after speaking...for him to have only this littleNegro Labor Committee--it was all that he had--after all these years of working in the Socialist Party, in the American Labor Party, in the Liberal Party---this was all that this man had to say, "This is the sum of my life's work." So, I can see how he might be somewhat cautious about anyone who might take away, or want to take away, or who he might believe wanted to take away what he had developed over this period of ...years. (R.P. went on to repeat that he had no proof for his statements, and that he was not personally involved in the events.) Mr. Crosswaith only had this fragile Negro Labor Committee which he felt that sometimes he didn't really control; and this new idea was coming about that would give him even less control---I can imagine that he wasn't too happy about it.

J.H.S. At one point, he wrote a letter, in which he said that he hoped that you (Parrish) would take it over. Did he ever approach you about that?

R.P. Well, he always approached me as an idealist--as a Socialist. He was very kind, he was very fatherly toward me. And it seems as long as I worked with Mr. Crosswaith, he had no intention to move in that direction, as long as he lived that was Mr. Crosswaith's life's monument, and I would never....

J.H.S. But he saw you...

R.P. That he did, and Mrs. Gittens, both of them handed me the same thing. But as long as he could, it seems that he had to be there in order to get (his salary.) But still there was the question, what was he going to do? The pitiful ILGWU pension that he would have gotten was less than $75.00 a week. He was getting $75.00 a week as an ILGWU organizer.

J.H.S. The ILGWU provided most of the money for the Labor Committee, is that true?

R.P. One local or another.

J.H.S. Was the Brotherhood able to do much to help?

A.P.R. The Brotherhood was always a member....

J.H.S. But I mean in terms of money.

A.P.R. Yes.

(R.P. suggested that, if the labor movement believed in the unity of black and white labor, it should have supported the Committee. And it really did not do so.)

Was the idea of the Negro American Labor Council (now the National Afro-American Labor Council) in any way related to the idea of the Negro Labor Committee?

A.P.R. They all had the same idea.

R.P. They are going to carry forth the idea of fighting racism in the nation, the government, business and labor. However, the foundation of the Negro Labor Committee was based on these seperate unions who could ~~not~~, or would not, support the Negro Labor Committee on a rather flimsy basis. They really didn't believe, in my opinion, in the principle of the Negro Labor Committee. Now the NALC, we built on the foundation of black people's mass support by dues. We never asked a single union...just black workers' dues. We've had a hard time, because this is contrary to the power structured union and those who want to control.... But the idea of carrying the flag, of carrying it forward--yes, we're still carrying it forward. When the Negro Labor Committee went down, the Negro American Labor Council came up. We were all that's left. Now we have the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. They have the same idea that we have, except that they (receive greater support from unions with a large number of black workers, such as the State, County and Municipal Workers Union, the Hospital Workers Union, etc.) (The structure of the ~~Coal~~ NALC was compared, by R.P., to that of the NAACP.)

(In talking about the Harlem Labor Union, Inc., R.P. emphasised that Crosswaith never would accept the idea of organizing workers on the basis of color. He organized them as workers.)

(R.P. also pointed out that the support of the Labor Committee was really dependent on the power structure of various locals. As long as the idealism of local leaders was high, this support might be forthcoming. But when new leaders emerge, or the old ones loose some of their idealism, support could quickly be lost.)

(Both parties here reaffirmed FRC's ability as a speaker, and mentioned the power of his voice; R.P. said that the only ones who could compare with FRC were Randolph and Marcus Garvey.)

(Referring again to FRC's struggle with the Communist Party, R.P. commented, and A.P.R. Agreed, that "the question of integrity as applied to politics" was a primary factor in FRC's continual opposition to Communism. "It came out of his deep sense of integrity and honesty that he really had no use ~~of~~ for the Communist Party.")

J.H.S. He was one of the few men that I've come across, too, who had the nerve to come out in print and attack Senator McCarthy. Right at the high point of the McCarthy era he started coming out with letters to the editor, saying this man is as bad as the Communists.

R.P. Oh, that was easy. That was nothing for Crosswaith. You're talking about a man (who was banned from speaking in Memphis by Boss Crump, who was chased by the Klan for his speeches, and who could hardly be intimidated.)

Crosswaith would go into the deep South, in the '20'sand '30's, speaking and challenging Jim Crow--challenge it on the buses and in the eating places, and challenge it by talking to people-- and about Socialism! To write a letter about McCarthy--that was nothing new.

(A question about the failure of Wagner to re-appoint FRC to the NYC Housing Authority in 1956 brought responses from both men, to the effect that FRC was not a "political wheeler-dealer" and that, in Wagner's time, this quality was necessary in the area of city affairs. R.P. agreed that FRC might not have been a political supporter of Wagner, although he added that Crosswaith was a great admirer and supporter of the Mayor's father, "and, as a matter of fact, I think he named a housing development after him.")

(Discussion followed on the Labor Committee's role as the non-profit sponsorin of public housing being built along the Hudson river in conjunction with Columbia University. R.P. indicated some doubt that the housing would be named after Crosswaith, although this had been the Committee's hope when the project was undertaken.)

R.P. To answer your question, ;of how to evaluate the Negro Labor Committee: the Negro Labor Committee was formed to get blacks into the labor movement and to serve as an educational forum for blacks, in respect to labor. In that sense, I think, it was notable successful, from 1935 to 1955; notably successful.

(Both agreed, as well, that it would be proper to emphasise the Socialist motivation for the creation of the Negro Labor Committee, since Crosswaith was always a Socialist. R.P. also pointed out that the Committee found its strongest support among unions with Socialist leanings, as the ILGWU, the painters, the newspaper guild, the plasterers, the transport workers, and the taxi drivers.)

(N.B. Material in parentheses is not directly quoted, but is a summary of general discussions, except where indicated by quotation marks. Material which was repetitive was omitted from this transcript. Nothing of significance on the tape has been knowingly omitted from this record, and no information obtained from the interview will be used except that found in this transcript.)

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to Mr. A. Philip Randolph

1. When did you start to organize the black workers in trade unions and what activities have you pursued since then?

2. What successes have you had?

3. What is your present program?

4. What are your relations with, and your demands upon, the federal government at Washington through the agencies in charge of labor?

5. Do you have relations with trade unions or governments outside the United States?

6. Could you give us a general picture of the problems of the black population of the United States?

7. What solution would you like to see of each of these problems?

8. Do you believe that the United Nations can contribute to making an end to racial inequality?

9. How would you explain the origins of segregation in the USA and the causes which operate today?

10. Do you think that the new Kennedy administration has made a contribution toward resolving certain problems of segregation?

11. Do you think that in the years to come President Kennedy will undertake to resolve some of these problems in an effective manner?

12. Do you have any relations with the anti-segregation organizations such as : CORE, NAACP, The Black Muslins, The Back to Africa Movment, The Southern Conference Educational Fund, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Liberation Committee For Africa? And could you tell us what you think of them ?

Please do answer all the questions!
I thank you! LH.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

National Advisory Board
Dorothy Height
Vernon E. Jordan
John Lewis
Roy Wilkins

Executive Board
I. W. Abel
George Agree
Jervis Anderson
Alexander E. Barkan
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Peter Bommarito
John T. Burnell
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January 4, 1977

Mr. Archie Robinson
c/o Al Zack
Public Relations Department, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Robinson:

You will note that there are considerable changes.

I have both shortened and tightened the draft.

Mr. Randolph approves.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

Enclosures

RANDOLPH/ROBINSON
11/17/77

RANDOLPH: Today, few Negro workers have any basic criticism of George. That's quite unusual because if you stub your toe now on the race question Negroes will jump on you with hammer and tong. We have had a hard time and a difficult struggle. We believe that we have certain fights we must make and we must depend on our friends. We have some able black leaders, some extremely honest leaders, and I think we cannot achieve our objective unless we maintain honest leadership. As for leadership of the trade union movement (and I've gone all over the country) I've been quite satisfied with the tremendous progress they have made in coming to grips with those basic changes in our society that will affect all working people, and especially the black poor.

Negroes in the labor movement at the local level have developed an excellent working relationship with the trade union movement. As a whole, this has been done in part through the development of the Randolph Institute. From the beginning of this movement I have said: "You must not fight merely for yourselves, you must fight for everybody in the movement, regardless of color, race, religion or national origin." Black men and women are workers; they cannot profit if they do not understant that their fate is tied in with the labor movement as a whole.

Few movements in the world have demonstrated the integrity, with respect to their position on the race question,

as has the labor movement. This development has largely been the result of the feeling, action and dedication of George Meany. I have never known George Meany to make any attack on anyone's political belief so long as they were dedicated to democracy. I do not believe that George would do anything against an individual or any group unless he is convinced that they represent an obstacle to the progress of the American worker.

ROBINSON: What do you think of George Meany on the issue of racial matters?

RANDOLPH: George Meany, as the leader of a great movement that affects all the people of this country, knows, as I know, that the uplift of America's minorities is essential if we are to have a healthy trade union movement. That is not to say that George and I have always agreed. On several occasions we have had serious disagreements, but we have always had our desagreements resolved because of our mutual affection and respect, one for the other. George knew, and I knew, that we could maintain this respect and admiration because neither was going to tell the other anything that was not based on truth as he saw it. We were both dedicated to the cause of helping the exploited and oppressed.

ROBINSON: What do you think is the basis for Meany's position on civil rights?

RANDOLPH: I said above that George and I have not always agreed, but through all the years that I have known him he has consistently grown to a deeper understanding and a deep concern in the area of civil rights. Finally, all jim crow local unions were eliminated. and George was largely responsible for this. The Voting Rights Act

of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 would never have passed Congress if George had not thrown the labor lobbyists behind those bills.

As I look back on my experiences with George Meany, we learned from one another, we cooperated on some of the most successful ventures of our time and, over and above any past differences, I look upon George Meany as one of the truly great Americans.

To all Zack - Please

DEC 23 1977

RANDOLPH/ROBINSON
11/17/77

RANDOLPH: I ~~don't know any~~ Today, few Negro workers ~~who~~ have any basic criticism of George. That's quite ~~something to say~~ unusual because if you stub your toe now on ~~this~~ the race question Negroes will jump on you with hammer and tongs. ~~They've~~ We have had a hard ~~time~~ and a difficult struggle. ~~They~~ We believe that ~~they~~ we ~~must make~~ ~~have~~ certain fights ~~to~~ we must make and ~~they~~ we must depend on certain friends, ~~that they have.~~ We have some able black leaders ~~who, are not only able but they're honest,~~ some extremely honest, and I think ~~that one can't be able, in the sense of achieving~~ achieve our objectives unless we maintain an honest leadership, any objective that is ~~worthy, unless he's honest, too.~~ As for ~~all of the~~ leaders ~~in~~ in the trade union movement ~~the labor movement that I've met~~ --(and I have gone all over the country,) I've ~~been quite friendly~~ with ~~them~~ --- I've been quite satisfied with ~~their points of~~ the tremendous progress they have made in coming to grips with these basic changes view on certain things. ~~The various local Negroes in the labor movement~~ in our society that will affect all working people, especially have a good name working for the labor movement as a whole not the black poor for Negroes only. I told them that, too: "You have to fight for everybody in the labor movement regardless of his color, his race, his religion, his national origin or what he is. If he's a working man, we've got to fight for him." If I think any particular Negro worker is not taking the proper position I'll tell him so, because, as a matter of fact, he profits from a progressive, strong and powerful labor movement as much as the white worker. I think that few movements in the world ~~which~~ have demonstrated the integrity with respect to its position on the race question as the labor movement has -- especially the AFL-CIO. This is my feeling. I might say that I'm a Socialist, and I don't start any argument with anybody on Socialism because very few people know anything about it. It's no use talking to somebody that has no knowledge of the subject. I've had a fine group of Socialist friends. I have never known Meany to make any attack on anyone's political beliefs, whatever they may be - whether they are white or black workers. So, when anyone comes to me and begins telling me about what ought to be done, what hasn't been done, I talk with them and tell them, "We have to work to achieve the proper objective and the proper results.

the leaders that I know in the labor movement are good honorable men. Certainly George is not going to do anything against any individual or any group unless he thinks it has done something that serves as an obstacle to progress of the group or the individual. This labor movement is a great movement, a powerful force in America. It means much to everybody, whether he is black, white Jewish, or Gentile. Any group anywhere that is without a labor movement is without the means of protection and defense and progress. Among negroes today, I don't know any leaders who have any position of opposition toward the labor movement. Of course, I didn't know Booker T. Washington, he was beyond my days.

Return

ROBINSON: What do you think of George Meany on the issue of racial matters?

RANDOLPH: I think George Meany is one of the few Americans of national stature who cannot now be critici zed ~~and~~ or condemned for ~~any~~ present position ~~he has taken~~ with regard to race or color ~~or previous condition of servitude~~. I think the Jews and Catholics and other different groups all take a position from the point of view of labor: what can be done to advance their cause, the cause of the Jewish workers, ~~Catholic workers~~, Irish workers and so forth. And the ~~black workers~~ have reached the point where they possess some power. ~~I think~~ everybody around here knows that now. ~~George knows it, and George has helped in this struggle~~: he achieved the abolition of discrimination based upon race and color. I don't know anyone -- and I have gone all over this country from time to time -- who can legitimately condemn George as having any racial prejudice. That's a lot to say for any man, especially one who is at the top of a great movement that affects all the people in the country. George knows me very well. George doesn't go as far as I go on matters of social change, because I'm a Socialist. I don't go around telling people that I'm a Socialist; I've been one for a long, long time. I've made a lot of Socialist speeches and George has never raised his voice against me because of my super-radical position. And because he knows I'm honest. He knows that I'm not going to go around saying things I don't think are true, and that I wouldn't attempt to support or defend that position merely

because it involves a black person. I'm concerned not only with an individual because he's black but I'm concerned about his labor: What can be done for him as a worker. I go around the various conventions, in the church and different groups, and I give some talks from time to time. I point out to the people that we need to fight for the worker; we need to fight for the labor movement because the labor movement is building forces that benefit all workers, regardless of their race or color, religion or previous condition of servitude. We need to help people to fight for a just cause. I can say that I have never known of any instance when I was critical of George Meany because of his failure to live up to certain sound principles on the matter of race. I have never seen, heard or even known of George Meany taking any position on the basis of race, religion or national origin. He took a position on the basis of a worker. So if you're a worker, you come into the American Federation of Labor, George Meany will stand up for you if you have some problem that is justifiable. I've spend a lot of time talking to George because I have a lot of respect for him, a lot of admiration for him -- because I know he is not going to tell me anything that isn't true. And that's a lot to say about any individual, especially one who has the high position that George Meany has. George Meany is one of the best known men in America and I don't know very many people; in fact, I don't know of any, who would come out and take a position of condemnation of George Meany. He is unusually dedicated to the cause of helping the people who are exploited and oppressed. And he will use his forces and his position to advance the cause of eliminating injustice against any group of people -- any individual, as a matter of fact, if his position is justifiable. I've been all over this country and I don't know anybody I've ever met who has been critical of George Meany -- in a sense that he wasn't doing the right thing or something of that sort -- because George Meany is essentially honest. He can be wrong on a particular questions from the point of view of analysis, whether it's economic, political, social, national, mathematical or whatever it may be. But anything which involves the individual -- and if there's a problem that comes within the range of the labor

movement -- an individual has a friend in George Meany; he will stand up for him and he will support him. He's not going to support anybody who is not morally justified in his position. Few people can take that position, few people have that honest approach to problems. Now you take among Negroes: Negro leaders just like George Meany, who would take an honest position on a question involving an individual, whether he's a Jew or an Irishman or whatever he may be. They will help raise money for him and so forth. So I'm glad to talk with you about the black question because it's close to me. I don't get around now and do very much because I haven't been too well, and I'm getting up in age. I'm not trying to change the world anymore.

Return

ROBINSON: What do you think is the basis for Meany's position on civil rights? It is be~~cause~~ he's compassionate?

RANDOLPH: He t~~hinks~~ shows this the whole question of civil rights~~is~~ and ~~sound position because labor, itself,~~ rights are inextricably tied together has to fight for civil rights. If ~~you're not for a position~~ on a question with respect to a ~~particular group or a particular~~ occasion you cannot justifiably ~~fight for your own rights.~~ George is an honest individual. I have the ~~highest~~ respect for him and I think that he ~~has a high respect for me.~~ He knows that injustice to one is injustice to all people don't bring any problems to me that I would ~~send to him~~ unless I thought that individual was absolutely right and honest.

ROBINSON: Over the years that you've known him in the labor movement, what sort of a position has he taken on civil rights?

RANDOLPH: He has taken a sound position on it, a sound position on civil rights. And he's ready to fight for the cause of civil rights, in fact, I've never known the AFL-CIO to take an unsound position on civil rights. Now this civil rights question is a big one but, of course, I think it's being solved. Because you can't find very many people today who have the nerve to get up and oppose the civil rights cause. It doesn't make any difference who they are or how much they've got -- whether they're rich or poor. They can't get anywhere with their opposition. I have great respect, admiration and friendship for George Meany. He knows me very well and he knows that I'll tell him the truth about what the issue is. And so I'm glad to talk to you about it.

"""""

Box 368
Hills, Iowa 52235
December 30, 1977

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park avenue South
New York City, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph,

My name is Ed Daering and I'm seventeen years old. I'm very interested in the history of our nation and you are an historic figure in our history. You have been one of the most eloquent spokesmen of the civil rights movement.

If I may, I would like to ask you a few questions. In the last few years the civil rights movement seems to have slowed down, could this be because there is no longer one dominant leader of the movement, as Dr. Martin Luther King was in the 1960's? You were a close friend of Dr. King, could you please tell me

some of the impressions you hold of him? I was only three years old at the time of "The March on Washington," but I have seen film clips of Dr. King and he strikes me as one of the most humane human beings I've ever seen or heard. The unemployment rate among Blacks is extremely high, what do you see as the means to solving this catastrophic problem?

I realize you are a very busy man and I hope I have not been too bothersome. Thank you so much for taking the time to read this letter.

I've enclosed a stamped-self-addressed envelope for your reply.

Sincerely,
Ed Daering

Ed Daering
Box 368
Hills, Iowa 52235

February 10, 1978

Mr. Ed Daering
Box 368
Hills, Iowa 52235

Dear Mr. Daering:

I was very pleased to receive your letter and learn of your interest in the civil rights movement. I will try to answer your questions.

The civil rights movement has, I believe, not so much slowed down as changed directions, strategies, and tactics. During the 1960s blacks needed the basic civil and human rights which should be possessed by all Americans. Public protests, marches, demonstrations, sit-ins, and similar tactics were effective means of communicating the immorality of segregation and discrimination.

Today the struggle for civil rights is largely economic and depends on achieving such things as full employment, higher wages,and economic justice. Mass marches, demonstrations, etc. are not effective ways to achieve these goals. Instead, what is required is political action - registering people to vote, building political coalitions with those groups who share common economic interests with blacks. As you may have discovered in your reading about the civil rights movement, the 1963 March on Washington was called a "March for Jobs and Freedom," because the civil rights groups recognized that civil and political equality would be incomplete without economic equality.

This perspective on the development of the black struggle for full participation in American life may help answer your question about whether the lack of a dominant leader is responsible for what many see as a slowing of progress for civil rights. The black leadership today faces different, more complex tasks

than it did in the Fifties or Sixties. I think that it would be impossible for one individual to play the central role in today's environment that Dr. King filled during the Sixties.

Dr. King was a great moral spokesman. He had a rare ability to articulate people's aspirations for a better world and to mobilize people to action. Your description of Dr. King as a humane individual is very apt. One aspect of his work that is often overlooked is that towards the end of his all too brief life, he recognized the changing nature of the problems confronting blacks and the need to develop new strategies for justice. When Dr. King was so tragically murdered, he was in Memphis helping black garbage workers in a strike for higher wages and improved working conditions.

Your final question about what can be done to solve the high unemployment rate among black Americans is an extremely important one. A basic reason for high unemployment among blacks is that it is high for all Americans. We have had extraordinarily high unemployment throughout almost the entire 1970s and far, far too many will be unemployed for many years to come unless we have a major change in economic policy. During the 1960s, when we had a high rate of economic growth and relatively full employment, blacks made rapid progress. Since then, there has been very little. What we need then are national policies that are designed to provide jobs for everyone willing and able to work. There is a bill in the Congress right now that would do this. It is the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Bill. In addition to setting specific goals for reducing unemployment, it recommends special programs to provide job training, to create employment opportunities in areas where unemployment is high , and to meet national priorities. I can think of nothing more important in promoting social justice and racial equality, than the passage of this bill.

I hope your interest in the history of the civil rights movement and current social problems will continue and that you will become an active participant in struggles to expand democracy, enhance human dignity and protect human rights.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

JOHN SLAWSON ■ 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000

June 12, 1978

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You will recall that sometime ago (April 20, 1970) I interviewed you, among a group of interviewees, on your rich experience in the field of human rights. Shortly thereafter, you reviewed the transcript, had it retyped, and returned the corrected copy to our office for use in my study on intergroup relations.

At this time I thought you would like to see an extract which I plan to use in the form of a quote. Therefore, I am enclosing the item from our interview bearing upon your conversations with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt which I feel is of such historic importance that I plan to include it in full in my forthcoming book which, hopefully, will soon be published. (The manuscript is already on the way to the publisher.)

I trust that the statements still stand as of 1970, and I will be everlastingly grateful if you would indicate your approval at the end of the last sheet, as provided. A stamped, self-addressed envelope (first class) is attached for your convenience.

Each time I see Bayard, he informs me of your splendid health. I hope we can get together soon and compare notes. Much has happened since I saw you.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York City 10010

Attachment

cc Mr. Bayard Rustin

Because of the historic import of the statement made by A. Philip Randolph, the dean of American civil-rights activists, the portion of our interview with him that bears upon his confrontation with President Roosevelt at the beginning of World War II relative to the abolition of racial discrimination in industry, labor unions, and government itself is here quoted in full:

> J.S.: Mr. Randolph, you then came to the conclusion early in your career that a confrontation of some kind was an essential element in the strategy?
>
> A. Philip Randolph: That is correct. I came to realize that mere statements by Negro leaders, while useful and necessary and proper, were not sufficient. It was evident that Negroes had met

with top representatives in government who could do something about the problem of racial bias, but nothing definitely was done about many of the basic problems. I was able to involve, in our conferences with the President, prominent black leaders from different parts of the country. We made it clear to President Roosevelt that we intended to pursue our demands until we achieved some concrete and definitive concessions in the interest of abolishing racial discrimination in industry, labor unions, and government as a whole. Of course, we met with some hesitancy on the part of President Roosevelt. He was definitely fearful about 100,000 black people coming to Washington in a massive march, with possible resulting violence and perhaps death. In This respect the President also knew that there were no restaurants in which they could eat, few toilet facilities that were integrated and only one hotel in which Negroes were permitted to sleep.

He called in his entire Cabinet to sit with Walter White of the NAACP and myself on this question. We talked at length about it. The President said to me: "Now, Phil, I want to abolish racial discrimination in the defense industries as much as you do. But the method by which this is to be done is important. I can't afford to permit you to bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington in a march because there is no way to manage a tremendous group of people such as that. You can never tell what might happen, nor can I."

The President had in the conference, in addition to the members of his Cabinet, Sidney Hillman, then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, who held a top post in the President's administration. He also had a top representative from General Motors in the conference. He repeated rather constantly that he considered this matter extremely serious. He observed, "Now I want to assure you and Walter and Negro leaders in general, that I am deeply interested in the elimination of discrimination in all areas of industry, including the defense industries and government, but there is a limit to what I can do. Now I am not in the habit of

issuing Executive Orders for anything. I don't know any other President who indulged in that method of dealing with various problems. But I can assure you that I will do something about this matter of racial discrimination with respect to defense jobs if you will permit me to do so. But you are going to block my effort in this respect if you insist on an Executive Order. We have here the entire Cabinet, and they are ready to contribute their judgment on this question. Negroes are American citizens and they have a right to share in employment opportunities along with other citizens of our country. So now I want to suggest, and I am going to appoint, a small committee out of this Cabinet to go into a conference room with you and Walter White to seek some solution to this problem."

He appointed Mayor LaGuardia to serve as Chairman of the committee. The committee spent quite some time discussing this question. At the outset of the discussion of the question by the committee, they attempted to make it definitely clear that they had no intention of going against the President's wish with respect to a march of 100,000 Negroes on Washington. Beginning with that position, they sought to persuade Walter White and myself to change our plan with respect to the march of Negroes on Washington for jobs.

I told them it was utterly impossible for me to change my position on this matter because I was reflecting the spirit of the masses of Negroes throughout the nation on this question of jobs in defense industries. I indicated to them that I neither had the right nor power to change this plan for a march on Washington unless the President issued an Executive Order banning racial bias in employment of Negroes in defense industries and government.

Mayor LaGuardia stated that he had known me a long time and he was rather confident that the committee would get nowhere in trying to get me to change the plan for the march on Washington unless the committee

recommended to President Roosevelt that he issue the Executive Order requested.

The committee drafted an Executive Order and sent it to a group of government attorneys to put it in proper form. Among the group of lawyers was Joseph L. Rauh, who has an office in Washington. This group of attorneys worked up an Executive Order which they considered to be applicable to this problem. Walter White couldn't remain longer for the discussion of the question since he had to attend the convention of the NAACP in Houston, Texas. When the Executive Order was all properly prepared, it was presented to me. I read it and indicated that it was all right except for one thing. Immediately the question was raised, "What is that?" I said, "It doesn't apply to the government." The reply to me was, "You don't expect an Executive Order to cover the government, do you?" My answer was, "Well, we want an Executive Order which applies to the government because the government is guilty of racial discrimination itself with respect to jobs for persons of color."

The question was raised: "Where is this discrimination in the government? In what areas?" My answer was: "Racial discrimination is in practically all departments of the government."

While the committee was not convinced by my assertion concerning discrimination in the government, they presented the Executive Order to the President for his action. He wanted to know from the committee what I thought about it, and they told him I thought it was satisfactory except that it didn't apply to the government. Though the President had some reservations about including the government in the Order, he finally issued the Order.

I was called in to a conference with him and the committee, and he said: "Now, Phil, I want you to get on the radio and tell the colored people

of this country that there isn't going to be any march on Washington for the elimination of discrimination in defense industries since I have signed and issued the Executive Order requested by you and the committee."

I replied: "I will be glad to do that, and in the name of the committee I want to express our great appreciation for the position that you have taken on this question." I also agreed to hold a public mass meeting in Watergate Park in Washington with some representative Negro leaders to speak on this question.

J.S.: You had set the date?

A.P.R.: Yes, we had set the date.

J.S.: How much time was there?

A.P.R.: Oh, well, the time was just about one or two days before the march was scheduled to take place.

J.S.: How did you get the message across to the entire country?

A.P.R.: We got this matter over to the entire country by way of the radio which had been suggested by the President. He also designated Mayor LaGuardia to arrange for radio time for me.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Date 15th June 1978

(Signed by B Rustin) bgw

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Interview, notes, and Other Information

Undated

(4)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Delegations to Asia

That, while it is important, necessary and valuable that official governmental delegations and representatives, committed to sound democratic and anti-totalitarian, Communist or Fascist doctrines, be sent to Japan and Asia and other sections of the world in general, on various missions and for varied purposes, in order to protect and safeguard the interests of the United States, I recommend that delegations, representatives and missions be sent that are non-governmental and unofficial, with no recognized, expressed or implied obligations or responsibilities to serve as a special pleader for the foreign or domestic policies of the Government, for the purpose of:

1. Meeting and conferring with government, trade unions, educational leaders, students and farmers of the various countries of Asia, to discuss economic, political and social questions of domestic and international significance.
2. Hold press conferences.
3. Participate in seminars, conferences and conventions.
4. Address public meetings.
5. Write and contribute articles to the press of the countries visited.

LABOR

1. That, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions establish, at an early date, an office in Japan to give the Japanese trade union leaders and workers the truth about the movement for free trade unionism.

Being conservant with the philosophy, strategy and tactics of the Communist movement, I have no doubt, even without any evidence, that the agents of the World Federation of Trade Unions, are at work in Japan and throughout Asia and Africa, seeking to undermine and destroy the free trade union movement.

Be it known that Communists are losing no time creating prejudice against ICFTU by associating it with western imperialistic colonialism.

RECOMMENDATIONS: 2.

1. That, the American Federation of Labor, foe of Communism and the WFTU and spearhead of the movement for free trade unionism in Europe and Asia, establish separately, or jointly with the Congress of Industrial Organization, an office in Japan, to inform Japanese trade union leaders and workers of the philosophy, principles, policies, program and practices of the A.F. of L. and its struggles for free trade unionism throughout the world, and the war it is waging against Russian Communist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is important also that the A.F. of L. identify itself in the mind of the Japanese worker, not only as an affiliate of the ICFTU, but also as its mid-wife and supporter. This will give definite strength to the ICFTU and the free trade union movement of the world.

It would be sound tactics were the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. to find it possible to establish a joint office in Japan because of the position of strength it would help develop against WFTU and the Kremlyn.

Moreover, in the mind of the Asian, no doubt, unity in facing the WFTU in Japan and Asia and Africa, by the two national trade union centers of the United States, the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. suggest a larger measure of power with which to combat the Communist world.

That, because of the vast body of experience he accumulated fighting the powerful and crafty Communist Fifth Columns in Europe, and the vitally strategic position of Japan in Asia, Irving Brown, A.F. of L. anti-Communist, trade union Ambassador to Europe, be sent to Japan to study Communist forces and meet and confer with the non-Communist trade union and Socialist movements, with a view to determining methods by which the ICFTU in general, and the A.F. of L. in particular, may help in strengthening the free trade union movement of Japan against Communist infiltration and subversion.

That, the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. send experienced trade union leaders to Japan and Asia to tell the story of the growth, problems, struggles and development of the free trade union movement in the United States, and how it withstood and overcame and routed Russian Communist agents who sought to capture and destroy the American labor movement, as a prelude to the overthrow of the American democratic system.

That, the IGFTU, with the financial and personnel aid and cooperation of the A.F. of L., the British T.U.C. and the Japanese non-Communist labor movement maintain a Workers' Education School in Japan, not for indoctrination but systematic education of Japanese workers for leadership in the free trade union and non-Communist movements of Japan and Asia.

A permanent Workers' Education School, under sound, democratic trade union direction, is necessary for the development of a long-range, fundamental and effective program of education, organization and agitation for the defense and advancement of the free trade unions and democratic institutions of Japan.

Needless to say that a Workers' Education School in Japan or any part of Asia should lay special emphasis upon the necessity of the workers of factory and farm, building powerful trade unions upon a regular monthly dues paying basis, however small, to provide for its economic independence so that they may effectively fight for, protect and improve the economic, social and political life of the wage-earners and farm workers, and also point out the fallacy and folly of the workers permitting their unions to become the tools of politicians of any stripe, left, center or right; Communist, Socialist or Fascist.

This does not mean that trade unions should not express and exercise their influence and power politically in selecting and electing representatives to government legislative bodies who are committed to the support and maintenance of a free trade union movement and democratic institutions.

But it does mean that Japanese trade union leaders and members should be warned, out of the wealth of experience of trade union leaders of the United States and Great Britain, of the danger of using their unions to stage ideological and political strikes, despite their competency in the use of this technique, for they are more likely to weaken, if not destroy, the union than achieve the objective, thereby, developing a sense of pessimism, cynicism and defeatism and futilitarianism among the workers, the nemesis of a vital, aggressive and constructive trade union movement, and the fertile ground of Communist agitation to foment blind and bloody revolutionary outbreaks that achieve nothing but trouble and disaster for the workers and organized labor.

That, the U.S.A. should have no illusions about the fact that Japan, in particular and Asia, in general, is a great battleground between two world ideologies, philosophies and systems or ways of life, namely, Democracy and Russian Communism, and that there now goes on in this area of the world, a life and death struggle for the minds and hearts of Asians by Soviet USSR on the one hand and the U.S.A. and U.N. on the other.

And, whoever wins Asia will win Africa and, perhaps, Europe and the world.

And, whoever wins Japan, may win Asia.

This is just how vital the stakes in Japan and all Asia to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and U.N.

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Father was quite different. If he felt we were transgressing the rules of the home and promised us some form of punishment, he was subject to change. In fact, I don't ever remember being whipped by Father, but he always gave us a good talking-to about any misdemeanor we committed.

No doubt, sparing the rod has something to do with child delinquency, for punishment had a deterrent effect upon me since I knew Mother would not spare the rod. Of course, she never used a rod but a plum tree switch or a strap, and her promise of a beating was a painful as the beating itself and my brother and I did everything to make Mother forget her promised whipping or to soften her up by appeasement, OR BY SEEKING THINGS TO BE PROUD FOR HER, - but it never worked.

Though severe and unrelenting in her treatment of my brother and myself if we were guilty of disobedience or of telling a lie, she was a lovely and lovable person; she was firm but not stern or brutal.

Mother had a radiant smile which illuminated up her countenance and gave a sort of DELIGHTFUL light and shade to her beauty. She was devoted to my father but not with great romantic warmth expressed in public embraces and kisses. When my father left for a journey to his churches or returned from them he always kissed Mother and also James and myself. If his return was late at night he never failed to come to our beds to kiss us. As a rule, we would get up looking for something we expected him to bring. Invariably he brought something such as fruit or candy or homemade cake given him by some of his parishioners. In fact, Father's return home from any kind of a trip was an occasion for JUBILATION FOR James and myself.

He always found Mother at home. I never recall her going anywhere except to church, RARELY TO a funeral or wedding. She was dedicated to her family; she lived for her children and I am certain she would have died for them.

Our father, too, spent his life at home except when he was away at church or about his daily business.

SHE DEVOTED HERSELF TO A SORT OF MOTHER-HEN OF THE FAMILY, STRETCHING OUT HER WINGS, AS MUCH AS TO PROVIDE COMFORT AND PROTECTION TO ALL OF THEM LITTLE ONES WHICH INCLUDED YOUNG AND OLD. SHE LOVED WITH HER WHOLE BEING HER SISTERS AND BROTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN.

SHE DEVOTED HERSELF TO A SORT OF MOTHER-HEN OF THE FAMILY, WHERE ANYTHING IN RETURN. VERILY, SHE HAD A DISTINCTIVE SENSE OF STRENGTH OF MIND AND SPIRIT, WITH NO OFFENSIVE OR FALSE PRIDE, THOUGH SHE MOVED AMONG THE MEMBERS OF HER FAMILY AND NEIGHBORS WITH THE GRACEFUL CHARM AND DIGNITY OF A REIGNING QUEEN.

Any mother, one of the best of cooks, though she never worked out in service. None of the sisters did. They were too proud.

Verily, ours was a family of solidarity - there were no fissures. It was something you were born in, lived in and died in. Love presided over and ruled the home. The children loved their parents and the parents loved their children; there was no modern sophistication in our hearts or heads.

Our household was always open to and welcomed members of the family on both Mother's and Father's side, and practically at all times, a sister or brother of our mother lived with us, sometimes for a year or more at a time. Then there were numerous cousins who would come and spend weeks and months with us. There was always room in our house which was two stories, with three bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen. Sometimes, the living room was brought into use to accommodate unexpected members of the family. Some, of course, sometimes slept on the floor. Nobody ever paid anything for food or lodging; they never had anything. Our entire family was without much of this world's goods, although grand-father, a weather-beaten oak-type of a man, with an austere, solemn, taciturn countenance, and reep the patter of the soul called the rural community.

While our table fare was plain, Father was a good provider. Of course, a dollar went a long way in buying ~~groceries~~ rations in those days.

In our community our household was respected for its moral standards. The moral and social values and ideals of Mother were spotless. While profanity, drinking and gambling are not considered necessarily as immoral, yet I never knew of any drinking, gambling or the use of profanity by any of the immediate members of our household. Although my mother was not one to be trampled upon by anybody, yet I never heard her engaged in any knock-down and drag-out row with anyone. She never nagged my father although she was unquestionably the boss of the home.

Outstanding habits Father possessed were smoking a pipe and Old Virginia Cheroots, three for a nickel; and Cremo, a nickel cigar, when business was good. Mother dipped snuff, using a twig of a plum tree which she frayed at the end, giving it a broom like pattern. She would use this little twig to stir up the snuff in the little tin box, then place the snuff in her mouth between her gums and teeth.

The striking exception was her younger sister, Estella, ~~[illegible]~~ a redo-head with a temper and a propensity for language, spiced with a bad good-humored disposition. Miss Ark and Jay, rollicking and lovable.

OF COURSE, DIPPING OF SNUFF WAS A CELEBRATED HABIT AMONG THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE. THE ROYAL SNUFF BOX IS A PRIZED POSSESSION OF ENTERPRISING ART COLLECTORS.

It caused her lips to protrude a bit. She spat intermittently. Evidently, this dipping of snuff was not an unusual habit for the stores carried large supplies of boxes of snuff. As I remember, all the sisters, my mother Lizzie, Mattie, Carrie and Esther, dipped snuff, and also our grandmother on our mother's side. BUT THIS WAS NOT AN UNUSUAL HABIT AMONG WOMEN OF ALL CLASSES, WHITE AND COLORED. In addition to smoking, my father chewed tobacco, which caused a little lump to form on one side of his jaw. Like Mother, it caused him to spit intermittently.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

My brother and I never saw our father's mother or father. I never heard him speak of them except to say that they were dead. His only relative who came to our home was his sister, _____, a quiet, lovely, refined person in her sixties. She possessed delicately chiseled features, much on the pattern of my father. She was slender, light brown, with a sort of tipping SICK-BED-ROOM type of walk. She worked out in service for one of Jacksonville's above the middle-class families. She was STERNLY frugal but always gave my brother and me something when Father took us to visit her. She expressed great pride in Junior's (the name she called Father) boys. She came to visit our home on Sunday afternoons rather infrequently. WORKING OUT IN DOMESTIC SERVICE, SHE SELDOM ATTENDS CHURCH. BUT SHE WAS ALMOST INFIRM

She had a son named William who left the South at an early age and lived in New York City with his family. He came to Jacksonville to visit his mother every two or three years. HE WAS with A SORT OF ROLLY-POLLY STATURE; BUT He was short and stocky, light brown in complexion. He tended to the sporty side of life. In fact, he was a sort of ham prize fighter in NEW YORK City.

He had a wife and little daughter when I first visited him in New York. His wife was taller than he and quite portly BUT STATELY. She was kindly and friendly and although she catered to Willie, her husband, he was violent AND ABUSIVE, at times, toward her, especially when he went on one of his periodic drinking binges. In these fits of drunkenness and anger he would strike at me with all his might but, being young, I scooted out of his reach.

On my first trips to New York during the summers, I stopped with him and worked as a hall boy in one of the walk-up apartment houses of which he was janitor, at the

magnificent wage of twelve dollars a month.

HOME

Ours was a home of ideas; not in the sense of giving ~~birth~~ STRES IDEOLOGIES to ~~ideas~~ but in the sense of placing the emphasis upon ideas as against things. In fact, there were few things in the home. Our household furnishings were old, fragmentary, and nondescript.

The most ornamental piece of furnishing was a large kerosene lamp with a garishly flowered shade which was set upon a table standing in the center of the front, or sitting room. Periodically, about once a year, around Christmas, straw carpeting was bought, on the installment plan of course, to cover the sitting room. It gave the room a shiny, dressed-up appearance, but since this room was used daily, the brilliant sheen soon faded off and in the course of a few months holes were tracked in the ~~green~~ carpeting. Before the end of the year, as a rule, the straw matting became so ragged and full of holes that it was necessary to pull it up and burn it. The house then reverted to the bare wooden floors, which were kept immaculately clean by mother, ANSWER-ING TO, BUT TO AN EARING AND BY CHILDREN AND ADULTS.

But ~~whether or not there was straw matting covering the floors, the home~~ AS A RULE WHILE THE HOME WAS NOT FULL OF FABULOUS FURNITURE, IT was full of conversation, ~~as a rule~~. My father and brother, James, were ~~usually leading the~~ IN FIRST talking.

I never recall the practice of joke-telling, but folk stories were frequently told; stories about wild, ferocious animals and ~~stories about~~ desperadoes, and about preachers and gospel singers that caused people to hit the sawdust trail and fall out at the mourner's bench, AS WELL AS ABOUT THE FUTURE AND HOPE OF THE RACE.

Since no one in the home ever went out at night except to church, entertainment was made in the home. But the entertainment was never of the hilarious, drinking frivolous or funny type; it was the entertainment of conversation or play at checkers between James and myself.

~~Grandmother of Israel letter~~

After Church Discussion

No doctrinal problems involving
1. Denial of the Holy Trinity, God, Original sin, Predestination - Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist
the existence of Purgatory - celibacy of the clergy,
Salvation through faith in the redemership of Christ or through works, denial of the inspiration of the Old Testament, denial of transubstantiation, right of private judgment in the interpretation of the scripture as against the interpretation of the Church.

Quote M.E. Church, was ~~not~~ without corruption which involved even the sovereign, the Bishops. They possessed great power and it is said that power brought

The corruption of the Church was widespread throughout Europe during the 15th Century. Writes the Catholic Hilaire Belloc

to corrupt and that great power terrifies corrupts greatly

It is a matter of historical fact that corruption in the Papacy constituted one of the most powerful motivations of the Reformation, along with nationalism and the growth of capitalism

And, of course, her sisters loved her. The Hood pond among them being not only shiny but placed. I have heard them twitted in a furious game, mulberries except one Mattie.

All of the sisters were the type squeled varying types of beauty. Mattie Hrahan, the oldest, was dark-skinned, stalkeighly Indian in feathers, pomping black and straight, the longest hair, reaching down to her waist, of all the sisters.

More than any of the sisters Mattie had an eye to business. She ~~was back of her husband who brought apples wholesale by the barrel for sale from a wagon petrol. Star~~ which was reflected in her two sons, Samuel and Butler Hrahan who had a business mind, both having operated successful businesses.

Esther Frank, one of the sisters, ~~the youngest Carrie Williams~~, was a rugged, ruddy, freckled faced handsome woman, with a wealth of red wavy crinkly hair, with her chin interest running in the pattern of a single house wife.

The youngest of the sisters was Carrie Williams, light in complexion, with her wavy hair and a baby face, somewhat on the slant side, and as dodah the most beautiful of the sisters, who confined her life to home, and the family and the sisters and their families. She spent a large part of her life, with her mother with her two children, the sisters, were inseparable, always maintaining continuous communication with each other.

My brother James and myself were always glad when some of the sisters were at home since we hoped that their presence might divert the wrath of maternal wrath and chastisement from us and allow a wider latitude for our pranks and play, but it never did for no sister or mother would presume to question mother's use of the rod, least they, too, come under her benevolent fire.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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SUGGESTIVE OUTLINE OF

A BOOK IN CONTEMPLATION

By Charles Wesley Burton

AUTHOR'S PLAN

It is the serious intention of the writer to make an exhaustive study and survey of the life of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. To this end he will go to the original sources of information to gather his data and materials for the publication of his book. A so-journ in Florida, birthplace of Mr. Randolph, to interview [redacted] who knew his parents and Randolph as a boy, visiting schools in Crescent City and Jacksonville, Florida, where he attended grade and high school, to search the records and get a complete picture of Philip Randolph as a child and adolescent. Following the trail of the Holy Grail will take the writer to New York City, where Mr. Randolph has spent most of his adult life, for extensive and intensive studies of his expanding life.

When the data and materials have been exhaustively gathered, the writer will retire to some quiet and gentle nook to write his book. The time estimated to do a complete and thorough job will be probably not less than two years.

The writer's close contact and intimate association with A. Philip Randolph during the last twenty years in building the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and fighting for a Federal law establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission will greatly facilitate his writing this epic story of Randolph's most interesting career.

CWB

PROSPECTIVE TITLES

1. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Builder of the Brotherhood
2. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Organizer and Builder
3. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: His Life and Times
4. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: His Life and Work
5. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: His Life Story
6. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: His Struggles and Achievements

D E D I C A T I O N

This book is affectionately
Dedicated to the memory of

MARY ELLEN BURTON
My Mother

Whose courage, idealism, faith and work
Still Inspire Me

P R E F A C E

By the Author

I N T R O D U C T I O N B Y

WILLIAM GREEN, President of American Federation of Labor
or
PHILIP MURRAY, President of Congress of Industrial Organizations
or
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT of Hyde Park, New York
or
DR. CHARLES H. WESLEY, President of Wilberforce University
or
FIORELLO LA GUARDIA, Former Mayor of New York City

NOTE: The above outline must be understood as merely preliminary and subject to substantial changes after the data and facts of Randolph's life have been gathered, sifted, and put into final form for publication.

CWB

CHAPTER ONE

PARENTAGE OF RANDOLPH

1. Their names, origin, background, marriage, occupation, home
2. Educational, economic, political and religious status
3. Influence, outlook, standing and stability in the community
4. Their courage, character, faith and struggles

CHAPTER TWO

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF LITTLE PHILIP

1. Date and place of birth, prevailing times, customs, community
2. The Randolph neighbors, friends and foes, family struggles
3. Starting to school, first impressions, pride and prejudice
4. Sunday school, church, and influence of religion on "Randy"
5. Philip's older brother, William, brilliant and inseparable

CHAPTER THREE

PHILIP'S EDUCATIONAL CAREER AND PROMISE

1. Elementary school days, boyish fun, pride of parents
2. High school and adolescence, growing serious-mindedness
3. Problems of self-support, courage and determination
4. College and University: a dream come true
5. The Great Adventure: New York City

CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRATING TO THE GREAT METROPOLIS

1. The thrill of a great city--even when "broke"
2. Early efforts at economic security
3. Tasting the realities of hardship, patience, pluck and pledding
4. The dawn of a new day; entering the City College of New York
5. Columbia University, Rand School of Socialism, Labor Problems

CHAPTER FIVE

SERIOUS BUSINESS

1. Philip takes a bride
2. Early interest in labor problems
3. Randolph joins Socialist party, enters politics
4. The "Soap-box" orator on the "side-walks of New York"
5. Other attempts at security, the intense struggle
6. Randolph starts a magazine--"The Messenger"
7. A growing social vision and a call to service
8. Answering the call

CHAPTER SIX

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING-CAR PORTERS

1. Its origin, founders, early supporters and friends
2. The forces arrayed against the Brotherhood
3. Early struggles, hardships and dark days
4. Courage, vision, patience, determination and hard work
5. Values of trade-unionism; the idea takes deep root
6. The fight for recognition: Dogged determination and justice versus power and wealth; the fight and right prevail
7. Builders of the Brotherhood: Randolph, Webster, Totten, Bradley, Bennie Smith, ~~and~~ Dellums, and others
8. The Brotherhood comes of age; its strength today
9. Randolph, the matchless leader; his great contribution
10. The meaning of it all

CHAPTER SEVEN

RANDOLPH EXTENDS HIS INFLUENCE

1. Heads National Negro Congress
2. Its objectives, organization, program and work
3. Randolph quits the Congress; disagreement on policy
4. The new awakening: March-on-Washington Movement

CHAPTER SEVEN
(Continued)

5. Its objectives, purposes, program and organization and work
6. Organizing the March; conferences with President Roosevelt
7. Its appeal to the masses
8. When success seemed assured; Executive Order #8802
9. The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC)

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FIGHT FOR A PERMANENT FEPC

1. Public hearings and other techniques used by FEPC
2. FEPC and its obstacles; FEPC achievements
3. Randolph calls conference of national organizations
4. The National Council For A Permanent FEPC is born. Its import
5. FEPC bills introduced into the Congress; strategy campaign
6. Significance of FEPC fight; the movement spreads to States
7. The fight goes on and on and on....
8. Randolph calls national conference of progressives and liberals for new political alignment
9. Sets up National Education Committee For A New Party
10. Its objectives, program and significance; why necessary?
11. The response; looking toward a Third Party

CHAPTER NINE

RANDOLPH'S CONTRIBUTION TO LABOR AND AMERICA

1. Built the Brotherhood and brought it into the AF of L
2. Consistent fighter for equality and justice for all men
3. His influence in the American Federation of Labor
4. The "Negro's Labor Champion". Master of speech and logic
5. A man of learning, training, wisdom and work; a man's man
6. What his friends and critics say about him
7. Honors conferred on Randolph. Man of destiny. Place in history.

CHAPTER TEN

THE AUTHOR'S TRIBUTE

1. Randolph's religion
2. Randolph, the practical idealist
3. Randolph, among America's great
4. The high privilege of service with Randolph
5. Friendship thruout the years; comrades in service
6. THE NEW DAY: ONE WORLD A-COMING! FORWARD! MARCH!!

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
of
Charles Wesley Burton

Nativity & Parentage:

Charles Wesley Burton, as nearly as can be calculated, was born in Meridian, Lauderdale County, Mississippi, April 19, 1887. His parents were James William Burton and Mary Ellen Shumate Burton. No vital statistics were kept by the State of Mississippi at the time of his birth.

Schooling & Degrees:

He attended the public schools of Lauderdale County and Meridian and finished the Lincoln Junior High private school with diploma; he finished "College "Prep" and college courses at Talladega, with diploma and B.S. Degree respectively. He also graduated from Yale with degrees M.A. and S.T.B., having studied under Irving Fisher, Henry W. Farnham, Olive Day, Albert G. Keller, William B. Bailey, Ernest E. Moore and Prof. Gazell, as well as Francis Bacon, Williston Walker, Edward W. Curtis, Charles Reynolds Brown and others; specializing in economics, education and sociology in the Graduate School. Mr. Burton also received the J.D. Degree from John Marshall Law School in Chicago.

Conjugal Status:

He was married in Atlanta, Georgia, June 1, 1914; father of five daughters, three living and married--one living with him at present. Mr. Burton is a widower.

Occupations Pursued:

He was Minister of the First Congregational Church in Macon, Ga. five years; taught Sociology in Ballard Normal School there, and was Minister of the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church in Chicago eight years. He served seventeen and one/half years as a Probation Officer in the County Juvenile Court. Mr. Burton was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1929.

Civic Activities & Offices Held:

He organized the United Charities and Civic Welfare League in Macon, Georgia, built a new brick church edifice there, and did social welfare work among soldiers during World War I, in Georgia. He also directed a social survey into living conditions among "Alley Dwellers" In Macon. Was Secretary & Vice President of the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance there. Also Secretary and then Moderator of the National Convention of Congregational Workers Among Negroes, as well as of the General Convention of the Congregational Churches of Georgia. In Chicago he became Secretary and then Vice President of the "Scrooby" Club, served two years as Vice President of the NAACP, same length of time as Assistant Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches in U.S., four years as President of the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress, and five years as Executive Director of the Chicago Unit of the March-on-Washington Movement; was also Vice President and member of the National Executive Committee of both latter organizations as well as Regional Director for the Mid-West. Was also Vice-Chairman of Interracial Commission, Chicago Church Federation.

Publications and Writings:

While at Yale, Mr. Burton made a social survey of Living Conditions Among Negroes in the Ninth Ward which was published by the New Haven Civic Federation in phamphlet form under that title; he has written and published several magazine and newspaper articles from time to time. Mr. Burton wrote a graduation thesis at John Marshall Law School on "Legal Aspects of Zoning", which won his J.D. He also wrote and article on: "Negroes in Bibb County" for the 50th anniversary celebration of the Macon (Georgia) Daily Telegraph, as well as two articles for "The American Missionary,"(Illinois Edition), one on "Negroes In Chicago: How They Live," and the other on: "Congregationalism Among Negroes In Chicago."

Charles Wesley Burton

THE LIFE AND WORK OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

CHAPTER SIX

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

(Tentative Draft)

One of the most interesting developments in the American labor movement during the second quarter of the twentieth century has been the building of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Here we have a picture of ten thousand men working for wages of twenty-seven dollars per month, plus whatever gratuities the traveling public might wish to give them! They worked from sixteen to twenty hours per day, purchased their own uniforms, took abuse and insults with a smile, and were completely unorganized. During many long and weary years these men worked under great handicaps at the caprice, arbitrary whims and mercy of the Pullman conductors, superintendants, passengers and other fellow workers. They had no security on their jobs, no enforceable seniority rights, no funds and no friends at court. In all accusations, whether based on fancy, fact, or lies, the conductor's, passenger's, and superintendant's word was always final. There was no court of appeal for the Pullman porter!

It was this state of chaos, disunity, and wellnigh hopeless resignation and despair that confronted five Pullman porters when they met in New York City in August, 1925, to consider the serious economic plight of ten thousand workers. After an all-day conference,

ending after midnight, and after listing the complaints and grievances of thousands of Pullman porters, and after discussing their jobs and problems from many angles, these five Pullman porters decided to "build a Brotherhood" in the form and nature of a trade union, and to invite the courageous and talented young editor of the "Messenger" magazine, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, to lead them in their herculean task. For several years, Randolph had been engaged in an experiment of "scientific radicalism" thru the medium of the "Messenger," and had already come into favorable national notice as a fearless champion of the rights of workers. Randolph accepted the call and challenge of ten thousand workers to lead them out of the economic "Slough of Despond" into the American Federation of Labor! It meant a long, hard, exacting and exhausting fight to take such a large number of men who knew little or nothing about trade unionism and organize and develop them into a close-knit labor union, and, by collective bargaining with the hard billion dollar corporation, the Pullman Company, achieve a good contract for the porters that would stand up in court. During a period of a dozen years, Randolph did just that. By organizing ten thousand men and leading them into their present haven of economic security, he has performed what to many seems an economic miracle.

This herculean task was not performed by magic or slight of hand methods and strategy. Randolph's first test was to surround himself with a group of able, courageous, informed and trusted men

of vision, zeal, industry and integrity. This he did. Such men as Milton P. Webster of Chicago, Ashly L. Totten of Kansas City, Bennie Smith of Omaha, E. J. Bradley of St. Louis, and C. L. Dellums of Oakland, are the men who have stood with him, fought with him, worked with him, sacrificed with him, and conquered with him. They know the full meaning of "sweat, blood, and tears," and without their labors of love, loyalty and devotion, the so-called "economic miracle" could never have been wrought. At best, the splendid achievement was accomplished by great courage, relentless effort, well-planned strategy, dogged determination and hard work. Randolph inspired his men with complete confidence in themselves and in each other; he helped them see the absolute justice of their common cause. This was courageously undertaken and adroitly accomplished through a well-planned educational program, national in scope, dividing the nation into divisional zones and placing one of the national vice-presidents over each national district zone. This program embraced study courses, lectures, labor conferences, public mass-meetings and forums, labor literature, magazine and newspaper articles, et cetera.

But there were also great forces arrayed against Randolph and his co-workers in building the Brotherhood. Practically all of the Negro press and pulpit united in warning Pullman porters against this "trouble-maker," this "radical Randolph," who was destined to cause them to lose their "good jobs with the great and benevolent Pullman Company," and turn them over to Chinese, Japanese, and

Filipinos
Phillipines!" Prominent preachers, politicians, and welfare workers, civic leaders and professional people saw nothing but doom for the porters who followed Randolph. But such antagonism, hostility and tirades from pulpit and press could not stop this new type of Negro leader, this intellectual young "Moses" who had come upon the old scene with a new program to lead his people out of the wilderness of economic bondage. To inspire his men, to instill self-confidence and dogged determination in them, Randolph usually closed every talk,--his counsel, lectures, and public addresses with these inspiring words:

"Out of the night that covers me,
Black from the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul!

In the fell cutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud;
Under the bludgeoning of chance
My head is bloody but unbowed!

Beyond this place of rath and tears
Looms but the horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Find and shall find me unafraid!

It matters not how straight the gate,
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul'."

Pullman porters, like all other men, were greatly inspired by those words whenever their dynamic leader quoted them. With cheers and ovations that literally "shook the rafters" they gave vent to their emotions and their fixed determination and resolution to follow him to the end. The minds and wills of ten thousand men

were solidified, and they willingly sacrificed their money, their time, and their energies for Randolph and the Brotherhood. It was only in such a way that the Brotherhood could be built; and the same is true of any organization of merit. Randolph inspired the souls of these men with the conviction that they alone were the masters of their fate and the builders of their own destiny! With such a spirit and with such determination, it is no wonder that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has successfully withstood many mighty onslaughts and overcome myriads of devastating obstacles.

At long last, the Brotherhood has come of age. It reached its majority last August twenty-fifth and will celebrate a quarter of a century of trade union pioneering among Negroes in August, 1950. Starting with only five men in 1925, today the Brotherhood has twenty thousand men and women regularly paying dues and enjoying some of the best labor contracts in labor union history. In addition to fifteen thousand porters, the organization has within its ranks five thousand parlor car attendants, train porters and maids. At present, car cleaners and yard maintenance personnel are being organized by the Brotherhood. This group will add another ten thousand members to the strength of the Brotherhood, which already has an active membership of twenty thousand and a potential membership of fifty thousand! It is a ~~long~~ far cry from five members in 1925 to twenty thousand members in 1947! A fitting goal for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in 1950 is thirty thousand bona fide members!

What is the meaning of all this? Why would men risk being fired from their jobs,--as many actually were,--for the pursuit of a nebulous and chaotic theory which, in failing, would bring quick and complete economic ruin to themselves, their wives and their children? These Pullman porters were convinced that failure was not the main and certain alternative; they were acting, believing and thinking success. They knew their cause was right and just, and had faith in their leader and the ultimate fairness of man to man. Under these circumstances, facts and conditions, it has been observed that the very stars in their courses seem to fight for and favor those whose cause is just. Public opinion finally boosted their cause and demanded that justice be done; the National Labor Relations Board, the Courts, the press and pulpit finally fell in line and made more certain a quicker triumph of the Pullman porters' cause! Jumping on the bandwagon now became prevalent and everybody wanted to take credit for achieving the impossible!

A period of consolidation and expansion now set in, and the Brotherhood actually came into its own. Harmony, peace, security and tranquility settled down over the organization and its leader could now direct its membership into the leadership and participation in projects of a more general nature. The Global War came on and the Brotherhood purchased Fifty Thousand Dollars worth of War Bonds in the United States, and Five Thousand Dollars worth of Canadian War Bonds. Because of his singular and spectacular success in building the Brotherhood against such overwhelming odds,

Randolph became a popular idol of American Negroes, as well as an esteemed friend and recognized leader in labor generally circles. His complete modesty, rare courage, strict integrity and constant loyalty gave him an eminence among Negro leaders that is almost sacred. Even Dr. Embree in his "13 Against the Odds" characterizes and identifies Randolph as "Saint Philip," of the Pullman Porters. He was destined to expand his influence beyond the borders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, for the good of his race in particular, and for the benefit of workers generally.

Charles Wesley Burton

THE LIFE AND WORK OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

CHAPTER SEVEN

Randolph Extends His Influence

(Tentative Draft)

Even before general recognition for the Brotherhood was secured by a national election in 1937, when it was designated as the sole bargaining agent for Pullman porters, it was evident that Randolph was bigger than the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and that his influence and work must extend far beyond its immediate borders.

In 1935, he lent his influence and talents to a new movement, led by John P. Davis, called the National Negro Congress. This movement represented the collaboration of a group of Negro and white citizens interested in building a mass movement among Negroes to develop, guide and channel their educational, political, and economic life; it was a serious attempt to bring about cohesive thinking and action on the part of American Negroes for their own racial advancement.

The new movement met in Chicago in February, 1936, in the Eighth Regiment Armory and created a great stir; for it was even then apparent that although it was officially organized as "The National Negro Congress," Negroes barely predominated its membership, and the "Red" scare was painfully in evidence at the opening session, when State military authorities threatened to evict

the crowd unless certain changes were made in the program. Earl Browder was refused a hearing from the Armory platform, but Jimmy Ford and Norman Thomas were allowed to speak. Randolph was ill and did not attend this session; the writer read his "Keynote" address. The leader of the Pullman porters received a great ovation in absentia, and was unanimously elected President of the Congress against his directed inability to serve.

For four years, Randolph lent his advice, counsel, name and limited participation to the movement. He presided at the Second Annual Congress in Philadelphia in September, 1937, by which time it was more strongly suspected that the new movement was gradually becoming a "Communist Front" organization. Randolph and his closest friends and associates in the movement did all they could to weed out such elements and make it truly a mass movement of Negroes as a living demonstration of their organizing ability, their power, and their concentrated and consecrated determination to reach and enjoy the complete status of first-class citizenship in America.

But in this, Randolph fought a losing battle, and in April, 1940, at the Third Congress meeting in Washington, D.C., he and the writer resigned from the organization, when it became evident that Communists had been brought down from New York by the hundreds to "take over" the National Negro Congress. Randolph's resignation and farewell address to the Congress was prophetic. He said in part:

"The only rational conclusion, then, seems to be that the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom."

"Salvation for a race, nation, or class, must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships." "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom." "The American Negroes will not follow any organization which accepts dictation and control from the Communist Party."

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced his purpose to make America the "Arsenal of Democracy," and stressed the necessity of building battleships, tanks, airplanes, guns and ammunition, not only for our own national defense but likewise to keep democracy alive in the world by furnishing the tools of warfare to the hard-pressed Allies, industry began to hum and thousands upon thousands of citizens were taken off the relief rolls and given jobs in productive industry. Within a matter of months our whole economy changed from paralyzing depression to booming nation-wide production. The manpower of our country was at a premium; yet, in spite of this, and the need to speed production to an all-time high point in American history, Negroes were kept on relief rolls in keeping with our fixed pattern of discrimination, segregation and prejudice on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

It was in this setting and against this background that A. PHILIP RANDOLPH early in 1941 called together in New York City a group of prominent Negroes to discuss the sad economic plight of fifteen million American citizens whose skins happened to be dark. Walter White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League, Rayford W. Logan of Howard University, J. Finley Wilson of the Benevolent Order of Elks, A.C. Powell, Jr., pastor of the Abbyssinian Baptist Church in New York, and the Reverend Dr. William Lloyd Imes of St. James Presbyterian Church in New York, as well as a number of others, ~~men and women~~, responded to Randolph's call.

After a full statement of the problems confronting American Negroes and a thorough discussion of methods, strategies and techniques in meeting the situation, the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON COMMITTEE was organized with a mandate to build, develop and organize a mammoth Protest demonstration in the nature of a peaceful March on Washington to lay before the President of the United States, the Congress, the Nation, and the world the severe disabilities and unfair handicaps under which Negro Americans must live. The demonstration was proposed for the site of Lincoln's Monument, near the White House; and the President himself was asked to be one of the speakers.

In his new historic "Call To Negro America" To March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense" July 1, 1941, Randolph said: "Negroes, by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE

AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS." "To this end, we propose that ten thousand Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES."

Thus, the purpose of the proposed March on Washington was simply stated, and the idea took deep root and spread like wild fire; it appealed to the sensative imagination of fifteen million black men, women and children in America, painfully aware of the wrongs they suffered, were ready to follow the courageous leader who promised relief from their sufferings. Within ninety days, Randolph and his National Committee were assured that hundreds of local committees had been set up all over the nation and that by June 15 not only Ten Thousand, but Fifty Thousand citizens of color would be ready to "March on Washington" for equality and justice and first-class citizenship.

President Roosevelt became alarmed at the rapid growth of the idea of a march on the nation's capital and called Randolph to the White House for conference. Randolph insisted that other members of his National Committee be invited also, and the President gave word that Randolph make his own selections. Five persons went to see the intrepid Roosevelt, and after long hours of debate, discussion and planning with the President, his chief Cabinet Members and others during several conferences, Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, abolishing discrimination in the Governmental departments and in national defense industries on account of race,

color, religion or national origin. The Order likewise set up the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC), and clothed it with power to execute its provisions. The order also applied to defense training on the job, in schools, public and private industry, and laid the foundation for developing a new pattern in American employment practices.

The President's Committee held public hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Birmingham, St. Louis, and other places, calling before them employers in principal defense industries and causing them to answer complaints of discrimination in employment in violation of Executive Order 8802. As a consequence, hundreds of thousands of Negroes and other minority groups were given jobs in many industries where they had not previously been employed, and were given necessary training in school and on the job for more effective work in our all-out effort to win the War and bring it to the quickest possible conclusion.

Although the President's Committee worked under serious handicaps, it seon demonstrated its effectiveness and its need, and so caused A. Philip Randolph to call a national conference of organizations to consider the feasibility and desirability of organizing a National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

In February, 1943, at the call of Mr. Randolph, some forty-odd national organizations sent representatives to Washington, D.C. to confer with him and others on "How to Make FEPC permanent."

As a result of a two-day conference, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC was set up with Headquarters in Washington. This new organization was interracial, non-partisan, and inter-faith, representing a federation of organizations as well as prominent individuals of national reputation. Such men as Senators Wagner of New York and Capper of Kansas accepted Honorary Chairmanships, while Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers and A. Philip Randolph became active Co-Chairmen. A Strategy Committee was set up locally and a National Steering Committee was organized within the group, with an office staff of three. A bill for a permanent FEPC was authorized to be drawn and a lobby was later set up in Washington to push twin-bills introduced by Democrats and Republicans into both Houses of Congress.

The fight was on! The nation was mobilized, public opinion crystallized, and money raised nationally to carry on the fight. The Bills were reported out favorably in both Houses, but because the recalcitrant and powerful Rules Committee in the House refused to vote a Rule for the House Bill, and also for the reason of a Senate "Filibuster" by notorious and infamous Southern bourbons, the Bills never got to the floor for debate and action.

But the fight is still on and the Eightieth Congress is being importuned to pass this legislation. Bi-partisan support is being lined up for the Bills and the chances for their passage look more hopeful as we move forward into the first Republican-controlled Congress in a generation. Negroes and other minority groups, as

well as fair-minded and intelligent citizens generally, are confidently looking forward to the enactment by this Congress of a National Fair Employment Practice Law.

The latest extension of Randolph's influence beyond the borders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is his present interest in developing the "National Education Committee for a New Party." In February, 1946, he called together a group of liberals in New York to discuss the bankruptcy of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Such men as Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University, Prof. Coolidge of Harvard University, Prof. Lewis Corey of Antioch College, and others, met for a day to discuss the necessity of a new political alignment in order to bring about a new economic and social order in America. In April last year, a similar group met in Chicago for the same purpose. As a result, the National Educational Committee for a New Party was organized. Nearly a hundred men and women, representing education, industry, labor, politics, business, professions, and other phases of our complex life, are now banded together seeking the right answers to our economic, industrial, educational, political and social maladjustments,--as well as to world problems generally.

The National Committee published its "Ideas For A New Party" in the Antioch Quarterly Review last October, which occasioned much provocative discussion and thought generally among prominent people the country over. This movement may ultimately result in bringing together the most liberal elements from Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Independents, Farmer Labor Groups, Cooperatives, Trade Unions, and men and women from other groups and

sources, to form a New American Party committed to the task of building one world of democracy, freedom, justice and equality for all mankind. Such a plan would embrace "Americans for Democratic Action", "Progressive Citizens of America", and all Liberals and Progressives of America, without regard to race, color, creed, religion, sex or ancestry.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is now working on a "Twenty-five Year Plan" for American Negroes, which has not yet been publicly announced. He has already emblazoned his name in bold relief on the pregnant pages of American history as one of her sons of outstanding merit and service to his generation; and should he accomplish nothing further before the end of time, the building of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the organization of the March-on-Washington Movement, inducing President Roosevelt to set up a Committee on Fair Employment Practice through Executive Order 8802, and his gallant and courageous fight for a national law establishing a permanent Commission on Fair Employment Practice, will suffice to send his name down through the ages as one of America's most illustrious sons, and the finest contribution the Negro race has made to the world since Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington.

The A. Philip Randolph Story

Introduction

Ernest G. Green
Executive Director
R-T-P, Inc., Recruitment and Training Program

The information contained in this "hand-out" is a short biographical sketch of Asa Philip Randolph, considered by many as the "Dean of the Modern Civil Rights Movement." A more thorough and detailed account of the life of this prominent labor and civil rights leader can be found in the book, A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait, by Jervis Anderson; Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, Inc.

This abbreviated approach, however, has been utilized for a two-fold purpose: (1) it will serve as an educational piece for those who know very little about the man who has "the longest and most consistent record of service in the struggle for human, social, economic, and political freedom;" and (2) it will emphasize the significance and lasting impact of his many accomplishments that were performed before 1950, when Mr. Randolph was 60 years old and approximately 54% of today's Black population was either too young to read or not born. The concern for this segment of the Black masses (those under 35 years of age) is of the utmost importance because many of them were participants in the civil rights movement of the late 50's and early 60's.

Many of this group are acquainted with the name A. Philip Randolph, for he also participated in these more recent struggles for freedom, even though at the time he was almost 75 years old. Too many, however, have no idea what this "grand old man" has meant to the struggle for equality and freedom for minorities in this country.

In a small way, we hope that this information serves to enlighten a portion of the masses as to the true meaning of the name, Asa Philip Randolph.

The A. Philip Randolph Story

Asa Philip Randolph, the son of a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune Cookman College) in Daytona Beach, Florida and later attended the City College of New York. Although he never earned a formal academic degree, he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and made his entire life truly an educational experience. Mr. Randolph presently holds honorary doctorate degrees from 14 universities, including Harvard, Columbia, and Howard.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

After his arrival in Harlem in 1911, he developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Black journalism. Even at this point in history when speaking out in favor of social and economic equality could be equated with favoring Communism now, as co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph accepted the burden of criticism and stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America. As he often said, "... the movement for racial freedom cannot proceed independently of the movement for social and economic change ..." Ironically, this became, some 45 years later, the theme of the 1963 March on Washington, "The March for Jobs and Freedom."

In addition to militantly championing the rights of Black people, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland, Ohio against American participation in World War I in particular, and specifically against "Black soldiers being asked to risk their lives abroad in defense of freedoms denied them here at home," Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America" - a charge often repeated over the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T. T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph accepted the leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 after 12 years of hard work, sacrifice, and dedication. Not only was this the first contract ever signed between a union of Black workers and a major American corporation, but when the porters voted in May and June of 1935 to accept the Brotherhood as their bargaining agent, it was the first time in American history that Black workers had the opportunity to vote as a national group in an election, under federal supervision, for their economic rights.

With the Brotherhood now a full-fledged member of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), Mr. Randolph carried his fight for fair employment and equal rights into the "House of Organized Labor" against unions that discriminated against and excluded Black members. Throughout his many years as a member of this body, as well as after the AFL and the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) came together in the merged federation it is today, (AFL-CIO), Mr. Randolph profoundly influenced the evolution of equal racial policies. This influence, however, did not become noticeable until the late 1950's, when a number of the craft unions removed color clauses from their constitutions and Black membership in organized labor showed a dramatic increase. In the early 1960's, he helped establish the "outreach programs" and other structured efforts that are placing thousands of minority workers into skilled and well paying jobs in the construction trades of organized labor.

In the early 1940's, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and A. Philip Randolph became the spearhead and principal sustenance of Black mass politics and protest. The political strategy of mass protest and civil disobedience, which has since become commonplace in the civil rights movement, was developed and utilized by Mr. Randolph and his followers before Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown were born, and when Martin Luther King, Jr. was still a boy.

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Black march on Washington to protest the exclusion of Black workers from jobs in the defense industries and in government. He agreed to call off the demonstration <u>only after</u> President Franklin D. Roosevelt, under the pressure of a

possible 100,000 Blacks marching on Washington in war time, issued Executive Order 8802 which banned discrimination in defense plants and in the federal government. This order also established America's first Fair Employment Practices Committee. It was the first major act by the national government to remedy the abuses suffered by Black citizens. Thus, Mr. Randolph set the stage for the revolution of direct action of the 1950's and 1960's.

Out of the 1941 March on Washington movement came the birth of the non-violent civil disobedience strategy and, in Mr. Randolph's words, " ... the refusal of Negroes to obey any law which violates their basic citizenship rights ..." This tactic was successfully applied in 1948 when Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the Armed Forces was not abolished, masses of Blacks would refuse to be drafted. When Mr. Randolph's call was answered by scores of Blacks going to jail, the federal government was embarrassed, angry, and confused. When Mr. Randolph would not be stopped, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 to comply with these demands. Finally, the legal basis for discrimination was broken by the leadership of one man - A. Philip Randolph.

With the rise of the modern civil rights movement during the 50's and 60's and the rise of "younger activists," Mr. Randolph no longer dominated the broad arena of the freedom struggle. However, he did remain the principal Black spokesman for political and trade union democracy and for an economic solution to the American race problem. The political, social, and economic consciousness that he had helped raise would now be carried on by other young leaders. The movement was now in the capable hands of such leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr. (SCLC), Roy Wilkins, (NAACP), Whitney Young, (Urban League), Dorothy Height, (National Council of Negro Women), Bayard Rustin and others. Nevertheless, none of these ever made a major move without consulting Mr. Randolph, now affectionately known as "The Chief." Incidentally, he has been consulted by every U. S. president from Calvin Coolidge to Richard M. Nixon concerning matters which have affected the lives of minorities in this country.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. This gathering was a monument to his profound interest in a civil rights coalition. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference "To Fulfill These Rights" when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Throughout his career Mr. Randolph had the intellectual courage to challenge those philosophies and ideas which hampered the progress of Black people. He fought the notion that Blacks should reject trade unionism and align themselves with big business. He argued against the theory of the "Talented Tenth" -- that Black advancement would be achieved through an educated elite -- as espoused by W.E.B. DuBois. He denounced the nationalism of Marcus Garvey as repressive and reactionary. He opposed Communist domination of the National Negro Congress because he understood that the Communists were less interested in American Blacks than in furthering the interests of Soviet Russia. And, he pressed ahead with his plans for non-violent mass protest at a time when many in the Black community opposed such tactics as too radical.

While engaging in these many intellectual debates, Mr. Randolph never became vindictive; nor did he perceive of opposition to his views as a personal affront. He worked and remained friendly with those individuals whose philosophies differed from his. And he always respected those who, while opposing him on a specific issue, nevertheless were struggling with him for a common goal: racial equality in America.

A. Philip Randolph, now 85 years old, is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He served as international president of the union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council. Mr. Randolph has been the recipient of many civil and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights. In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest citizen's award.

Throughout these 50 plus years of service to the cause of equality and freedom for his people, Mr. Randolph carried himself with an aire of dignity and respect, allowing nothing nor anyone to force him to compromise his principles or his integrity. The following excerpts from some of his speeches offer some insight into the wisdom, strength and character of "The Chief," Asa Philip Randolph.

> " ... We want the support of everybody we can get, but not at the price of surrendering principles that are vital to our existence ..."

" ... Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuous evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political, and religious relationships. No people will lose their freedom fighting for it ..."

" ... The first condition to be worthy of help from others is for an individual, race, or nation to do something for itself ... I consider the fight for the Negro masses the greatest single service I can render to my people, and the fight alone is my complete compensation ..."

" ... At the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take, and you keep what you can hold. You can't take anything without some power. And power comes from organization ..."

justice, freedom, equal opportunity
were axioms of his emotional nature

Feuerbach's The Essence of Christianity

Golem — Exile

Labor — an extraordinarily powerful, simple, direct and Christian protest against social lies and hypocrisies —

Whom the Gods wished destroy, they first make illiterate

Marx and The Martyrs Sidney Hook

Organized labor is neutralized fragmented and enfeebled — encourages the lovers of legal phrases

Alien and Sedition laws of 1798

Espionage Act June, 1917 penalized words as distinct from actions

to induce the Government to modify this attitude of contempt for heroic young men committed to peace even in prison

Notes

The oppressed are always hungry for hope.

In the civil Rights Revolution, the struggle must be transferred from the violence of the ghetto to the relentless, perhaps, but peaceful, integrated housing and education

Selma is open window to the winds of democracy.

The white southern peasants has been perverted by racism.

The more economically developed a country, the more it has to lose and less to gain from revolution — their reliance in the professional engineers of revolution.

Some sociologists on the other side of an extremist kind of fogue racial windows

He has a genial manner and kindly smile which puts one at his ease. His face would have the stillness of repose and yet be animated and interesting.

Milton's vision leaves prison is really a messianic delusion

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Outline - Autobiography

I

Birth - April 15, 1889 - Crescent City, Florida, U. S. A.

II

Parents:

(a) Father - Preacher, Tailor
Built small churches
Rented horse and wagon and sold wood, water, melons, apples.
Had meat market

(b) Age and place of birth

(c) Mother's character, age.

III

Brother: James W. Randolph

IV

✓ Home: (a) Poverty - Never saw deck of cards or bottle of whisky in home

(b) Pride

(c) Prayers - daily - morning and night

(d) Visitors - Mother's people
Grandmother
Grandfather
Aunts: Carrie - ~~now living~~ dead
Mattie - dead
Esther - dead

Uncles: Sammy
Robert

(e) Cousins of father -
Willie - carried me north on Comanche

(f) Father's sister who cooked for white family in Jacksonville

Attendance at Church:

(a) Sunday school
(b) Morning service
(c) Allen Christian Endeavor
(d) Evening service

V

Play life:

(a) Marbles
(b) Baseball
(c) Wrestling - Boxing
(d) Kite making and flying
(e) Mumble Peg
(f) Top spinning
(g) Running - jumping

VI

Fighting:

1. Boys - carried bricks
2. Girls
3. Never participated in gangs
4. Playmates strictly limited by Mother

VII

Boyish Loves:

1. Girl playmates
2. Teacher who lived next door

VIII

School life in Jacksonville:

1. Oakland Public School on east side of Jacksonville.
2. Edward Waters College
3. Cookman Institute (Now Bethune)

IX

1. City College - Night - two years
   Courses: Philosophy
   Economics
   History
   French
   Literature
2. Cooper Union
   Lectures on psychology, philosophy

X

Extra Curricular Activities in Jacksonville:

1. Choral singing
2. Dramatics

XI

Work History:

1. First job - bringing dinner to grocer for 50 cents a week on Saturday.

2. Clerk-Porter in grocery store after school and during summer.

3. Worked as porter for Chemical Drug Company - drove delivery wagon - had had no experience driving horses in any way. Took harness apart trying to unhitch horse - short time.

4. Worked at fertilizer factory during summer- earned about 75 cents a day.

5. Worked on railroad as maintenance - laying rail, cross ties, loading rail flat cars with dirt - served as water boy - wages 75 cents a day. On Saturdays carried wood in the yards, dumped in front of houses of white persons.

XII

Insurance Agent - Union Mutual Insurance Co.

XIII

Took examination for census clerk, but failed

XIV

Adventure:

1. Visited New York - 1912
2. Lived with Cousin Willie Thomas
3. Returned to Jacksonville every fall for school

XV

WORK:

1. Served as hall boy in apartment Cousin Willie had charge of as superintendent. Wages $8.00 a month and a room free

XVI

After graduation returned to New York
(a) Worked as elevator operator in a number of apartment houses - wages $18.00 a month.

XVII

Lunch counter waiter in Jersey Central Station - short period - worked in a waiter's place.

XVIII

Worked as porter for Consolidated Gas Company on Amsterdam Avenue for six years - Wages $10.00 a week.

XIX

Met Lucille E. Green - She had a hair-dresser's shop - Married

XX

Met E. T. Welcome - Jointly formed Brotherhood of Labor - a glorified employment bureau. Sought to give the organization a fraternal-labor complexion.

Met Chandler Owen

Studied Lester F. Ward - America's foremost sociologist - system of sociology - read law together from text books he used at Columbia.

Read Ingersoll.

Met John Ramsey and some other students in New York University and Columbia and formed National Independent Political Council. Held forums on political, economic, social, religious questions -

Epworth League of Salem M.E. Church, of which Rev. F. A. Cullen was pastor. Was active in it and St. Mark's and Mt. Olivet B.of P. U.

Shakespearian Society -
Gave Hamlet, Julius Caesar, Othello, Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Way down East and Within the Law.

Elevator Operators Local Union
Received Federal Charter -

With Chandler Owen ~~went~~ to organize shipyard workers in Newport News and Portsmouth, Virginia. Failed.

Hotel Messenger -

Chandler Owen and I formed and edited this magazine until we wrote an editorial condemning the owners of the magazine for exploiting side waiters by getting a rake-off from the wholesale manufacturers who sold waiters their uniforms, and through gambling.

XXI

Messenger Magazine:

1918 - Edited by Chandler Owen and myself - 15 years - made no money.

XXII

Joined Socialist Party in 1918.
Ran for Secretary of State Assembly.
Offered nomination for presidency on Socialist ticket in 1948.
Republicans sought to get me to run for Congress in 1948.
Arrested in Cleveland - 1916

XXIII

Opposed Garvey Movement - 1916.

XXIV

Formed League of Darker Races in 1917 - with Madame C. J. Walker.

XXV

1920 - Formed Friends of Negro Freedom
1920 Held Soap Box Street Forum on Seventh and Lenox Avenues.

XXVI

Met Ashley L. Totten in 1925 on Seventh Avenue
Began articles in Messenger on Pullman porters in 1925
Held firt meeting to organize Pullman porters, August 25, 1925.

XXVII

Period of struggle without money or men.
Opposition of -
Porter
Preacher
Press
Politician

XVIII

1. Won Right of Representation - 1935
2. Wrote first Agreement with Pullman Company - 1937.

XXIX

3. Joined American Federation of Labor
4. Secured International Charter from A. F. of L.

XXX

Waged fight against racial discrimination in A. F. of L.
Measure of success

XXXI

Second World War and jobs for Negroes.

XXXII

March on Washington Movement - 1940

XXXIII

FEPC Executive Order by President Roosevelt

XXXIV

Spingarn Medal - 1944

XXXV

Fight against Jim Crow in Armed Forces
Civil Disobedience Movement - Executive Order banning jim crow in armed forces by President Truman.

Negro Leaders

In view of the present critical international situation and the responsibility this government has assumed through the United Nations to maintain peace and to halt aggression in the Far East and throughout the world; and in view of the supreme mobilization of the physical and spiritual resources of our country that will be necessary to adequately live up to this responsibility, we would like to call to your attention certain steps which we believe must be taken in order that our government's policy may succeed. The recommended actions are all within the scope of the power and authority of the President and, hence, can be put into effect without new legislation.

In this hour of global crisis, we should demonstrate to the world that we are a united people and that we are not only talking democracy and fighting for it across the earth, but that we are actually demonstrating it in practice here at home. We are convinced that in order to defeat communism we must be militarily strong. But we are equally convinced that communism cannot be overcome by military might alone, however powerful that might may be - not even by the superior possession and use of atom and hydrogen bombs; nor by the victorious use of the bacteriological implements of war.

In addition to military power, we believe that in order to overcome communism and to make the United States the greatest citadel of freedom and democracy, our country must stand above reproach in the treatment it accords all of its peoples.

We believe that it would increase our national unity, weaken communist propaganda, strengthen our cause among the colored peoples of Asia, Africa, the Isles of the Sea, the West Indies, the United States and freedom-loving peoples everywhere, if you, Mr. President, would exercise the powers inherent in your office to extending the domain of democracy and to make possible the fullest use of the services of Negro citizens in this hour of national emergency.

In the light of these convictions, we, a group of representative Negro Americans, have come today to request you to take these steps:

1. To use your power and influence to eliminate, immediately, racial segregation in Washington, D.C. Washington,a Federal territory, is the capital of the greatest country in the world and yet we are incessantly embarrassed by virture of the fact that it is the most segregated national capital in the world.

2. To appoint qualified Negroes on the administrative and policy making level of our government in both the new agencies for defense mobilization and the old established departments. There is now prevalent and widespread the feeling that policy is too often made with out reference to the wishes, the needs or the possible contributions of Negro citizens. A fair representation on the policy level will clearly indicate that our government considers its Negro population as integral and that those among it who are able and learned will be called upon to serve in these key positions.

3. To appoint Negroes in the foreign and diplomatic service of our country. The contribution that Ralph Bunche has made to world peace is one of many that Negroes would make if given the opportunity.

4. To appoint a qualified Negro as an administrative assistant to the President of the United States. In this way you may be more assured of accurate information on the state of public opinion among Negroes.

5. To abolish once and for all the racial segregation of Negro soldiers in the United States Army. The policy of non-segregation in the Navy and the Air Force has worked so well that the retention of segregation by the Army can only be considered an obstinate anachronism.

6. To issue an Executive Order creating a Fair Employment Practice Committee to guarantee the maximum use of all manpower in defense production irrespective of race or religion.

15 Maple St.
Mechanicville, N.Y.
12118

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I am doing a project in school on discrimination. I am reading the novel Mary Jane. I would like to ask you some questions on this subject. What do you think of student riots? What do you think of white people? How do you feel about discrimination? Do you think colored people are becoming more interested in politics? If you have any additional information I'll be glad to have it. Thank you.

Sincerely,
John Fuschino

John Fuschino
15 Maple Street
Mechanicville, N.Y. 12118

MECHANICVILLE, N.Y.
NOV 19
AM
1969
12118

DEFEAT MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY
SUPPORT MDAA

A. Philip Randolph
~~127 W. 125th St. New York~~
City

Advise your correspondents of publishers of your correct mailing address.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH - 6th FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

December 2, 1969

Mr. John Fuschino
15 Maple Street
Mechanicville, New York

My dear Friend:

This will reply to your letter of recent date in which you asked the following questions:

Q. What do you think of student riots?

A. I would rather call them student demonstrations. I think student demonstrations that are nonviolent are educationally useful.

Q. What do you think of white people?

A. I think white people basically are just like all other people. Some of them have prejudices against black people, and some are friendly with black people.

Q. How do you feel about discrimination?

A. I think discrimination, based upon race, color, religion or national origin, is wrong.

Q. Do you think colored people are becoming more interested in politics.

A. Yes, I think they are.

Congratulations upon your project in school, and my best wishes for your success.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

Sherylle Meyer
120-11 Nashville Blvd.
St Albans N. Y. 11412

(1)

Many people have the view that blacks haven't the ability to make it on their own. What are your ideas of this kind of thinking?

(2)

How would you define social equality?

(3)

During your efforts to fight for equal rights, many problems occurred. Where you ever discouraged or thought of giving up?

(4)

How would you view the condition of American Blacks today?

(5)

Would you like to see any changes made for Black Americans of today?

(6)

Seeing that the majority of Domestics are Black, do you think they should be unionized, and how would you suggest going about it?

(1)

I think the view is erroneous and smacks of racism. Whenever people dislike groups of people they always manufacture some erroneous appraisal of them, with a view to giving them an unfair position in society.

(2)

Social equality involves the recognition of the right of every human being to similar privileges and opportunities; to secure an education and participate in all phases of life.

(3)

I never entertained the thought of giving up the fight for social, economic and political opportunities because I knew that they would never be attained without a struggle, and in order for a struggle to be effective it must be organized under honest, knowledgeable and patient leadership.

(4)

Black Americans have made remarkable progress in the fields of business, politics, sports and the arts. But ~~this does not mean that~~ they ~~do not need to~~ must continue to fight for equality in all areas of modern life.

(5)

The only change - an effort to increase their determination to fight for complete equality.

(6)

I believe domestic workers should organize with a union

T O P I C S

1. Process of dialectical change and racism
2. The politics of the Negro during Reconstruction and today
3. White friends of yesteryear and today
4. Whither the ideology of blackness
5. Do black workers need a black savior
6. Is the Third World the hope of the Negro
7. Is violence the hope of black people
8. The significance of the election of a black President
9. What has communism done for the darker races
10. Can black capitalism save black people
11. What is the hope of the black bourgeoisie
12. What is the hope of a black union
13. Can black studies improve the minds of black students
14. Has the AFL-CIO helped or hindered Negro workers
15. The role of the Brotherhood and the black workers

Topics for Memoirs

1. The Garvey movement
2. Receipt of human hand To frighten Lucille and myself to give up fight against RACISM
3. Employment in Consolidated Gas Company
4. Employment in restaurant in Jacksonville
5. Employment on the Fall River Line
6. Lucille kept copies of Messenger for sale in beauty shop
7. Management of Black Yanks To raise funds for them + BSCP
8. Staging of plays in Lafayette Theatre
9. Reciting Shakespeare in Epworth League and Allen Endeavor League
10. Organization of group to read and perform plays in churches
11. Independent political council for discussion of principles of parties and government in relation to Negroes and the poor
12. ~~Committee for discussion of Marxism and Russian Revolution~~
13. Employment as counter waiter in Jersey City railway terminal
14. A'Leila Walker
15. Joining the Socialist Party
16. Candidate for N. Y. Legislature on Socialist ticket
17. Lucille's campaign on Socialist ticket for State Legislature
18. Eugene V. Debs in Harlem
19. Movement for appointment of Negro teacher as school principal MRS AMERS
20. Trip to Japan with Norman Thomas
21. Visit to various cities in Asia AFRICA +
22. Norman Thomas and Harry Fleischman suggestion that I run for President of U.S.A.
23. Street corner campaign in Harlem on Socialism and race problem
23. Meeting Marcus Garvey - PR
24. Election as president of National Negro Congress

25. Arrested in Cleveland with Chandler Owen 1918

26. Elected as AFL-CIO delegate to ICFTU conferences in Amsterdam and Tunis

27. AFL-CIO delegate to conferences in Belgium, Kenya

28. AFL-CIO contribution to Kenya labor movement - ~~Kenyatta~~ Tom Abuya

29. Participation in celebration of independence of Ghana - Nkrumah

30. Visit to Dar es Salaam before Julius Neyere was elected president

31. Discussion of church leaders - black and white

32. Attitudes of James and myself:

    Toward the church
    The accumulation of money
    Our boyhood playmates
    Our friends, when we became adults
    Our strong attachment to the Negro and the world of color without any sense of racial prejudice

33. Attitude of our parents on the race problem

34. Beginning of the Messenger Magazine

35. My association with Chandler Owen

~~36. Organization of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters~~

36. Experience at City College

37. Messenger Magazine workers and contributors

38. Organization of Negro American Labor Council

39. Organization of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

40. Leaders of BSCP

41. Organization of BSCP Ladies Auxiliary

42. March on Washington for Jobs in WAR INDUSTRIES - BAYARD

43. Committee to abolish Discrimination in Armed Forces

44. Speech at Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia on program with Kellogg and Hoover

45. Committee to develop Socialist thought (Frank MacAllister

46. Program on African labor for presentation to executive committee of ICFTU

47. The coming struggle for power of the black and white poor

48. What is the promise of black capitalism?

49. Is there a role of violence in social change?

50. What is the role of integration in the progress of black Americans?

51. The black revolution and advancing science and technology

52. The black revolution and the welfare state

53. The black revolution and the Third World - BLACK PEOPLE

54. Black Panthers

55. Angela Davis

56. My co-workers - Rustin, Parrish, Crosswaith, Overton, Cleveland Robinson, Wilkins, Young

57. Black victory without violence

58. Comparison between southern and northern progress in USA

59. Hubert Harrison

60. Masonic Order

61. Elks

62. March for Integrated Schools

63. Prayer Pilgrimage

64. Fiorello H. LaGuardia - re Negro teachers in public schools

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Interviews, notes, and other Information

(5)

A.P.R.

RACE DISCRIMINATION IS AMERICA

(Discussion By Norman Thomas and A. Philip Randolph)

(1) ANSWER: By A. Philip Randolph

Yes, Mr. Thomas, it is well-nigh a matter of common knowledge that race resentment and bitterness is rising in America and what is more disturbing, they are arising with amazing rapidity.

(2) ANSWER: By A. Philip Randolph

I will be very glad to do so, Mr. Thomas. The story of jim-crow in uniform has been aptly styled by Dwight McDonald as the "war's greatest scandal". The bitter fruit of this policy of segregation of Negroes in the armed forces can be given in concrete and specific cases.

FORT BENNING, GA., May 2, 1941: The body of a Negro private Felix Hall, is found hanging from a tree, arms and legs bound. Negro groups charge Private Hall was lynched. The BULLETIN of the NAACP states that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers, and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military police."

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., August 6, 1941: Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, white military policeman, and Private Need Turman, Negro engineer, are killed and four other soldiers are wounded in a gun battle between white and Negro soldiers on a crowded bus. Cause: brutality by white M.P.'s.

PRESCOTT, ARK., August 17, 1941: 43 Negro soldiers from the 97th Engineer Battalion go A.W.O.L. and return to their former station in Michigan, after weeks of violent persecution by local whites. "Trouble started in Little Rock", states Sergeant James Humphries,

"after a fight between a white copper and one of our boys. The copper started it when he slapped the soldier. . . We found we had no Negro M.P.'s; these had been replaced with whites. And the whites were not any too anxious to protect us. Negro M.P.'s had been requested but refused. We were told that white southerners would not stand for Negro M.P.'s. . . Then we moved again. . . I saw some of the white armed civilians in parked autos along the highway. Then one of our sentries was attacked. He had a rifle but it was empty. . Then on Thursday hell broke loose."

ALEXANDRIA, LA., January 11, 1942: Twenty-eight Negro soldiers shot or clubbed in race riot provoked by the attempt of a white M.P. to arrest a Negro soldier. 3,000 Negro soldiers put under arrest by white M.P.'s and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored M.P.'s.

SAVANNAH, GA., June 10, 1942: Negro troops in the Army Day parade are forced to march at the tail end, behind garbage trucks.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS, Aug. 10, 1942: Negro private Charles J. Reco is clubbed and shot by two city policemen. No action taken by Army authorities.

VALLEJO, CALIF., Dec. 26, 1942: Mistreatment of Negro sailors by Southern whites provokes race riots involving 272 Negro and white sailors.

These are but a few instances of United States Army, Colored, and United States Army, white, becoming so unmindful of the purpose of the war of the United Nations that they proceed to do battle against each other at home. I believe, Mr. Thomas, that these unfortunate

racial conflicts would be avoided were our American citizens in the armed forces placed in the same army under the same commanders, governed by the same discipline and given the same opportunities for promotion and advancement upon a basis of merit, character and qualifications regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

It would take hours to enumerate similar instances of riot, mob violence and shooting of Negro soldiers by white M.P.'s and white civilian policemen. It is largely a matter of accident that this undeclared war against a part of our armed forces has not broken out into devestating rioting, blood-shed and lynching on a large scale. Although 9.8 per cent of the population is colored, 16.1 per cent of the volunteers in the armed forces in 1940 - 41 were Negroes, according to Office of War Information. But despite this demonstration of patriotism and loyalty to our country, this fantastic pattern of jim-crowism exists which divides the fighting forces of the country by government decree and the propaganda of Fascist racism that the avowed purpose of the war is to wipe out. The very thought of a jim-crow army fighting to break down Nazi race theories is an anachronism of policy and would be humorous were it not so tragically dangerous and destructive.

In education, Negroes in the South are humiliated by segregation and consequently given inadequate education through shorter school terms for Negro boys and girls in inferior school facilities and underpaid colored teachers. But the South is not the only place where the Negroes are the victims of discrimination and segregation. One of our greatest institutions of learning, Princeton University, where I spoke only a few months ago, bars colored boys from enrolling as students.

The story of segregation and discrimination in the public and

private schools of America is a challenge to our heart of democracy in education in this country.

In war industries, discrimination against Negroes were so rampant that the leaders in church, labor, education and the professions were compelled to threaten to march on Washington in order to secure Executive Order 8802 under which the President's Committee On Fair Employment Practice was established, in order to abolish discriminations in defense industries on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

(3) ANSWER: BY A. Philip Randolph

When the National Defense Program began and Negroes sought employment in industries, there were given the run around and in some instances told flatly that they were not wanted or that white employees would not work with them, or that Negro workers had never been hired before by the firm in question or that Negroes were incompetent. Because little progress was being made in securing jobs for Negroes in these defense industries that had government contracts, Negro leaders came together and formed the March On Washington Movement and set July 1st, 1941, as the date for the march on Washington in protest against discriminations.

Yes, Mr. Thomas, I called a group of Negro leaders together to develope the March On Washington Movement when conference with various government leaders failed to secure any favorable consideration by way of securing jobs. The Movement still continues. The March On Washington Movement is holding a "We Are Americans, Too" Conference in Chicago, June 30th to July 4th, for the purpose of evaluating strategy and mapping out programs to achieve equality for

for the [illegible] people in industry, labor, education, government and our social relations. This conference will decide whether Negroes should march on Washington and, if so, when, in demonstration against jim-crow in industries, the government, labor and education.

We will also ponder and weigh the strategy of non-violent goodwill action or what I am pleased to call, "constitutional obedience" as a method of attack against jim-crow. This program of non-violent goodwill direct action is intended to challenge the social forces so as to avoid riots, violence and blood-shed that may be resorted to, to meet the problems of race if there does not exist some organized program seeking to achieve the democratic rights for the Negro people. This program of constitutional obedience through non-violent goodwill direct action is not similar to non-violent civil disobedience as advocated by Gandhi in India since we do not seek to break down American civil government, nor will we include in our non-violent goodwill direct action Negroes in the armed services or defense industries. This program will follow a period of discipline and training so that those participating in it will be morally and spiritually prepared to press the cause for civil and democratic rights without resort to violent language or violent action, even though they may be the victim themselves of violence by white racial fascists.

(4) ANSWER: By A. Philip Randolph

The question of the relation of the Negro people to the labor movement is basic and of first importance since 99 per cent of Negroes are working people. There have been few or no Negro capitalists. But because of the short-sightedness and lack of vision and sound understanding of the mission of organized labor, some international trade

Unions and local unions discriminate against Negroes through color clauses and rituals or through practice and custom, thereby limiting their membership to only sober and industrious white men. This policy does not only harm the Negro workers but the white workers as well because it enable the employers to use race as a point of division of the workers thereby weakening them and rendering them an easy prey to exploitation and oppression.

I would advise the labor movement to eliminate all discrimination and segregation based upon race, color, religion or national origin and accept workers as workers. Unless this is done, the labor movement of America is likely to be disappointed by the rising tide of fascism. I would advise Negro workers to join trade union movements. If they are working in industries controlled by the A. F. of L, they should join the A. F. of L; if they are working in industries controlled by C.I.O, they shoud join C.I.O. What is important is that they should be a part of the bona fide trade unions. This will also help to eliminate racial tensions for when black and white workers fight for the same objectives in the same labor movement, they will develop an understanding and appreciation that their racial difference is of no importance, but that their economic interest creates a mutual bond of unity.

(5) ANSWER: By A. Philip Randolph

You are correct, Mr. Thomas. I believe that the question of race and color is the central historic issue of these times. One reason for this is that the people of color represent two-thirds of the population of this world, and the other reason is that the people of color have grown to a higher intellectual, moral and spiritual

maturity. They don not only believe in their right of equality, economic, political, racial and social, but they are determined to struggle to achieve it and it is my thought that without the peoples of color being brought within the orbit of democracy, freedom, peace and brotherhood of man, this war will be followed by a third far more destructive and calamitous. To achiev this free world, the Negroes of America feel that they have a moral obligation to bear the banner of democracy and endure the sacrifice, suffering and struggle that this task entails.

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH:

1. I first began the job of organizing black workers in the trade unions during the first World War. At that time we sought to organize the elevator operators in New York City. I secured a federal charter for this class of workers from the American Federation of Labor. However, the organization was not of long standing. Then I proceeded to attempt to organize the black workers in the shipyards of Newport News, Virginia. There were a large number of Negro workers in this industry. The industry was an open shop industry; it is still an open shop industry. I never made any appreciable and measurable success in the organization of the black workers in the shipping industry of Newport News.

I encountered tremendous opposition from Negro church leaders. They had come under the influence of the shipping corporations. Consequently they lent their influence against the organization of the black workers in the shipyards.

Then, later on, I became, with my friend and co-worker, Chandler Owen, one of the editors of the Hotel Messenger Magazine for the National Association of Colored Headwaiters of America. This organization was not essentially concerned about organizing the rank and file; it was composed of the foremen of the rank and file. They were headwaiters and they made money out of exploiting both the rank and file and management. This was done by charging a fee for uniforms from the side waiters, and also by collecting a fee from various employment sources for furnishing waiters for hotels.

I had a very unpleasant experience in this group. Finally, I turned my guns of criticism upon the Negro Headwaiters which created a considerable furor, and Chandler Owen and I were dismissed as the editors of the Hotel Messenger Magazine. Later, we established a magazine of our own.

Chandler Owen was studying law at Columbia University and I was attending City College. We mutually began exploring the possibility of developing a sort of educational forum on the streets of Harlem. This we did. We discussed various

questions of racial, economic, political and social interest. This educational movement grew. We sold books. We sold books by Herbert Spencer; The Origin of the Species by Darwin, books by William Edward Burghardt DuBois on the race question, and books on Socialism and various problems relating to the struggle of the working class.

In 1925, a number of Pullman porters came into my office of The Messenger Magazine and sought to secure my interest in the organization of the Pullman porters. At that time the Pullman Company probably employed the largest number of Negro workers of any single enterprise in the country. Negroes were also employed in large numbers in the railroad industry as a whole. I didn't know anything about the Pullman industry, however I discussed the problems of the Pullman porters with this group at some length and finally decided to write a series of articles on the problems of Pullman porters in the Messenger Magazine. This I did. I suppose we carried about ten or fifteen articles.

Following the exposition of the problems of the Pullman porters in the Messenger Magazine, I called some of the porters together for the purpose of developing an actual organization. We set out to develop a bona fide trade union. This struggle was tremendous. As a matter of fact, we were engaging as a foe one of the most formidable corporations in America - the Pullman Company.

All of the forces of organized labor were aware of the tremendous opposition that Labor had encountered from the Pullman industry in the famous strike of 1894, led by the great Socialist, Eugene Debs. However, we engaged this industry in the struggle. Our main problem, however, was the porters themselves. We had to make them conscious or, rather, had to bring them together in this struggle which tended to make them conscious of their working class position and to make them realize that, in the final analysis, they could only get what they had the power to take and they would have no power to take anything without organization; that

their basic problems did not arise because they were black, but because they were weak, and they were weak because they were unorganized.

This doctrine we preached to the porters from one end of the country to the other. We pointed out to them that they needed to be linked up with the white workers in the organized labor movement, because the basic objectives of all labor as a whole, were the same objectives of the Pullman porters. In other words, they were wage workers, and as wage earners they were exploited, in order that the Pullman Company might make profits out of their sweat and blood. This was not only true of them, but also true of white workers. And if white workers had to organize to fight other white men for their rights to organize, certainly black workers would have to organize to fight for their right to organize.

(2) Now, this movement to organize the Pullman porters has had far and extensive repercussions, not only in the United States of America but throughout the world. Our organization has been able to win definite and basic concessions, not only from the Pullman Company but from thirty, or more, railway carriers throughout the nation. We built up a decent wage structure for these men; we've improved their working conditions; we've shortened their hours of work. However, we have a long way to go, because organized labor in America has a long way to go.

Organized labor is now encountering the phenomenon of the Automation Revolution - the substitution of the machine for man. This is a problem that labor must grapple with. Labor has not yet discovered the remedy. As a matter of fact, black labor is chiefly the victim of this condition because automation tends to liquidate the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and the vast majority of Negro workers are in the categories of unskilled and semi-skilled. Consequently, they are feeling the brunt of this automation revolution. In addition to that, black workers do not have opportunities to participate in the apprenticeship training programs to the extent that white workers do. Therefore, they have the problem of getting the skills and the training automated industry requires. They

do not have them now.

As I pointed out, American workers face a great crisis because of this march of radical technology. Not only do the black workers face a grave crisis because of the automation revolution but they also face a grave crisis because they are black. When a white worker, who is unemployed, goes out looking for a job and finds one, he is likely to get that job if he is able to perform the service. But if a black worker goes out seeking a job, and finds a job which he can perform, he may or may not get it, because he's black. Therefore, Negro workers today have the problem of breaking down the barriers of race bias in industry, labor and government. This is what I call the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution.

(3) This condition which stands in the way of Negroes exercising their rights as free workers and free citizens is the result of the fact that the Civil War Revolution was never fully completed because the rulers, the new rulers of the country, who were the masters of industry and finance and utilities, and who were the great owners of land, were essentially concerned about saving the Union. They were not basically interested in the liberation of the slaves; they simply had to liberate the slaves in order to save the Union. But when the Union was saved, although slavery was abolished, the Negro freedman faced another form of slavery, which was known, and is known today, as segregation.

Following the end of the Civil War, the Reconstruction Period set in. Negroes, for the first time, went into State legislatures and also the Federal Congress. This was short-lived however, because a counterrevolution set in against the Civil War Revolution and this counterrevolution was designed to sweep away all of the new rights of citizenship that the black freedman had won as a result of the Civil War Revolution.

Now, in order that the freedman might be able to build on the foundation of citizenship securely, they had to develop a civil rights movement. Dr. William E.

Burghardt DuBois, brilliant Negro intellectual, proceeded to organize the Niagara Movement and, finally, the Niagara Movement developed into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization went into the Courts and finally was able to establish that segregation and discrimination were illegal and unconstitutional. Especially was this significantly set forth by the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1954. Therefore, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was the agency whicy developed the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution begun by the black revolutionary freedmen, such as the able and matchless Frederick Douglass.

Now, this Civil Rights Liberation Revolution is taking on new forms. For instance, the "sit-in" demonstrations, on the part of Negro students in various cities of the South, and the "freedom riders". These are spiritual expressions of the impatience of black youth with the pace of progress on the part of the Negro toward the achievement of first-class citizenship..Consequently, we are at the stage today where the revolutionary forces within the Negro community are mobilizing in order that they may make a vigorous and formidable assault upon the barriers of the color caste culture of the country. Negroes have come to the conclusion that they must have their freedom - and have it now, because the changes in the economic, social, political and technological life of the nation are so vast and fast-moving that the Negro people cannot affort to wait. As a matter of fact, their very survival,and the survival of American democracy, depend upon the development of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution.

This revolution touches every institution in the nation. It touches the Church, business and government, organized labor, the school system. ~~Annxx~~ In fact, all of the movements in the nation, all of the institutions in the nation, have been swept by the winds of change of this revolution. This revolution will go on; it will gather force; it will develop - until all of the remnants, vestiges

and survivals of color caste culture have been swept into oblivion. This is the struggle and the meaning and the significance and the importance of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution.

Now, in the House of Labor this revolution has been moving at a terrific and challenging pace. It expresses itself in the setting up of the national Negro American Labor Council. The Negro American Labor Council is an outgrowth of the struggles of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which led the fight in the American labor movement for the elimination of color bias in all areas of the House of Labor.

This fight was started from the very beginning of the advent of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' delegates in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the early part of the 1930's. This struggle went on and on and, finally, it began to gather force and power, and the Negro masses became awakened and stirred to the realization that they needed power, and that power must come through organization and the understanding of their working class nature - their class basis. They realized that they were essentially workers and, as workers, they had to fight with their white brothers side-by-side, for the attainment of the objectives of all the workers; namely, increased wages, better working conditions, shorter hours of work, fringe benefits and, basically, the spiritualization of American democracy, in order that citizenship status, not only of black people but of labor itself may be more secure.

This is very important in view of the fact that we have the Taft-Hartley Act and, more recently, the Landrum-Griffin Bill. These are forms of legislation that tend to stifle and strangle organized labor in its march toward a better day.

And now the Negro workers are becoming deeply conscious of their historic mission as a force of liberation in this country. Not only for themselves, but for organized labor - for white workers. Because, so long as one Negro worker, in the canebrakes of Mississippi or in the lumber mills of Alabama, is the victim

of economic exploitation and social oppression, no white worker can become fully free. This the white workers will have to understand. This the black workers are increasingly beginning to understand.

So the great human struggles for freedom are now underway. Black people in the South are developing boycotts against all forms of discrimination and the color class and caste system. You have massive revolts on the part of black students in the various schools and colleges of the South. These revolts are manifestations of a deep and restless spiritual hunger for complete freedom, for the realization of first-class citizenship. And, today, the black workers and black youth and the black people of this country are winning their freedom. When black people achieve their freedom, organized labor, white and black, in this country will be far more secure in the possession of its rights than it is today.

And so the Negro workers have a great historic mission, not only to help the black workers and organized labor in America, but to give hope and faith to the teeming millions of workers in Africa where nationalist revolutions are sweeping over that great continent.

(5) Relative to the cause of segregation in the United States, may I say that the root of this social phenomenon lies in the labor system of chattel slavery. Slavery was and is the source of the whole color caste and class culture in America. When slavery was abolished the next step on the part of the defeated former slave masters was to develop some method whereby they could maintain cheap labor because they wanted to revive and rebuild the old plantations for the production of cotton, and in order to get cheap labor it was necessary to break the spirit of the black freedmen who had been recently liberated. In order to break the spirit of the black freedmen, the new slave regime had to deprive them of all their rights. Hence, the Supreme Court decision of Plessy versus Ferguson was handed down in 1896 and, on a basis of this decision, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was set up, and under this doctrine of "separate but equal" the whole structure of

racial segregation was established. Now, segregation obtains not only in the South, it obtains in the North also. It is legal in the South, by southern law; it is not legal in the North. It exists in the North because there is residential segregation. Negroes, as a rule, are confined to various areas in a given northern community. The schools to which Negroes generally go are in these communities, and these schools are segregated. The churches Negroes attend are in these communities, and they are segregated; the theatres that Negroes attend, as a rule, are in these communities, and they are segregated. And, consequently, as a result of this basic policy of segregation, which grew out of the labor system of slavery, the whole life of the United States of America has been poisoned by racial segregation.

It is the problem of the black American today to cleanse the soul of America of this poison. This is the purpose and the historic mission of the Civil Rights Liberation Revolution. And not until this is done will America be fully free, or will the Negro workers and Negro people be fully free. Therefore, the problem of the abolition of segregation is the problem of building a free, strong, great American democracy.

This is the reason why so much emphasis is placed upon this question of segregation. We realize that until every instance and every manifestation of any form of racial inequality of inferiority is swept away, Negroes will be the victims of exploitation because of the concept of the hereditary inferiority of the Negro which grew out of the institution of slavery.

Slavery was the greatest dishonor of America. Slavery almost destroyed this country - it certainly wounded the soul of America - and the soul of America is still struggling to become morally free and morally majestic under the terrible weight of the vicious system of social and racial segregation. Therefore, the peoples of color in this country believe that, in the elimination of segregation, they are the agents of history in making America strong and great and free.

(8) In the interest of the elimination of all of the evils, all of the [illegible], all of the vestiges of colonialism - colonialism which has represented a long, long lonely night of oppression - of exploitation, of persecution, where the very sould of Africans have been scarred and wounded by insult and by all kinds of depredations and deprivations, nationalist revolutions are on the march for independence and freedom.

Therefore, the African masses are bearing the great torch of freedom in the world today. Hey have taken up this torch and they are carrying it forward victoriously, for a greater and better and finer tomorrow for all men. The black workers in Africa have suffered horribly. They are still suffering, but they have the conviction that they will eventually drive their oppressors from their land and become the captains of their own future and fate.

It is encouraging to note that the great African masses are unquestionably devoted and dedicated not only to the liberation of Africa, but to world peace. They are playing their role in the United Nations, and it is the role of spiritual and moral grandeur and nobility. All peoples of color must be proud of them. The Negro peoples of America are greatly concerned and interested in the development of the forces of civilization in Africa. A basic kinship between the black Americans and the black Africans exists which gives spiritual strength to both.

Now, the whole problem of world peace hinges upon the realization of world freedom, world justice and world equality in every field of human endeavor. As a matter of fact, the human rights revolution is the great social phenomenon of this age. It is far more significant than the exploration of space. It is far more significant than the march of the mechanical revolution. This is the revolution for human dignity; it is a revolution for the realization that all human beings have worth, value; that they are priceless and that, consequently, all men must be free. Thus, the Negroes of America and the Africans in that great continent are rendering a priceless service to humanity. They are making a great contribution

for a better and a happier humanity of [redacted].

(11) Relative to the role of the Kennedy Administration, may I say that the Negro leaders of America are greatly concerned that the Administration should carry out its pledges concerning civil rights legislation. It is disappointing that the Administration has not lived up to its pledges with regard to this important question. However, I think it is generally felt among the Negro people that the Kennedy Administration has made some significant and basic contributions to the cause of civil rights, but they are inadequate. Negroes throughout the nation are appreciative of this contribution, they they are also critical of the Administration's failure to go farther and faster than it has gone up the road of civil rights.

As a result, practically of the Negro organizations are now interested in getting the President to understand that he cannot be too concerned about the sensitivity of southern leaders. There never will come a time in our immediate future when southern political leaders will voluntarily make any basic concessions on the question of civil rights. The struggle for civil rights must be made because it is right to insure complete freedom for every citizen, regardless of his race or color. We cannot be too greatly concerned about probable adverse political repercussions. We must be basically interested in the achievement of freedom for the Negro people, because without freedom for the Negro people, America cannot claim to be a true democracy. And, unless America maintains its sound and basic democratic ethics and principles, it will not be able to maintain its moral democratic leadership of the world.

Therefore, the Negro problem in America is the key to the problem of building the strength and the position and the integrity and a favorable world image of our great country. The Negroes, of course, are basically concerned about democracy in the U. S. A. They are basically concerned about the march forward of a democratic, free, strong United States of America. Negroes do not pin their hopes upon any

other State power in the world except the United States of America - their home, where they can, and are building for the future.

But Negroes are realizing that the U. S. A. will not move forward to full first-class citizenship for Negroes until they move it. This is the reason for Negro civil rights movements.

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Reel 1

VOICE: Speed.

INTERVIEWER: Mr. Randolph, what a man doubtless like Hitler, how he ever took ahead to 80 years with the life that such guy he will be sitting in a chair like this with somebody asking him his things, asking him to make all these evaluations that are so important?

RANDOLPH: Well, I never looked that far ahead. I had no idea that I would live to the ripe old 80 years of my life, although I suppose I have been a rather tenacious conservative person, and have conserved and preserved up energies, so that I have no special reason for dying, and therefore I decided to live.

INTERVIEWER: You say you are a conservative person, and yet at one time in your life you really identified with the Communists.

RANDOLPH: Yes. Well, the 30s and 40s and further evidence I suppose I was a Black militant. I was opposed to the war and organized and helped organize most of the demonstrations, the general militancy in the political field. I never was a part of any party except the Socialist Party, and - what's the matter.

VOICE: Speed.

RANDOLPH: Relative to the Black militancy, and I say that - I have an attention to the militancy in Black, I have seen because I think that they have been instrumental in bringing America around and giving America a sense of consciousness of the danger of a grave crisis in the cities. They deserve that credit. I don't agree with many of their methods and their tactics, but they were - they have a

vengence in their heart for freedom, and having been the victims of great oppression, youngsters who harrassment of a better future naturally resent and react against forms of prejudice of any kind. And I - I didthe same thing in the 20s. Sheep, of course, I had no interest in achieving social change through violence. My ambition was bringing about some basic change in our free-enterprise economy. So that labor would get a larger share of the national gross finan product. Labor couldn't get it unless it had power. In my opinion, the black workers certainly wouldn't ever able to get it because they couldn't sell their labor in the market effectively, when they had nothing to sell it with. Theywere not in the union. And this prescribed, as I say it, the necessity for changing the system. I was interested in changing the system.

INTERVIEWER: You said that politically you were a socialist. What was your relationship with Norman Thomas? Did you he ask or an influence on his life or did he ask or an influence on your life?

RANDOLPH: Well, he asked me an influence on me. I think and I had great affection for him as well as I did for Eugene V. Eh Debs.

INTERVIEWER: Hm, hm.

RANDOLPH: I recall that when Norman decided not to run for President - for the Presidency again, he and Harry Fleischman came up to my apartment and sat down with me to persuade me to run for the Presidency on the Socialist ticket. I was involved of course with the responsibility of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I said to them that I can't run because I think she don't have the time.

INTERVIEWER: Hm, hm.

RANDOLPH: I have this job to do. It's a difficult one. And

Norman said, "No one will question that, Phil," he says. "But we need you. We need you to help carry the message of socialism to the country. I can't do it any more, since I have reached the point where I am just not physically able to carry it on." But I told him that it was just beyond my capacity, from the point of view of time or energy. My heart was there.

INTERVIEWER: When was this?

RANDOLPH: Oh, -- this was the last time he was called on to run for the Presidency. I don't know just - I think it was - I think before the Kennedy election.

INTERVIEWER: Mm,hm. Going back to your boyhood days in Florida, is there a substantial difference between the boyhood of a young black man in Miami Florida, as compared with your own boyhood?

RANDOLPH: Yes, I think there is. The young black today is much more aggressive, much more impatient and much more [illegible] of the conditions of discrimination than the boys were [illegible] my period.

INTERVIEWER: Well, your attitude as a boy was this is the way [illegible] live and this is the way we must accept it?

RANDOLPH: No. I was brought up in a home where I had, from the [illegible] period of my consciousness, a very deep repulsion against any [illegible] or discrimination. My father was a person [illegible], and he would talk to my brother and myself about the Negro leaders who fought for liberty and justice, right in the times of slavery. Nat Turner, Sam Maddini and Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglas. So that I was conscious of the fact that there was a great problem that I had to

face.

Now, I didn't realize that this problem, however, couldn't be worked out in ~~Kkuxkkm~~ Florida, but I knew there was a problem, and my father used to take me to the general conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and he'd present myself and my brother to the various bishops and ~~kxd~~ he'd tell them, "These are my boys." He says, "We have great boys." He says, "They - they are far beyond in their general intelligence than the age they have." And I remember Bishop Turner, who was one of the ~~h~~ great leaders during the Reconstruction Period, and he was one of the mighty men, strong, ~~kkyxxxxxx~~ vigorous, courageous, aggressive, and he would say to me, "Well, you youngsters now, you must stay in school and work and study and some day you will reflect great credit upon your fine father."

INTERVIEWER: So your father was indeed a major influence on you?

RANDOLPH: He ~~xxxxxx~~ was a major influence, exactly, that's right. And my brother and myself, we had a certain maturity because ~~he~~ especially was quite well versed in general history, especially Renaissance, Reformation.

INTERVIEWER: Do you recall, Mr. Randolph, the first time you as a boy confronted Jim Crowism?

RANDOLPH: Yes, I recall that. I remember selling papers on the streets of Jacksonville and the colored boys, who got their papers from ~~hxxxxxx~~ the same windows the white boys, had to remain in the rear, and we complained about it. And I remember the time when we would break out of the line and go to the front, and being there, they couldn't afford to hold up the line, you know, in giving out the papers,

so they'd give us the papers. And many ofthe colored boys brokedown that form of ~~discrimination~~ discrimination. We were selling the Jacksonville Times Union and the Metropolist, the Evening May Metropolis. So I had a consciousness then of some organized plan to deny peoples of color their rights. And we had the feeling that this was something that had to be stopped. But of course we simply had a feeling. We couldn't do anything aboutit.

INTERVIEWER: Didn't you one time witness a near lynching or attempt to lynch?

RANDOLPH: I didn't myself witness it but my father, he got together someof the men in the community. It was rumored that a Negro in the Duvall County Jail was going to be lynched. And that at a certain hour these people would gather and overpower the jailer and take this Negro out. I recall my father telling my mother that he had an appointment, that he had to get Negroes together, Negro men together, for the purpose of preventing a lynching. And he had a rifle in the house and a gun. And he told my mother, "Now, you keep this rifle. If anybody come where, you will know what to do with it." He was a preacher but he had that feeling of resentment against this form of persecution of the Negro. And my mother, of course, knew how to shoot a rifle, and she was a person of strength, and I recall that these men - you could hear them talking, you know, and they went away. And about daybreak he returned. And he - my mother was still at the door with this rifle on her lap, waiting for him (Unintelligible). Andthen he returned. Hetold her that there was going to be trouble, that they attempted to take the Negro

out of the jail.

INTERVIEWER: This could give nightmares to a young boy ...

RANDOLPH: Oh yes. And my brother and myself, we were greatly concerned. We wanted to get a gun, don't you know.

INTERVIEWER: Yes.

RANDOLPH: Shocked by my mother, you know. We didn't know just how grave the situation was.

INTERVIEWER: It's just that was exciting and dramatic ...

RANDOLPH: It was exciting and dramatic, that's right. Well, that was a great experience for us. The next day we talked about it and we wanted to know why our mother didn't shoot the gun. And she said, "Nothing happened."

INTERVIEWER: Thank god.

RANDOLPH: That's right. And this of course was not an unusual experience in the South. And many, many times Negroes had to organize themselves to prevent lynchings. Lynchings were - were common. Not only were they hanged on the trees, butthey were burned, burned alive in some instances, especially - in Waco, Texas, for instance.

INTERVIEWER: As a boy, did you lie awake at night wondering why did the white man do this?

RANDOLPH: No, I never - while I was in Jacksonville, I never worried about thatphase of it. We had great faith in our father. And we believed that he could take care of anything. He was what you a proletarian preacher. Nonot only had churches - he had three ...

INTERVIEWR: Mm, hm.

RANDOLPH: But he also had a tailor shop in the home, and consequently he didn't depend on the churches fohis livelihood, because if

he mk had, he wouldn't have had a livelihodd.

INTERVIEWER: Xmmkk You'd have been pretty ~~g~~ hungry mostof the time.

RANDOLPH: Exactly. Because these churches were country ....

INTERVIEWER: (Unintelligible)

RANDOLPH: That's right. And they would give him his pay in potatoes, half a hog, and so forth.

INTERVIEWR: Did you ride the circuit with him?

RANDOLPH: Oh, yes, many times. It was a great lark for me. I enjoyedit immensely.

INTERVIEWER: Was he quite a preacher?

RANDOLPH: Well, I thoughthe was.

INTERVIEWER: Was that the fire and brimstone technique?

RANDOLPH: Well, he had part of it. He had - he alwayshad a written script.

INTERVIEWER: Hm, hm.

RANDOLPH: And then after he finished that written script, then he would give the - the romance of the sermon.

INTERVIEWR: Did you ever contemplate being a preacher, as your father?

RANDOLPH: I never did, no, although he wanted me to - to be a preacher. And my mother wanted me to ~~skmkysmm~~ study medicine. I, however, didn't feel like doing either. And ...

INTERVIEWER: What did you want to do as a 12 year old boy?

RANDOLPH: Well I ...

INTERVIEWR: ... your first ambition?

RANDOLPH: Yes, I wanted to develop some form of organization of Negroes.

INTERVIEWER: Even then?

RANDOLPH: Yes, that's right. And we did have a sort of cultural committee, where we had soirees in different homes of the neighbors, and there we would have youngsters recite poems, and some ofthem would sing, and we had of course friendship with a celebrated Negro singer, a man by the name of Sidney Whittick. He had a beautiful tenor voice, and he said to me that, "Why don't you sing? I want to - be glad to give you lessons," and so forth. But I never wanted to sing, although I enjoyed it in school, but I never wanted t o do it as an avocation.

INTERVIEWR: I imagine you sang pretty well, though, in the shower.

RANDOLPH: Well, we had what is x known as these Christmas cantatas, you know, and I was given certain parts, and I sang them with joy, and ~~xxxxxxx~~ my mother always was delighted. She thought I had a marvelous voice, you know.

INTERVIEWR: Well, mothers always do.

RANDOLPH: Yes, that's right.

INTERVIEWER: Another influence on your life, as I understand it, was W.E.B. Dubois.

RANDOLPH: My father was part of a group which supported the position of Dr. Dubois, and you had others in various groups supporting the position of Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington and Dr. Dubois were at loggerheads with respect to methodology, tactics and strategy, and perhaps philosophy, so far as the Negro was concerned.

And my father, of course, believed in the road to - the solution of the Negro problem through - through culture - through education and through organization in that firm, such as Dubois. And he would discuss with us the relative merits of these two schools of thought. And he said, "Now, as a practical thing, Dr. Washington, who says, "Let your buckets down HE where you are," is an attitude toward the problem of the Negro which is useful,"he said"because there is nothing else for you to do." He said, "But in the long run, while we want to have large numbers of Negroes becoming ~~xxxx~~ artisans ~~xxx~~ and skilled workers, youneed leadership. And in order to have leadership you need education. And for that reason, I believe that the policy, the philosophy of Dr. Dubois, is a sounder one."

INTERVIEWER: The education.

RANDOLPH: That is right.

INTERVIEWER: His philosophy was that every tenth Negro should be trained to be a leader, right?

RANDOLPH: Talented tenth.

INTERVIEWER: Talented tenth.

RANDOLPH: ~~Xxx~~ That's right. And of course~~X~~ I, during the 20s, became rather critical of Dr. Dubois, especially when he accepted the captaincy from President Woodrow Wilson. I didn't think that that was the proper thing for him to do because I was opposed to the war and felt that Negro leadership should be opposed to the war in view of the fact that Negro soldiers were victims of discrimination and Jim Crowism in the Army. So that I published a magazine. That was the Messenger.

INTERVIEWER: Wasn't it at this time that the newspaper editors, mfx some of them, in this country labeled you the most dangerous Negro in America?

RANDOLPH: Yes, that is right. The Lufts Committee in New York, they had me before it and they stated that "You seemed to be opposed to everything. You're opposed to the - to the government, you are opposed to all of the - the Constitution. What do you accept?" I said, "Well, I want to change the system." He says, "Why do you want M to change the system?" I said, "For the xxxx reason that, under this present system, it's utterly impossible for the working people to get a proper share of the - of the wealth of the country, and that cannot be xxxx achieved until the system itself is changed." And of course at that time, you know, there was a wave of xxx reaction in the country. And I labeled as one of the most dangerous Negroes in the nation.

INTERVIEWER: So in a sense, by mk really stretching the word, you were a 1920 version of a hippie.

RANDOLPH: Well, not the hippies, but I was known as new Negro radical. That was - the new Negro radical. The xxxxxxxx militants of xxx today fxx stand upon the shoulders of the new Negro radicals of the 20s and 30s and 40s. The new Negro radicals of the 20s and 30s and 40s stood upon the shoulders of the Negro liberals, and Dubois was one, and they stood upon the shoulders of the Reconstruction Negro fighters. And they in turn stood upon the shoulders of the Abolitionists, the black Abolitionists, and the Black Abolitionists stood upon the shoulders of the slave xxxxxxxxxxx insurrectionists. So that there

is no discontinuity in history. You have that strange and unusual connection that is the outstanding phenomenon of historical truth. And this to me is hxx a basic part of the reason for the present uprising, the present rebellion o f the black masses.

INTERVIEWER: It's an extension o f..

RANDOLPH: Thatis right. They have their roots in the insurrections of the slaves and American ought to have known that this period was coming. It had to come. Human beings are part of nature and all forms of nature resent oppression, and theyutilize what they have to overthrow oppression. They use a claw or the beak, and everything that they can, in order to protect their life. Now, the Negro naturally had to come to this position where he is today. And the riots were an inevitable expression of resentment on thepart of the Negro. Now, I believe in social change through education and through organization, but of course violence is a part of nature. And you couldn't expect people who were victims of 300 years of slavery, a hundred years of segregation, not to at a certain point in their life ...

INTERVIEWER: Explode.

RANDOLPH: Rise up and explode. And this is it. And now I of course believe that where you have social democratic institutions there's a possibility of achieving social change through these institutions without the use of violence. But this may be done to a certain extent. Now, you take the riots. The riots were not planned and the riots werenot race riots. They were ... riots of protest. They were riots xxx of rebellion against the condition. And this is

the light in which the Negroes today ought to be viewed in their struggle for liberation, racial and social justice.

INTERVIEWER: I want to get back to that again again, but first I want to go back and get some more of your past because your past is all part of your present. It seems as though your whole life was preparation for leadership. And what... your first day on the railroad. How did you ... on the road?

RANDOLPH: Well, my first job on the road was as a water boy. Now, it was a combination job. I - while I was not carrying water to the workers, helped to throw dirt on a flat-car, and filling in a certain area, you know. And these flat-cars were loaded with dirt and then they would shovel this dirt off to level the terrain. While these workers were at their job, the trainman, who was a white man, sat with a gun across his lap.

INTERVIEWER: Well, you weren't prisoners.

RANDOLPH: We weren't prisoners, but this was a method of keeping the Negroes in subjection and to make them conscious of the fact that they had only one thing to do, and that was the job at hand and not think any strikes or anything of that sort, or calling for my wages. I got three dollars a week.

INTERVIEWER: How old were you?

RANDOLPH: I was about, oh, about 14.

INTERVIEWER: Well, it must be an awful feeling for a 14 year old boy to be guarded by a white man ...

RANDOLPH: That's right. And I remained on the job for about two weeks, and I - my mother, of course, didn't want me to do that, you know, but wanted to see how it was. And the men were greatly

concerned about me and they showed me all offthe tricks of the trade, how to shovel dirt in order to keep it from causing, you know ... dust (?). So that it was an art. And they would call for me to bring the water, "Water boy! Water boy! I'm going to tell your mammy!" And you were supposed to be on hand to bring them the water. And I in a sense enjoyed it, you know. But the weather was extremely hot, and I could only stand it for a while, because I had a sort of a - a sort of secluded life in my home, you know. We - my brother and myself, we - we never really experienced any real hardships.

INTERVIEWER: Was that why you took the job? To find out how ...

RANDOLPH: Well, yes, and I wanted to get the money, don't you know, three dollars a week ....

INTERVIEWER: Was a lot of money.

RANDOLPH: ... was a lot of money, that's right. So that it was an experience that was profitable.

INTERVIEWER: In that way.

RANDOLPH: Yes, that's right. Then I went worked in a lumber yard for a brief period. The superintendent of the Sunday school which I attended, he also worked in that lumber yard. He was a man of great wisdom and impressed me greatly. He finally left the lumber yard and established an insurance company, known as the Afro American. It is still going in Jacksonville, Florida, one of the most established, firmly established institutions in the country, operated by Negroes. And he came out of the lumber yard and established this institution. I was greatly attached to him. And he was to myself and my brother. He of course knew my father,

you know, very well.

INTERVIEWER: How did you first become involved with the porters?

RANDOLPH: Well, I published a magazine, that was the Messenger, This publication, I might suggest, really introduced trade unionism to the Negroes, and also socialism to Negroes. It rejected all other methods of social change that Negro leadership advocated and we adhered to the socialist philosophy, and we carried this propaganda throughout the nation. And I have spoken, I suppose, on street corners in most of the big cities of the country. During the war, they threw the Messenger out of the mails.

INTERVIEWER: Seditious?

RANDOLPH: Oh, yes. On the grounds that we had denounced the war. And I remember that one of the great public meetings of my life was in the center of Cleveland. Eugene V. Debs had spoken there the week before. He was arrested. And when it was known that we planned to hold a meeting there, the Negro leaders told us not to do it. We would certainly be arrested were we to undertake to hold that meeting.

INTERVIEWER: The war was on then.

RANDOLPH: Definitely. But we held it anyway. And the Federal agents, they were around, and I was up speaking and my associate was selling the Messenger throughout the crowd. Finally, I saw them take him in hand. And when I finished, they came to me and told me that I was under arrest. I wanted to know why. He says, "Well, you are violating the National Selec tive Service Act." He says, "You are doing what Eugene V. Debs did here a week ago. And this is

a violation of the law. You're opposing the governmentwhil it's at war." So we went to jail. And the Socialist Party sent Stedman, a lawyer from Chicago, over to Cleveland to represent us. And I recall that the judge said, "Did you write this magazine?" We said, "Yes." So he said, "I don't know about that," he says, and he told Stedman, "I believe that some of the leaders of the Socialist Party are using these boys." And he said, "Now, I don't want to send you to prison." He says, "You ought to go back home and stay there." And Stedman insisted upon a trial, you know, but the judge, he wouldn't go through the trial. He - he adjourned the court. He dismissed us and he said, "Now, I don't want to hear of you carrying on this agitation against the law. If you do, you're going to prison and you're goingto remain there." But we went than up to Chicago andwe had a meeting planned, but the preacher heard about the incident in Cleveland and he became affrightened and he wouldn't open the church. He left town. And we couldn't get into the church. There were people, crowds of them, around the church waiting for us to get in and hold a meeting. But we had to hold the meeting on the corner. And we carried on this general propaganda from time to time . I recall that we would come into our offices from time to time and the drawers would be all over the floor, the papers thrown around, chairs broken. They were right there in our ...

(CUT)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH -- REEL 2

INTERVIEWER: When did that occur in Cleveland?

RANDOLPH: That occurred in Cleveland -- oh, the latter part of the First World War.

INTERVIEEWRE: About 1917.

RANDOLPH: That's right, that's right. Eugene V. DEbs and all of us went to jail and the Socialist Party was practically wrecked, although it was quite strong, you know, through that period as a propaganda agency.

INTERVIEWER: But it was your paper, magazine, the Messenger...

RANDOLPH: The Messenger magazine that was, of course, an entirely new force in the life of the Negro. The Crisis was edited by Dr. DuBois. But of course, it was largely liberal. Only DuBois himself was a socialist and he, in my opinion, was one of the greatest intellectual leaders (?) of the world.

INTERVIEWER: But it was your magazine that got you involved...

RANDOLPH: Yes, that is right. The Messenger magazine was the primary agency to enable me to carry on the organization work with the porters.

INTERVIEWER: Were you ever a porter?

RANDOLPH: I never was a porter. As a matter off fact, I never saw a Pullman car before I became involved in the organization of the porters. Now, these porters in New York would come to the public -- to the street corner meetings which I held. And I would discuss the plight of the Negro from the days of slavery, peonage, and things of that sort. But the conditions are not

much better now. As a matter of fact, we're jobless and do not have even the means of being able to perform certain forms -- certain types of service, even if you had the opportunity. Consequently, your condition is almost hopeless. The only recourse you have is to change and reorganize society.

INTERVIEWER: Did you ever ride a train with them to find out what kind of life they led?

RANDOLPH: Oh, yes. That's right. I -- of course, our first meeting -- I remember the first meeting we had. We had it in the Elks Hall there in New York. And of course, I knew that the porters were subject to being fired by the Pullman Company, if they were known to be members of the brotherhood. And I called this meeting -- the place was packed. I knew that they had stool pigeons in the meeting. And that any porter who showed an interest in any form of becoming a member of the brotherhood would be a marked man. He would lose his job. So I called the meeting together. I said the prayer, I led the song, I then presented the whole course of the struggle of the worker to emancipate himself from exploitation and how the Negro needed power more than any other group in the country because they were powerless and I told them now, I don't want anybody here to ask a question. I don't want anybody to get up and make a statement. Because if you do, you won't have a job tomorrow. And they observed my prescription as to their behavior.

INTERVIEWER: Did they have a tough road to travel?

RANDOLPH: They had a tough road to travel, I should say. As a matter of fact, there were over five hundred porters fired because of their affiliation with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

throughout the nation. And many of the mothers and fathers and the wives of porters saw great hardship as a result of the loss of jobs by the husband, the man of the house. But we were able to build a union. After about twelve years, we were able to walk into the offices of the Pullman Company and sit down on one side of a table and begin to negotiate a contract. I recall that when we first went into the Pullman Office...

INTERVIEWER: When was that?

RANDOLPH: That was 1930 -- '35. The head of the Pullman Company was one of the brahmins of -- of American industry. And as he sort of...

INTERVIEWER: Who was he?

RANDOLPH: His name was Jack Kelly. He walked in, sat down at the end of the table, I sat down. We had about twelve men on our side. The Club (?) Company had about, oh, fourteen or fifteen on their side. And so he said, "Well, Mr. Randolph, here we are. And now, what have you got to say?" I said, "Well, we have a contract we want to present to the management to sign." He says, "Well, we are not going to sign anything before we know what it is." I said, "Well, that's the purpose of this conference, to find out what this contract is and arrange to work out some method of developing a relationship."

INTERVIEWER: What brought management in to meet with you? What forced them?

RANDOLPH: Well, the National Railway Act provided a system of national representation, for railroad unions have been national in scope whereby the workers in a given trade, workers in a given group,

would vote as to whether they were interested in being represented by a given union. And on the basis of that representation, on the basis of that vote, you either became the bargaining agent or you didn't. Well, the porters overwhelmingly voted for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

INTERVIEWER: What was an average workday like for a porter before the union?

RANDOLPH: Oh, the work month was around -- over three hundred hours a month and they went on these long trips that would last about three or four days and during that period they'd have three hours rest at night and they'd work all during the day. I remember going across the country with them when we got free in the swim of the struggle. And they -- I must say -- were devoted to me. And they would go to any lengths, doing anything in the interests of the organization when once we got started. Of course, there was great fear at the beginning and then the leadership of the Negro was affaid. They were afraid that we were going to cause these men to lose their jobs. And they knew that it was difficult for Negroes to get jobs anyway and they considered that this was a great opportunity that Negroes ought to keep.

INTERVIEWER: But they worked for very little money then.

RANDOLPH: They did. That's right/. When we started organizing the porters, they got $67.50 a month.

INTERVIEWER: And they also had to buy their own shoe polish.

RANDOLPH: They had to buy their own shoe polish, that's right,

and buy their own food, and so forth. Now their minimum wage is around $530 a month. 525 or -30. Minimum wage. So this is the result of the union. Now we also had the problem of getting the Negroes integrated into the organized labor movement. So that this was one of the first things I planned to do. But of course, we had a problem there. Because there was widespread discrimination in the labor movement. In every convention of the AFL-CIO I got up on the floor and denounced the discrimination in the trade unions against Negroes because of race and color. And I recall thatfrom time to time when I would get up, I would hear rumors around the vast hall, "Here comes this hell-raiser again." And they became greatly annoyed,you know, at the fact that I would hold the floor and call the names of the unions, some of the neighbors and so forth, and it infuriated them.

INTERVIEWER: Didn't Mr. Meany make a comment, the essence of which was that Mr. Randolph, when were you elected to speak for all Negroes?

RANDOLPH: Yes, that's right. He did at the convention in San Francisco. And however, I must say, since then that George Meany has become one of the forceful and devoted advocates of the cause of civil rights for Negroes. I think that it may be said that had it not been for the relentless support and fight of organized labor and the work of Meany individually that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and 1968 might not have been enacted because the labor movement put all of its forces back of it and George Meany himself testified from time to time and I was on the executive council. Naturally, I kept

prodding the council about action, and so forth, but I had - I met with no opposition from any of the men on the council on this matter. But at the beginning, Meany was in the opposition.

RANDOLPH: Well, in - at the beginning, Meany thought that I was too aggressive, that - and I was too intolerant. He thought I was holding the American Federation up to ridicule, and perhaps I was, you know. And so that he made this attack.

INTERVIEWER: Hm, hm.

RANDOLPH: And - but it didn't disturb me. - I went ahead just the same and I organized then what is known as a National Negro Labor Council, the purpose of which was to fight for the purpose of breaking down discrimination in the trade unions. It is still going. But - and many was opposed to it because he didn't understand it, he - he thought that we were organized for the sole purpose of ridiculing the labor movement and the leaders of the labor movement and opposing the American Federation of Labor.

INTERVIEWER: This was back in the '30's?

RANDOLPH: No this was later than that late 40's that's right '50's. But finally he - I invited him to attend one of the conventions, the leadership of the Council were opposed to my inviting Meany to the Convention. But I said well now Meany is a head of the AFL-CIO, he represents the kind of power that you are always talking about. I said now we ought to utilize him. We ought to find out whether he will take a position in support of the fight of the Negro workers for economic and social justice. And we invited him to this conference and he came, and he got up

and stated that he had been misled about the National Negro Co-Council, but he came to realize that it was an organization that ought to be supported, not only by Negroes but by organized labor as such. And so he became really one of our great friends and he still is.

INTERVIEWER: Did President Franklin D. Roosevelt become one of your great friends?

RANDOLPH: Yes. We had a confrontation President Roosevelt and myself -

INTERVIEWER: At the PC (?)

RANDOLPH: That is right. He was impatient with my insistence that he issue an Executive Order eliminating discrimination in the Government and in industry. Well Mrs Roosevelt who was a very good friend of mine and Mayor La Guardia they asked me to come to a meeting in the City Hall. I went. And so they said now the President is disturbed about this proposed march on Washington which you plan, the date is set and he's greatly wrought up over it. And I hope Mr Randolph that you can see a way in calling it off. She says now the President is worried. she says he asked me to come here to talk to you. And Mayor La Guardia is here he too knows about it. And so I said well Mrs Roosevelt I certainly appreciate your coming here and I appreciate this conference, and I know you and you know me and I have the highest regard for you and I think most Negroes do. I said but now Negroes are trying to get jobs in the minition works,

they can't get them. I said you have barriers to Negroes getting these an opportunity to serve, merely because they're Negroes. I said now the President knows something about this, I don't charge him with being indifferent, I said, but this is a pressing question, and the Negroes of the nation have been av-- have been warned that a strike is going to take place. In other words a march on Washington is going to take place, and something has got to be done about it. And she said well suppose you come to Washington the President wants to talk to you. She says he wants me to tell you to come to Washington so that a conference may be held about this problem.

Well I agreed to go, I did go, and the whole Cabinet was in his office. He had Canutson there, he had Hillman, and he said now Phil Randolph, he said, I'm glad to see you, 'cause I want to talk to you about this march on Washington. He said now I'm as interested in Negroes getting jobs as you are. He says but if you bring a 100,000 Negroes to Washington you're going to have trouble. He said I'm going to have trouble, the country's going to have trouble, as a matter of fact somebody might get killed. He says now you ought to co-operate with us and call this march off and I'll assure you that I will put my whole weight behind the fight a you are making to eliminate discrimination in the armed-- in industry and the Government. And so I said well Mr President I have told the people of the country that this march is going to come off unless we get an Executive Order, signed by you for the elimination of discrimination in industry and Government. He says well I'm not going to sign any Executive Order

Phil Randolph because I haven't done it before, if I sign it for you I'll be required to sign it for other groups. He says can't we settle this another way. I said well how are we going to do it Mr President? I said I am not disposed to call this march off unless you sign an Executive Order. So he asked for a conference to be held in another room and he asked Canutson and Hillman and others to go in there with me. I went in there with them and we talked about it Mayor La Guardia at length, but of course we came to no conclusion. And then we had- held another session and finally he agreed to write up an Executive Order Joseph Rawl (?) do you know the lawyer in Washington? Joehelped to write this Executive Order, he was one of the technicians you know, one of the smart boys there. Well --

INTERVIEWER: Was it during these meetings that President Roosevelt said to you Phil what class .....

RANDOLPH: That's right. He says which class did you attend mind which department Phil were you in? I told him I never attended Harlem Mr President. And he says well he says I thought you did he says- he says however he says we have a knship. He says we have a kinship in our great interest in human and social justice. I said yes that is right Mr President.

INTERVIEWER: So you called the strike off and you got the Executive Order.

RANDOLPH: No I didn't call the strikes right off until we got the Executive Order...

INTERVIEWER: But you got it.

RANDOLPH:

RANDOLPH: On the 1st. That's right we got it. And it was- it was- it was a great struggle. Why were call the strike off? Thousands of people came to Washington anyway/You see if they couldn't get the word in time to hold up their- their trip.

INTERVIEWER: So your next confrontation with the President was 1948 Mr Truman.

RANDOLPH: Mr Truman on the matter of discrimination in the armed forces.

INTERVIEWER: And he said to you he said Phil or Mr Randolph I wish you hadn't said...

RANDOLPH: That's right I told him/that I had just come from a trip throughout the country where I had visited with various Negro organizations, and I found that the mood of the Negro was not to serve in the armed forces again any more until Jim Crow was abolished. And the President he sort of drew himself up quickly and he looked at me, he said Mr Randolph I wish you hadn't made that statement. And Charley Houston who was a layyer for the NAACP he was there, we had about 20 people in the conference, And he said to the president Mr President you ought to be glad that you have somebody like Mr Randolph who will bring you the truth about the mood of the Negro throughout the nation. And then he looked around at me he says well tell me more. And I began telling him about the general situation, and Charley Houston he supported and supplemented my talk. And President Truman, one thing about him he is not too loquacious he doesn't talk too much, but he-he acts don't you know. And he issued an Executive Order to abolish discrimination in the

armed forces. Of course they practiced discrimination right on for a long long time, but you may say today it is pretty well eliminated.

INTERVIEWER: Mr Randolph many have spoken of you as ebing a man of great dignity and a man of manners. Have you found that ebing a man of manners has given you a weapon in a way that you've always been able to keep your cool so to speak?

RANDOLPH: Well with the membership I always enjoyed their greatest confidence. And I think they had confidence in me for the reason that they knew that I was honest with them. We- we have local unions from coast to coast and I- one things that I'm immensely proud of, not a single porter throughout this nation can come to me or to any officer of the brotherhood and say that one dime of his money has been dishonestly handled. And the porters know that, they know that and they have the highest and deepest respect for the organization. And I have really a greater sense of enjoyment of that fact alone than anything else, even the wages that we have been able to win.

INTERVIEWER: It's honor that's important.

RANDOLPH: That's right. And- and they knew that that was a source of basic strength that the company could not question, because otherwise you know if there was any dishonesty in the handling of the money of the members why the company would simply use that as a weapon.

INTERVIEWER: Wreck you.

RANDOLPH: Exactly that's right.

INTERVIEWER: Personally now your personal life. I udnerstand that some of your favorite reading is in the Bible or Shakespeare.

RANDOLPH: Yes that's right. I had a little organization "Ye know as the Friends of Shmakespeare" in New York and my wife and myself gave scenes from different plays.

INTERVIEWER: What are your favorite passages?

RANDOLPH: Well Hamlet I like Hamlet and Macbeth and King Lear and Merchant of Venice. In fact at one time I was pretty well seasoned in Shakespearean lore and I enjoyed it immensely.

INTERVIEWER: Do you believe Shakespeare really wrote the material? (laughs)

RANDOLPH: Well I suppose that there's some controversy about that but I think that he perhaps wrote a bit of it.

INTERVIEWER: Do you have a favorite line that you use out of Shakespeare or lines?

RANDOLPH: Well I - it's been so long now since I have- but I used to recite the silox-- siloquoy you know Hamlet -

INTERVIEWER: Hm hm.

RANDOLPH: And parts of Macbeth.

INTERVIEWER: It seems to me that your life is prelacated on one statement, I think Polonius (?) in addressing Hamlet said "this above all to thine own self be true, then thou canst be false to no man"...

RANDOLPH: False to no man, that's right. That's one of the passages of Shakespeare that was always interesting to me that's true. And I have always had, not only great interest in history and economics

but also literature and art. My brother especially he was a sort of a master- a mathematician my brother and he- he was a Latin scholar too the Aeneid and Cesaar's Gallic Wars, Cicero and he was really my teacher in a way, although he was only two years older than I.

INTERVIEWER: I'd like to get back to your father again. You point up the great influence he had on your life, and one of the family with- with the black family in the ghetto is the lack of that strong father, the- the man the son can identify with. How do we achieve this, how do we solidify the black family?

RANDOLPH: Well...

INTERVIEWER: You were fortunate to have a strong family.

RANDOLPH: That's right. First the black family must have an economic base, it must have afoundation of economic stability, that can give the family some assurance of some part of a good life, The man of the family must be available for contact with the children. And withouth this you can't have a family, because when the children can't get food and they don't get the necessities of life they really don't have a sense of being a part of an organized family. And this is the heart of- of a problem. E. Franklin Frazer wrote a book on the Negro family, he was one of the sociologist who taught at Howard University, and he brings that out rather forcefully,indicating that the family of the Negro was broken up from slavery, you see, and on at the present time they lack the economic foundation based upon the inability of a father to sell his labor in the market for a decent wage.

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm.

RANDOLPH: And when automation and technology came along, the mechanization of the farms in the South, the Negroes were driven from the farms. During the first World War-War they came north in-in droves, they could get unskilled labor and they worked at that. I remember the time in New York as a youngster, I remember Negroes being driven from the waterfront and down 9th Avenue, Columbus Avenue. They were being run by the white workers and - however they had some unskilled labor. But with the coming of technology Negroes don't have the skills to perform jobs that are available

INTERVIEWER: So we have to get them the skills.

RANDOLPH: Exactly. It's like the beginning of the Capitalism during the elimination of the- feudalism; when the machines came along the peasants had only three options: work at the jobs available but they had no skills and couldn't work at them, or enter the bourgoisie but they had no capital, the next things was to revolt and they revolted. And the same thing is today, the Negro comes off the farms in the south as a result of mechanization. They come here and technology prevents them from getting jobs. They too have only three options: either they must work at these jobs, but they can't because of a lack of skills, or they must become a member of the bourgoisie, but they don't have the capital, therefore they had to revolt, so they had to rip.

INTERVIEWER: Is that the mood of the Negro today? then?

RANDOLPH: This is the- the only alternative that he has as a matter of fact. These three options. But Negroes are making some progress.

INTERVIEWER: But doesn't that option also take them towards separatism and along the lines of Malcolm X and the other....

RANDOLPH: No I don't think that's inevitable. I think the- you have a group, a small group, among Negroes today who advocate separatism and this is a sort of a natural result of the desire for indentiftcation. They believe that they must be able to show that Negroes themselves without relation to white people have been able to develop some cultural creativity don't you know. And they want to have some relevance.-.

INTERVIEWER: ...Pride.

RANDOLPH: Exactly. And they naturally feel that beyond the level at which they can do that is to develop separatism. But the whole- the finest hour in the great struggle of the Negroes upward and for liberty in this country, is a struggle against segregation and for integration. Now Negroes are not going back to segregation. They're not going back to segregation through separatism. You have some groups that may advocate this but the great masses of the Negroes are not buying it, because they know that the very basis of their persecution and their oppression and repression, was through segregation and therefore they want integration.

INTERVIEWER: So therefore you didn't buy all of Malcolm X's statements?

RANDOLPH: Oh no by no means. I- I liked Mik- Malcolm X he used to come into my office there and we talked from time to time. He was a part of a committee that I set up, and I recall that we arranged

to have Mayor Wagner come up to talk to a group about what the city was going to do about certain things. And I told Malcolm X I said now when the Mayor comes up we want to listen to him. I said now who do you want to present? Who do you want to present the Mayor to the group? I said you may do it if you wish. I said but whoever does it I said we must agree that they will be no interruptions and that we will not have upon us any charge of having called for a conference with the Mayor and yet not have given him the opportunity to present his position.

And so he agreed he says well suppose you present him. So I did and everything went along very quietly. But He-- Malcolm X was an individualsof honor, he had some honor. He had integrity and I respected him for that. I had the highest affection for him.

INTERVIEWER: He used to -

RANDOLPH: I didn't agree to his policies. I didn't agree to his tactics and strategy and so forth but Malcolm X was on the verge of changing -

INTERVIEWER: I was just going to get to that. Do you suppose if he had lived he would have become more moderate?

RANDOLPH: I think he was about to come more moderate, he was about to accept I think the new- the concept of integration.

INTERVIEWER: Do you suppose he would have been there on that march?

RANDOLPH: I think he- well he was as a matter of fact in Washington at that time -

INTERVIEWER: What's right his death occured after that.

RANDOLPH: That is right. I recall talking to him and he wasn't confident that anything would come off of the march don't you know, he- he didn't believe in anything of that sort. He thought what you had to do you had to take, whatever you got. Well now in a sense he was right, you see, because in a- in a market economy where you have profits, prices and wages, you get what you can take and you keep what you can hold. If you can't take anything you won't get anything. And if you can't hold anything you won't keep anything.

Well instinctively Malcolm X understood that. And as a matter of fact these little black militants understand that -

[TAPE ENDS]

"A PHILIP RANDOLPH"

Reel 3.

MAN: Mr Randolph you can look at Jim whenever he's talking.

VOICE: Speak Speed.

INTERVIEWER: How would you evaluate the late Doctor Martin Luther King?

RANDOLPH: Well I thought that Doctor Martin Luther King was a great crusader, with commitments to basic moral and spiritual values, that he deeply believed in. He believed of course in the doctrine of non violence, I never had the opportunity to sit down to analyze with him just what- how he construed non violence as a method of social change. I don't believe in planned violence in order to acheive social change, but of course I realize that violence is a part of life, a part of nature, and that it is inescapable at times. And I can see why the black militants sort of turned against the non violence doctrine of Doctor Martin Luther King, it was due to the fact that they saw that we had gotten certain legislation, but nothing had happened dispite that fact. And they wanted action. And when these youngsters tried to be served at a luncheon counter you know, and they were refused and following that they carried on this agitation against discrimin-ation and so forth. But yet following the enactment of the legislation still nothing happened, They then felt that their only recourse was to bring about some violent change in the life of America.

INTERVIEWER: Do you see more violence on the horizon?

RANDOLPH: Well I don't think that we have come to the end of the rebellion of the black masses. As a matter of fact

the revolution really is- is not the product of the intellectuals, or is- is the product of the rebellion of the black masses. They have come from backstage to the footlights in the front of our social life today, and they are demanding participation in the process of change. This has never happened before. As a matter of fact it only happened following the elimination of feudalism.

INTERVIEWER: So, that they can do it is, in a sense, progress?

RANDOLPH: Exactly. That is progress. As a matter of fact, it's a phenomenon, that the people who were cowed down and who were in the rear, in the back, unnoticed, have moved from the back and come to the front, and now are attempting to make some of the rules, and to develop program and action, to bring about and achieve social change.

INTERVIEWER: So, do you believe we are now finally on the right road?

RANDOLPH: I think that we are moving definitely on the right road. I think that historical truth has brought us to this position and we're going to move forward, but we still are going to encounter various difficulties, because I doubt whether it's possible to eliminate poverty under a free market economy, becase of the mechanism of interrelation between the profits and prices and wages.

You see, profits require a certain part of the national gross product; so does rent for land; so does interest on capital; and the workesr have only one source from which to get a part of the product-- that is, in the form of wages. And this is a constant contradiction and conflict between these forces within the framwork of the free mar-

ket economy, and I don't see where it's going to be possible to eliminate poverty.

INTERVIEWER: But do you think that we're arriving ~~sm~~ at a situation where a young Negro boy trains himself, that he now has the opportunity to make the best of his abilities?

RANDOLPH: Well, he is making some progress in that form at the present time. And he has ~~h~~ more opportunities now than he ever had before, and, as a matter ~~fm~~ of fact, the rebellion itslef is due to the fact that discontent increases with social improvement. The Marxian concept of eventual misery, social misery, as being the motivation for revolution, has not come true. It--we are not in the grip of widespread social misery throughout the nation; it applies very largely to Negroes and also to a segment of the white poor, but the movement of the Negro today is irresistable. It's irresistable because a spirit of recklessness has seized him, and this recklessness, sense of recklessness, in order to eliminate obstacles before him, has created this rebellion, spirit of rebellion.

INTERVIEWER: Have you ever, in your whole, long, illustrious career, been called an Uncle Tom?

RANDOLPH: No, I don't think so.

INTERVIEWER: The militants have never labelled you that way?

RANDOLPH: No--well, I think perhaps some of them have. But it hasn't been widespread, because I think that the militants thought--sort of feel--realize that I was a militant myself, you know, a black militant, and I have sort of a rapport with the militants. I don't have the opportunity to talk with them ~~k~~ now that I once had, you know, and I would like to have. As a matter of fact, I would enjoy nothing more than to have the opportunity to sit down with militants, discuss

the basic causes of the present situation, and the methodology and tactics and strategy that ought to be employed to deal with the problem, and ~~what~~ point out to them that action creates reaction, and following, for instance, the great French Revolution, you had the reaction: the restoration came along, the Napoleonic period came along, and that the rebellion doesn't end the struggle for social change and racial and social justice.

INTERVIWER: Are you concerned about the possible reaction from the white working class?

RANDOLPH: Well, as a matter of fact, there is a natural competition between Negroes and certain groups of workers because the Negroes came late, you see, and around the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. Now, the Negro was detained picking cotton for three hundred years, so that he--when he arrived at the banquet table, the seats were taken, and now he's got to take a seat and in the process of taking seats is the involving struggle...

INTERVIEWER: Now, what you're saying...

RANDOLPH: ...the conflict...

INTERVIWER: What you're saying...

RANDOLPH: ...but he's going to take them.

INTERVIEWER: ...that there's plenty of room at the table; a few people have to ~~a~~ widen up the spaces...

RANDOLPH: That's right..

INTERVIEWER: ...put the chairs in.

RANDOLPH: ...They've got ~~fto~~ put more chairs in. Exactly. More chairs for him. And he's demanding that, and even the organized workers will understand that it's to their interest that he get seats, because the total strength of labour is the only way by which labour

will be able to get their share, proper ~~s~~share of the national gross product in this market economy that we're in.

INTERVIEWER: One final question. If you had to do it all over again, what would you change, if anything?

RANDOLPH: Well, I may say that I have been fortunate in my associates. I really am not to be credited with the achievements of...

VOICE (OFF MIKE): Jim, excuse me: would you ask that question again?

INTERVIEWER: Yes. All right.

If you had to do it all over again, what, if anything would you change?

RANDOLPH: Well, may I say that I don't want to be considered as having brought about any great progress for Negroes, individually. I'm fortunate in having associates like Bayard Rustin, who is a person who's innovative and creative and a person with dreams and one of great integrity.

I've had the benefit of association with Bayard. Bayard always came to help ~~xxxx~~ us with the marches. I would ask A. J. Muste, for whom Bayard worked, to permit Bayard to come in and handle the march. A. J. Muste sometimes would reluctantly agree, but he always did, and Bayard was a master in developing and...

VOICE (OFF MIKE): Speed.

(CUT)

(END OF TAPE)

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Interviews, notes, and other Information

(6)

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL

Who's Who In Labor

Please feel free to omit answers to any questions you consider personal.

5. Please list your career positions, both in and out of the labor movement, in chronological order, earliest first. Do not abbreviate.

Name of Organization	Position	From (Year)	To (Year)
For example, Local #6, International Union,	President	1948	-52.
The Messenger magazine - Co-editor		1917	1925 1928
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters - President		1925	1968
American Federation of Labor- Congress of Industrial Organizations(AFL-CIO)	Vice President -	1955	1974

6. Please list your key civic or public activities, with dates.

Organization	Offices Held (if any)	From (Year)	To (Year)
For example, Topeka Planning Commission,	Member	1968	-72
Mayor LaGuardia's Conference on Race -	Member	1935	
March on Washington Movement -	Founder & Organizer	1941	1942
National Negro Congress -	Founding President	1936	1938
~~March on Washington -~~	~~Director~~	~~1963~~	
The President's Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"	Honorary Chairman	1966	
Protestant Council of the City of New York	Chairman of the Board	1966	1967

7. Education (Optional) Please list in chronological order high schools, trade schools, institutes, colleges attended. Show dates of attendance, certificate or degree received, if any, with dates.

School	From (Year)	To (Year)	Degree (if any)	Year
For example, Madison H.S.	1940	-44		
Bethune Cookman College, Fla.	1903	1907		
City College, New York	1912			

over ▶

Who's Who In Labor

Please feel free to omit answers to any questions you consider personal.

8. Did you serve in the military forces?—if yes, where, when? What rank did you attain? Awards, if any.

No

9. To what societies, clubs or fraternal organizations do you belong?

Masons

10. What other awards or honors did you receive, and when? 17 honorary degrees from universities from 1941 through 1974. / Presidential Medal of Freedom - 1964
New York City Bronze Medallion - 1974

11. What are your special interests (hobbies, sports, etc.)?

Reading, spectator sports

12. Please list any books, bulletins, articles you have written.

Terms of Peace and the Darker Races

Truth About Lynching

13. Your date of birth April (month) 15 (day) 1889 (year) Place of birth Crescent City, Florida (city, state, country)

14. Marital Status: Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Widow(er) ☒

15. Spouse's name Lucille E. Green Occupation

16. Year of marriage 49 Number of children None

17. Father's name James William Randolph (first, middle, last) Father's Occupation African Methodist Minister, Episcopal Church

18. Mother's name Elizabeth Robinson Mother's Occupation

19. Residence (Optional) (number and street, city, state, zip)

Date February 7, 1975 Signature A. Philip Randolph

Thank you very much

Please return this Form to Arno Press in the enclosed postage paid envelope.

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Air Line Employees Association, International

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Affiliated with Air Line Pilots Association, International, AFL-CIO

April , 1979

Helen Toth, Asst. Dir.,
A. Philip Randolph Institute,
260 Park Av., South,
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Toth:

Thanks to your cooperation, we came up with what I believe to be a first rate editorial (Page 2-3).

Although it may seem strange to you, I think few of our readers - all air line employees and therefore out of the labor mainstream - have ever heard of Mr. Randolph, and they should find his story interesting. Also, because we rarely write about a single personality, the article has a special appeal.

Thank you,

Edwin H. Roper, Dir.,
Public Relations

ER/s

P.S. We have not completed our regular mailing, but should have a few extra copies - so if you'd like 10 - 25, just let me know and we will furnish.

(1)

Questions & Answers for Randolph

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1. I recall that at an early age around five or six and into our teens, my brother James and myself were dressed up by our mother, a strict disciplinarian and taken by our father, a proletarian, circuit-riding preacher, to the Annual Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, where the bishops, national officers, presiding elders and local preachers assembled, to review the status of the churches organizationally and financially.

The bishop assigned to this a given Conference area usually presided over the Conference, & only with an iron-handed, & forceful hand over a weekly sermon usually preaching at the beginning or ending of the Conference. ~~Bishops~~

Bishops, beginning with Richard Allen, founder of the Church, constantly referred to by my father as the Apostle of Freedom and spiritual emancipator of his people, were men of strength, dignity and poise, & some with much learning, a number of them coming out of some of the great universities of the country and Europe. Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr. for instance, had a ~~PhD~~ doctorate of philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Berlin.

2)

At the beginning of the Conference or during the session, ~~our~~ my father would take my brother and myself to meet the presiding bishop. And visiting bishops always were presented by our father as two of the finest boys in the country with promise of a great future. The bishop usually took our hands, with his wrinkled face wreathed in smiles, he would express ~~his~~ assurances that we would grow up and become great men and reflect honor upon our fine father.

Of course we had been told so much in our home before the fire-place about the bishops of the Church by our father that we knew a number of them by name.

When we returned home from the Conference, our mother who seldom attended them promptly inquired of our father about the manner in which the Bishop received her boys. A radiant glow of delight suffused her face when told that he had expressed great joy upon meeting them and predicted a fine future for them.

I told our mother that I wondered ~~what~~ how the Bishop could get all those preachers to do what he wanted them to do without a lot of trouble.

Our father said: ~~the~~ "Well son the Bishop has the power to

3) Send any preacher in that Conference back to the church he now has on to a better or worse one. Therefore in order not to be ill served when time comes for the Bishop to read the appointments for the next year, most ministers try to avoid any unnecessary conflicts with the Bishop. But there are times when disputes and misunderstandings "Can not be avoided." I have had them myself as result of what I regarded as unfair advice the Bishop received from my Presiding Elder about my work.

As a matter of fact when a Bishop displays poor and partisan judgment in the administration of his diocese charges may be brought against him on the quadrennial General Conferences when bishops are made and unmade. But as a general rule bishops have come up from the bottom as local preachers to a presiding elder and then the position of a National Office or the episcopacy which is likely to cover a period of twenty to twenty-five years.

4). But when once a preacher reaches the bishopric, he remains in that position unless he displays his unfitness morally or administratively.

I was greatly interested in and impressed by the obvious organizational ability of the Bishops.

Bits said to their credit of the Bishops practically all of them, during the years of bitter and violent racial hatred against the Negro, spoke out from the pulpit in the deep south against Jim Crow and the Lynch Law.

In fact one of the most exciting and hair-raising incidents I ever witnessed was when Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, ex-slave, first Colored Chaplain to U.S. Army and former member of the Georgia legislator pulled a thirty eight revolver out of his pocket and laid it on the Bible, and exclaimed with a sense of burning passion and anger, that he had to carry this weapon in some of the jungles of the South in order to be able to

Place on Page 5 at (X)

He ended his sermon with this quatrain by some slave with the gift of song:

Before I'd be a slave
I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my God
And be free

3) Holland England and France advanced in world trade and acquired colonies and developed manufacturing industry. England with its steam power - and its development of coal + iron - lead in the bourgeois world. - The economic, social and religious fetters of the Middle Ages held back the economic development of Germany so no development of political economy was possible.

5. preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.
The church audience was astonished, startled and amazed but it was a challenge and they were unafraid. All over the church, voices from the Amen corner, cried out aloud, "preach it, bishop". Needless to say this was an exhibition of matchless courage.

This young bishop Turner is reported to have EXCLAIMED, standing on the court-house steps in Atlanta during the TERRIBLE AND TUMULTUOUS days of Reconstruction: "Any flag which will not protect its protectors, any flag which will not defend its defenders, is a dirty rag and contaminates the air in which it waves."

And in a speech on the eligibility of Colored Members to seats in the Georgia Legislature, The Honorable H. M. Turner, dated September 3rd, 1868:

"You may expel us, gentlemen, but I firmly believe that you will some day repent it. The black man cannot protect a country, if the country doesn't protect him; and if, tomorrow, a war should arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country, ~~if the country doesn't protect him~~ where my manhood is denied."

~~Sir was one of those Negroes~~
~~who would rather die a freeman~~
~~than live as a slave~~
~~He ended his sermon with the~~
~~Before I'd be a slave~~
~~I'd be buried in my grave~~
~~And go home to my God~~
~~And be free~~

(6)

Sir, I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia, or, if I should be killed in this campaign, I may have no opportunity of telling them at any other time: "never lift a finger nor raise a hand in defense of Georgia, unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men, and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood.

She continued: "Go on with your oppressions. Babylon fell. Where is Prince? Where is Nineveh? and where is Rome, the mistress Empire of the world. Why is it that she stands, to-day in broken fragments throughout Europe? Because oppression killed her".

He became so embittered of which white American that he began preaching the doctrine, Back-to-Africa, which, he, Negroes, of course, rejected, and soon abandoned.

(7) Boyhood Heroes

Bishop Turner was one of my boyhood heroes. It was just to look upon this man, and especially to have shaken his hand when my father presented my brother and myself to him while he was visiting the Episcopal District of A.M.E. Conference North Florida, was an inspiration which caused me to feel I could storm the heavens in search of freedom and justice for black Americans.

Verily, it was an unforgettable, transfiguratively creative experience which could touch and move the souls of young Negroes. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~few had a father who was a member of Bishop Turner or who pioneered the cause to present two youngsters to meet the this fire-eating black prophets of Negro social salvation, the~~, a prophet who lashed out against the corruption and attack upon the rising of the ~~militant~~ racial consciousness of the ~~[illegible]~~ advancing new ~~courageous~~ Negro, captured and stirred my imagination and dreams of a brighter and freer ~~[illegible]~~ tomorrow.

But my ever present ~~and unrelenting~~ devoted and dedicated hero was my father. He was a religious, racial hero. He was ~~a~~ idealistic and pragmatic. His motto was: Trust in God but keep your powder dry. He

(8) He explained this to me as belief and trust in God without belief and trust in oneself was meaningless and useless in a practical world. ~~The reason of belief and trust in God.~~ He believed for social and racial change but not that it would automatically come about. He believed that progressive and constructive change would only result from progressive and constructive thought and action.

He believed in the development and advancement of my brother and myself by contact with Negroes who had achieved success in various fields. This was why his a major article of faith for our advancement was to have us meet and talk with outstanding Negro leaders in various walks of life. Therefore, he faithfully carried my brother and myself to meet practically every prominent Negro who ~~visited~~ came to town, and we were always eagerly and graciously received. We enjoyed this practice immensely.

Though just young men, we had achieved quite some ~~sufficient~~ sophistication. We were able to size up these visitors ~~and~~ we always talked about them both to our father and mother, and when alone.

When our father commented on these personalities with us, he never mentioned anything about their worldly possessions.

Sometimes we would ask our father whether a bishop, doctor or lawyer he had presented us to meet had much money. His reply, invariably was, that is nothing to talk. He observed that the value of a leader or any individual to our race or society must not and cannot be reckoned in terms of how much money he may or may not have. If one has much money, and every one needs some money in order to live, it is important just necessary in some instances to determine how my father he got it said he. It is better to be honest without money than dishonest with it. While there is nothing wrong about having money, it is wrong to get it dishonestly, and no one who secures money or property of any kind dishonestly can ever have any peace of mind or salace of heart, because he knows his action was morally wrong. This is why your mother always questions you about where and how you got a baseball or anything of value you being home which she knew you didn't have the money to buy it.

OTHER HEROES

My brother and I were introduced to other black heroes by our father at our five-place kinder-garten school under the vigilant and disciplinary eyes of our beautiful mother.

18) But to us our father was our great hero. He was the source of our motivation, inspiration and rising expectations. This was so because he took us to meet and talk with the big bishops, stern, powerful and despotic, figures whom the preachers bowed in obeisance! Of course, we were not unaware of the fact that our mother was the quiet ~~[illegible] behind the~~ relentless power which kept our father moving. It was she who had our father ~~[illegible]~~ us from the tutelage of ~~our father~~ to the pretty young woman, our neighbor next door. It was she who ordered us to remain home from school when she discovered holes in our shoes, and insisted on our father securing second-hand shoes if there was not sufficient money available to buy new ones, which was usually the case. She inspected us every school morning to determine if there was anything wrong with our clothes before leaving for school. She was ~~[illegible]~~ well qualified to appraise our appearance for she was not only a gifted seamstress but she made complete suits for us that were just like the suits found in the stores.

11) Our father whom my brother and I called papa counselled our mother whom we called mamma not to tax herself with the tedious and exacting job of making suits for us, since she was good from being a rugged woman.

My brother and I were glad to see our mother involved with sewing since it kept her from her major vocation of keeping vigil over us. It afforded a good ~~time~~ opportunity to escape to the streets to play base ball, shoot marbles or fly kites, a few of our ~~pastimes~~ play interests which normally required permission from our mother. She always sought to return ere she discovered our absence from the yard. Being more rule conscious than James and concerned about chastisement by the slap or switch, I made it my business to make our way back to the yard before we were missed. Our mother, God bless her, made it a cardinal article of the family faith to know where her boys were at all times of the day and night. And if we were failed to get back from an errand or from a visit with our playmates who lived on the same street in the neighborhood, our father was sent to find me and bring me home.

12 (~~[illegible]~~) see other side

B Whenever we went into the streets to play and ~~returned~~ we suspected that our absence ~~have~~ might be discovered by our mother before we returned, ~~when we came back home~~ we would promptly upon our ~~[illegible]~~ entry into the yard, before bringing wood into the kitchen, one of our regular chores, in order to divert ~~the~~ her attention ~~of our mother~~ from our whereabouts. But when we were called in and confronted with the question, have we been in the streets, we readily admitted that we had. Experience had taught us that this was the best policy, since if ~~she caught~~ we told her a lie she would give us a whipping for going into the streets without permission and another whipping for telling her a lie about it.

Notes

1. ~~The Bomber throwing, stuck bazooka~~ ~~topic of revolution~~ ~~it is on the heritage of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Era~~ ~~it is wholly obsolete~~ in terms of achieving a coup de etat ~~by the era~~ ~~a strong speech favoring capitalist or Communist~~

(Alleged inevitability of violent revolution to bring down capitalism)

(12 D)

Although I have negotiated agreements on wages, hours and working conditions with hard-boiled leaders of management of Pullman and various railroads, some of whom were past-masters in the use of profanity, I have never used any profanity in a single instance. ~~[illegible]~~ But I had some professional masters of profanity on my staff of the table, who were the match of management. In addition to being an obvious

(12 c) over

Ours was a home distinguished for a notoriously circumspect ~~in~~ behavior pattern of ~~the~~ conduct.

I don't recall ever having heard the use of any profanity in ~~it.~~ ~~there I don't at whiskey bottle in the home.~~

Neither my brother or I ever used any profanity. I cannot recall ever having seen a whiskey bottle in the home. ~~I never see it~~ ~~And although there~~

Interestingly enough our father always kept a rifle and a pistol in the house. The reason he assigned for this was that since he was away so often attending to the affairs of his church, our mother needed some means of protection, and she had both the courage and the skill to use them.

(12 E) In addition to being a waste of time, profanity was a substitute for argument and knowledge and a ~~superficial~~ time consuming approach to play the role of a "fighting man".

Notes

German working class was broken up into a number of ideologies. A section of the workers is organized into Catholic and Monarchist Labor Unions

12 Probably this high sensitivity of our mother about the whereabouts of her children is normally responsible for the fact that no one in our family ever had a brush with the police either among our immediate or the more removed members. (See 12B)

Our Heroes

But we had other heroes beside our fathers ~~and they were heroes. Some~~ These heroes were called by our fathers: Negroes, Black folks, Afro-Americans and Colored People. It told us that all these names designated the race to which we belonged, the original home of which was Africa.

This was one of the major lessons he gave us in our "Fire-Place" Kindergarten school at home.

Richard Allen

The first Black hero in whose life and work our interest was awakened and developed was Richard Allen, who together Absalom Jones, were forced up off the knees in prayer by a white trustee in the prestigeous St George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, ordering them off the main floor to the gallery. They resented

13) This outrageous Christian behavior, and walked out of the church. This courageous action resulted in the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal Church 1787, by these two Negro leaders.

Richard Allen together with James Forten noted free Negro abolitionist who finally raised enough subscriptions to enable William Lloyd Garrison to found The Liberator in 1831, organized the Free Negro Convention Movement destined to play a monumental role in the development of the abolitionist movement.

— o —

Toussaint L'Ouverture

Now hear the story of the black Revolutionist Toussaint

A great rebellion broke out in Haiti led by an ex-slave named Toussaint L'Ouverture was so devastatingly successful that by 1801 the entire island was under slave domination. Though Toussaint was eventually captured and killed, ~~his~~ the uprising of the slaves under his leadership became legendary and apparently sparked the flame of the three most celebrated insurrections in the history of American slavery, including Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831).

14(a)

Sojourner Truth

We were told the dramatic story of a tall, ~~black~~ rugged, illiterate but not ignorant black woman, a former slaver who went up and down the country east and west, setting afire with her challenging eloquence a plea for freedom of black slaves. She was one of the great leaders of the abolition movement. She called herself Sojourner Truth.

—o—

Harriet Tubman

We were told the story of the brave, determined and unrelenting freedom fighter, Harriet Tubman, famous Conductor of the Underground Railroad.

John Brown once introduced her to Wendell Phillips as the "Moses of her people" and one of the best and bravest persons on this Continent".

She made nineteen journeys into the slave states and led three hundred slaves to freedom. She threatened to kill any fugitive who wanted to turn back. Bounty slaveholders were offering a total of $40,000 for her capture, dead or alive.

Nat Turner

Nat Turner known as the "Prophet" among his people had concluded that the day of judgment for slave holders was at hand. He planned August 21, 1831 for his insurrection of the slaves against slavery. Three Thousand men gathered in Southampton to put down the rebellion.

Nat Turner's insurrection says author W.S. Drewry "was a landmark in the history of slavery. It was the forerunner of the great slavery debates which resulted in the abolition of slavery. Some old Negroes of Southampton say and vicinity speak of "Old Nat's War".

— o —

Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass ~~was our favorite hero~~ ~~who~~ called by W.E.B. Du Bois "The Noblest Slave that ever lived God ever made", was greatly adored by my mother and they, having been frequently alluded to as a great abolitionist and leader of Negroes by our father.

The story goes that after a speech by Douglas at an anti-convention in 1841 in New Bedford, Mass., William Lloyd Garrison cried, "Stars we been listening to a

Thing, a piece of property or a man?" The crowd answered "A man! A man!" From that day Frederick Douglass became a public figure and lectured in America and Europe as the authentic voice of the abolitionist movement.

Speaking in Rochester, New York July 5, 1852 he asked, "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness swelling vanity; your invite to your shores fugitives from abroad; mock the fugitives from your own land you affrontide, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill."

—o—

Bishop Henry Macneal Turner

—o—

He was a great hero of mine to whom my father presented me when just a youngster in short pants. I will recall my father saying to the Bishop at an Annual Conference of the African Methodist Church of which the father was a minister, "Bishop Turner I want to present to you my two sons, two of the finest boys in the country." This weather-beaten, giant of a man placed his hands on my and my brother's hands and slowly said, some day, if you study and work hard, you will be

"Great honor ~~upon~~ on your fine father!"

At a Church meeting where he preached, the shocked, startled and stunned when he pulled a pistol out of his inner coat pocket of his cloak and placed ~~upon~~ on the Bible. He shook the church, but the rash audience looked straight forward on the Bishop, ~~collected~~ ~~at~~ ~~their~~ ~~and~~ and a certain undefined feeling of moral shock gripped the church indicating that they were ungrateful.

He exclaimed with some show of anger, "Has God found it necessary to clare some arms to enable me to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ in Rome drens by this so called land of the free and home of the brave."

Well has Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois said, Bishop Turner was the last of the mighty men physically and mentally, who started at the bottom and hammered their way to the top by sheer brute strength."

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Insert But this is not to suggest the possession of any exceptionally high standard of morality for thousands of Negroes in the South who had brushes with the law were the victims of white racism and not the result of any act of criminality.

The 1920's ~~and 1940's~~ 1930

1930's marked a radical innovation in the politics of the Negro struggle ~~racial~~ ~~politics~~, namely, The emergence of the Black working Class as a self-conscious force in the Negro struggle for power and status.

Behind these major changes in Negro consciousness ~~politics~~ lay major changes in economic and social development. This period is obviously memorable in the history of the industrialization, urbanization and unionization and mass migrations - to southern and northern cities of the Negro workers. It ~~was~~ marked the flowering of Black cultural expression in the arts and ideology. It was the springtime of the awakening of Black America to a sense of and hope that had its roots in the 350 years of uprisings against an hated slave order

(1)

The ~~Negro~~ Black Militants of the 60's Stand Upon The Shoulders of The Negro Radicals of the '20's

~~The Black Militants of today or the 1960's have their roots in the soil of the life and struggles of the Negro Radicals of the 1920's.~~

The Black Militants of the 1960's stand upon the shoulders of the New Negro Radicals of the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. The historical reality of this racial interconnection between these two periods is strikingly obvious in the struggles for racial freedom and social justice, with some variations in form.

In fact, it is not amiss, or any derogation upon the nobility of the ~~Negro~~ fight of the Negro for manhood rights in these ~~two eras~~ to emphasize the historical fact that both Black Militants and New Negro Radicals stand upon the shoulders of the ~~generations of a thousand years~~ Black Slaves' uprisings over a quarter of a thousand years for the seventeenth, ~~and~~ eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Verily, there were not ~~[illegible]~~ then or since ~~[illegible]~~ braver men than the Nat Turners, Denmark Veseys, Toussaint L'Ouverture and ~~Gabriel Prosser, yea~~ ~~a name a few~~. They were the mighty Black rebels who waged war-fare against the evil of man's inhumanity to man as the dawn of America's history.

There are areas of difference between these two schools of Racial Thought -

One: Concepts of social change.

The New Negro Radicals of the twenties, thirties and forties sought to achieve

progressive social and racial change through the development of education, organization and agitation to secure the enactment of legislation by the federal, state and city governments for the elimination of racial and job discrimination in all areas of American life.

As one of the leaders of the New Negro Radicals and as a socialist in this period, I emphasized the importance of and necessity for liberal civil rights and labor and social legislation, the achievement of which was to be brought about through the democratic process in the legislative bodies and the courts of the land and of course, without violence.

But the New Negro Radicals would not and did not resort to demand and fight for civil rights even if there was the possibility or the probability of violence and imprisonment.

I recall that during the First World War, Chandler Owen Co-Editor, with myself, of the Messenger Magazine, went to Cleveland to hold a socialist and civil rights meeting in a public square. We had been warned by some of the Negro leaders not to go through with the meeting since, the week before, the great Eugene V. Debs had been arrested for speaking against the war in the same square by Federal agents. But we refused to cancel the engagement. The meeting was huge. Before I was halfway through my speech, I noted that my colleague, Owen, who preceded me, had been placed under arrest by Federal agents with the police. When I finished I, too,

3.

was arrested. We were carried to jail. Next day we were arraigned in Court, questioned by the Judge, ~~questioned~~, lectured & threatened with long jail sentence if we didn't cease our unlawful propaganda against our country then ~~at war~~ and released. Seymour Steadman, Socialist Party attorney of Chicago had come to Tuscaloosa on behalf the judge warned him ~~Black Militants~~ aside and said he had ruled.

The New Negro Radicals developed tactics and strategy involving immediate demands ~~such~~ such as jobs in war munitions plants, public utilities and government, and not so immediate demands as stopping the war.

They stressed the increasing responsibility of Afro-Americans to wage their own liberation fr war in ~~many instances~~ some movements to avoid being overwhelmed by Communists infiltration, preaching the doctrine of a separate Negro state or a piece with the Nationalities' state structure in the United Socialist Soviet Republic, which was discounted by not only the New Negro Radicals but Negroes in general, except the Garveyites, as pure ~~pie~~ pacific fantasy.

Of course, this was the ~~pre~~ fabulous twenties which ~~were~~ embraced the ~~period~~ golden era of the celebrated Negro Renaissance, when the ~~cryt~~, lyrical, enchanting words with a mystical strength reaching back thousands of years to the ancient historical, cultural endowment and heritage of Black Africa, were flowing upon America and the world.

4)

Economic Battles

While the New Negro Radicals intrigued with the aroma of the cultural flowers of the Black Renaissance and with its great cultural promise. ~~Marked by a human artistic expression of the clinical influence in its flowering of Negro arts and literature, indicating the birth of a movement of vigorous artistic and intellectual activity.~~ They were thrilled with beauty, dignity and challenge of the creations of ~~Claude McKay~~ Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes and many others. Their primary concern however was ~~also~~ ~~Turned their mind to~~ the plight of the millions of black under class laborers of the ghettoes, the ~~black~~ peasants ~~of the~~ and migrant workers on the farms, representing ninety-eight percent of the race who were helpless and hopeless, ~~whose~~ their lives were unnoticed, unhonored and unsung.

Thus a mass-roots movement was mounted on the soap-boxes on the streets to awaken and arouse the black exploited and oppressed workers of Harlem and the big cities ~~spread up and down throughout the country. Down the streets of Harlem, and from coast to coast, proclaiming the program and philosophy of Socialism, labor union and civil rights~~ ~~labor unionism~~ Socialism and labor unionism and civil rights were propounded to huge street corner rallies from night to night by Hubert Harrison, a brilliant black itinerant philosopher, Frank R. Crosswaith ~~of the~~ a student at the Rand School of Social Science subsequently organizer of the Negro Labor Committee, ~~by~~ W.E.B. Dombrowski, Frank Crosswaith, Chandler Owen and organizing partner of A. Philip Randolph

5. ~~Who was~~ Co-editor, with Owen of the Messenger Magazine, the most radical publication among Negroes in America and which introduced socialism and labor ~~trade union~~ unionism ~~and~~ ~~in~~ to Negroes in America. ~~Although~~ Although it was thrown out of the mails by Postmaster Burleson, we sold it from the street corners.

Out of this movement on the streets, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — the first vital, effective fighting inter-racial labor organization started and developed by Negroes. ~~in America.~~ ~~It celebrated its forty-third anniversary~~ ~~saw its conception in New Orleans, September, 1968.~~ Its membership includes Mexicans, Puerto-Ricans, Filipinos, white Canadians, and Chinese.

The long struggle to organize Pullman porters was long and hard, covering a period of twelve years. Not until a victory in a national representation election was won, were the leaders of the porters union were permitted to hold a conference with management of Pullman, to negotiate an agreement concerning rates of pay and rules governing working conditions. As a result of the Porters' Union Movement, porters who received a wage of ~~sixty seven to~~ $67.50 cents a month, at its beginning, now receive a minimum wage over $500.00 a month, with the addition of insurance, pension, vacation with pay and eight paid holidays, some of whom can hold a job for life.

(6) The birth and progress of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which celebrated its forty-third anniversary, last September, 1968, in New Orleans, Louisiana, awakened the Negro workers of the nation to the value and importance of Black labor union power. Aside from having representation on the Executive Council of the A.F.L-C.I.O, the highest governing body of the American Labor Movement, it waged unrelenting continuous and effective war from within the House of Union Labor against all forms of discrimination based upon race or color. ~~Thus resulting~~ Whereas, when the ~~Bro~~ Porters joined the ~~A.F.L~~ American Federation of Labor in 1929, there was a dept of ~~national~~ international and local unions with color bars in their constitutions, there is not one union today whose constitution has a color bar. While this does not mean that all forms of racial discrimination have been eliminated in the AFL-CIO, effective and constructive progress has been made toward wiping the slate of organized labor clean of racial bias. Much credit for this job of developing an anti-racial-bias sentiment in the ranks of union workers is due to the leaders of the AFL-CIO, President George Meany and its international unions' presidents, as well as to the leaders of independent international unions such as the U.A.W, under the leadership of international president Walter Reuther and

7). the Teamsters Union under the leadership of international President Jimmy Hoffa, and the West Coast Longshoremen's Union, led by International President Harry Bridges.

It is no exaggeration to indicate that it is quite possible that without the untiring and rigorous support of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Open Occupancy Housing Act of 1968, would not have been enacted.

The nation-wide fight by Negroes and their labor and liberal allies for this legislation created an aggressive political consciousness among the black Americans, marked by the election of Negroes, ~~in south~~ north and south, to city, state and federal offices, hitherto undreamed of.

While one can not rationally contend that this movement will constitute the solution of Negro problem; no ~~movement to day or~~ one can contend that it has ~~[illegible]~~ awakened, aroused and generated the consciousness ~~[illegible]~~ and will to fight of the Black laboring masses for a place of equality in the industrial scene of America.

~~Separation~~

Separation

New Negro Leaders rejected the doctrine of racial separation, in America or Africa, advocated by Marcus Garvey in his Back to Africa movement as neither attainable or desirable in an age of advancing science and technology. In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude of any outstanding African leaders ~~themselves~~ on this question.

8) According to an interview by a reporter of Ebony Magazine with Tom Mboya, minister for economic planning and development, carried in the issue of January, 1969, a part of which I presented "I do not ~~believe it is right~~ as the African's reaction to the question of the Black Expatriate: (Insert)

"I do not believe it is right to make this kind of [automatic citizenship] arrangement. The American Negroes have as much right in the United States as white Americans. They should not accept defeat in their struggles for civil rights. Rather, we should join them in fighting for their civil rights.

Negroes have never contributed to the concept of an "Back To Africa" movement. The independence of Africa must be based on an outward looking policy. Africans must go out and influence the world in international and related affairs. They must not agree to be isolated and confined to African affairs.

As cousins of Africans, Negroes would prove to be a useful group in promoting an outward policy right in the United States. They could influence American policy into coming into line with its thinking on such subjects as race in the world, place, poverty, and the production and distribution of food.

The American Negro who comes here, has only one thing in common with Kenyans; his color. Beyond that, he will be in a totally foreign and strange country, a stranger

of culture, strange habits and strange attitudes of mind.

Our attitude should not be misunderstood. We do not suggest that those who wish to contribute to Kenya may not do so. We need teachers and engineers. We are recruiting business men, financial institutions, etc. The American Negro can find active and positive response in Africa. There is scope here for a real contribution and we would be happy to receive them on this basis. They would not only be welcome, but would find it easier to adapt and identify with Kenyans, than Europeans.

But I must qualify "identify and adapt". The idea of American Negroes coming ~~to~~ here to live, to make Kenya their home just because they are black, is wrong. Of course, it is open to the individual, black or white, to qualify for citizenship under our constitution. To that effect, Negroes could apply for citizenship in the normal way, but I feel they might be disappointed and so would we, if such moves were based on purely racial sentiment.

I might add that I find sometimes there is a complete misunderstanding of what African culture really means. For example, some people think that to identify as an African, one has to wear some cheap Japanese or Hong Kong-made textiles, wear a shaggy wig and a piece of cloth or skin on the head, or have to wear one's hair natural.

encourage mass Negro immigration, leaving their problems of civil rights in the United States to be solved by some one else. Africa's role is to help them in that struggle, not help them to run away from it."

This is a statement of wisdom and sound African statesmanship, and should enable the Black nationists and militants to see themselves as our ~~their~~ Black African brothers see them.

10) These conditions imposed ~~upon~~ on the African today by the circumstances of poverty, ~~He lives in a mud or wattle hut, These are~~ limitations in technical and educational and other resources.

These must not be confused with culture. An African walks barefoot or wears sandals made of old tires not because it is his culture, but because he lives in poverty. He lives in a mud or wattle hut, but these are signs of poverty which must not be mistaken for cultural heritage. Culture is something much deeper. It is the total sum of your personality, outlook, and attitude to life.

Outside this there are great areas for contact, cooperation and collaboration between African states and Negroes. In the field of the professions and technical employment, they are welcome, as are the Europeans who come on a temporary basis to establish institutions, businesses and to make investments. It is not total rejection. We have several doctors, a number of teachers, and a few businessmen here who are Negroes, but some of them have become citizens.

The American Negro is welcome as a visitor. Our policy is not to encourage mass Negro immigration, leaving their problems of civil rights in the United States to be solved by someone else. Africa's role is to help them in that struggle, not help them to run and avoid it!"

1. Are your memories of childhood- your relations with your parents, other members of your family, home life in general- happy?

2. Do you recall being forcefully impressed by any phenomena of personality, environment, social activity or the like that might have influenced you later?

3. What part do you consider your formal education played in your emotional and intellectual development? As the son of a minister you must have had opportunities for travel within the South at any rate, and you must have been exposed to ideas and attitudes that were more or less unknown to the average Negro child.

4. You married early, I believe. Was Mrs. Randolph also born in the South? Was she reared and educated there?

5. Did you always want to be an editor and writer, or were these occupations simply aids (and substitutes) to the practical realization of equality of opportunity and treatment for Negroes?

6. Did your courage and resolution ever falter before the onslaught of government- or political-inspired attacks, or under the tremendous pressures exerted by the Pullman Company and its minions?

7. Does your work as an international labor leader come in conflict with your personal wishes or your personal philosophy at any point? Would you, for instance, like to have more time to devote to other things? What other things?

8. Who are the living men, both inside and outside your own organization and professional activities, whom you most respect and admire?

9. Who are the deceased Americans, colored and/or white, whom you most respect and admire?

10. What is your ultimate hope- for yourself? For America? For the world?

I recall that at an early age, around five or six, and into our teens, my brother James and myself were dressed up by our mother, a strict disciplinarian, and taken by our father, a proletarian, circuit-riding preacher, to the Annual Conferences of the African Methodist Episcopal Church when the bishops, national officers,presiding elders and local preachers assembled to review the status of the churches organizationally and financially.

The bishop assigned to a given conference area usually presidend over the conference daily with an iron hand, extending over a week, usually preaching at the beginning or ending of the conference.

Bishops, beginning with Richard Allen, founder of the Church, constantly referred to by my father as the Apostle of freedom and spiritual empancipator of his people, were men of strength, dignity and poise, and some, with much learning; a number of them coming out of some of the great universities of the country and Europe. Bishop R. R. Wright, now deceased, held doctorates of philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Berlin.

At the beginning of the conference, or during the sessions, my father would take my brother and myself to meet the presiding bishop and visiting bishops. We were always presented by our father as two of the finest boys in the country with promise of a great future. The bishop usually shook our hands [illegible] his wrinkled face wreathed in smiles, he would express assurances

that we would grow up and become great men and reflect honor upon our fine father.

Of course we had been told so much about the bishops of the church in our home before the fireplace by our father, that we knew a number of them by name.

When we returned home from the conferences, our mother, who seldom attended them, promptly inquired of our father about the manner in which the bishop received her boys. A radiant glow of delight suffused her face when told that he had expressed great joy upon meeting them and predicted a fine future for them.

I told our mother that I wondered how the bishop could get all of those preachers to do what he wanted them to do without a lot of trouble. Our father said, "Well, son, the bishop has the power to send any preacher in that conference back to the church he now has or to a better or worse one. Therefore, in order not to be illy served when time comes for the bishop to read the appointments for the next year, most ministers try to avoid any unnecessary conflict with the bishop. But there are times when disputes and misunderstandings cannot be avoided. I have had them myself as a result of what I regarded as unfair advice the bishop received from my presiding elder about my work."

As a matter of fact, when a bishop displays poor and partisan judgement in the administration of his diocese, charges may be brought against him at the quadrennial General Conference where bishops are made and unmade. But, as a general rule, bishops have come up from the bottom as a local preacher to a presiding elder and then the position of national officer or the bishopric

which is likely to cover a period of twenty to twenty-five years. But when once a preacher reaches the bishopric he remains in that post unless he displays his unfitness morally or administratively.

I was greatly interested in and impressed by the obvious organizational ability of the bishops. Be it said to the credit of the bishops, practically all of the, during the years of bitter and violent racial hatred against the Negro, spoke out from the pulpit in the Deep South against jim crow and the lynch law.

In fact, one of the most exciting and hair-raising incidents I ever witnessed was while Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, ex-slave, first colored chaplain to the U.S. Army, and former member of the Georgia Legislature, pulled a 38-caliber revolver out of his pocket and laid it on the Bible and exclaimed with a sense of burning passion and anger that he had to carry this weapon in some of the jungles of the South in order to be able to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The church audience was stunned, startled and amazed, but it was a challenge and they were unafraid. All over the church voices from the Amen Corner cried out, "preach it, bishop." Needless to say this was an exhibition of matchless courage. He ended his sermon with this quatrain by some slave with the gift of song:

Before I'd be a slave
I'd be buried in my grave
And go home to my God
And be free

This same Bishop Turner is reported to have exclaimed, standing on the courthouse steps in Atlanta during the terrible and tumultuous latter days of Reconstruction: "Any flag which will not protect its protectors, any flag which will not defend its defenders, is a dirty rag and contaminates the air in which it waves."

And in a speech on the eligibility of colored members to seats in the Georgia Legislature, the Honorable H. M. Turner stated, September 3, 1868: "You may expel us, gentlemen, but I firmly believe that you will some day repent it. The black man cannot protect a country if the country doesn't protect him; and if, tomorrow, a war should arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood is denied." "Sir, I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia, as, if I should b e killed in this campaign I may have no opportunity of telling them at any other time: 'never lift a finger nor raise a hand in defense of Georgia unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood'." He continued, "Go on with your oppressions. Babylon fell. Where is Greece? Where is Nineveh? And where is Rome, the mistress empire of the world; why is it that she stands today in broken fragments throughout Europe? Because oppression killed her."

He became so embittered against white America that he began preaching the doctrine "Back to Africa" which Negroes of course rejected, and he soon abandoned.

BOYHOOD HEROES

Bishop Turner was one of my boyhood heroes. Just to look

upon this man and especially to have shaken his hand, when my father presented my brother and myself to him while he was visiting the Episcopal District AME Conference of North Florida, was an inspiration which caused me to feel I could storm the heavens in search of freedom and justice for black Americans.

Verily, it was an unforgettable transfiguratively creative experience which could touch and arouse the souls of young Negroes. This fire-eating black prophet of Negro racial salvation, a prophet who lashed out against the corruption of and attack upon the rising racial consciousness of the advancing new Negro, captured and stirred my imagination and dreams of a brighter and freer tomorrow.

But my ever-present, devoted and dedicated hero was my father. He was a religious, racial hero. He was idealistic and pragmatist. His motto was, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." He explained this to mean: belief and trust in God without belief and trust in one's self was meaningless. He believed in social and racial change but not that it would automatically come about. He believed that progressive and constructive change would only result from progressive and constructive thought and action.

He believed in the development and advancement of my brother and myself by contact with Negroes who had achieved success in various fields. Thus his major article of faith for our advancement was to have us meet and talk with outstanding Negro leaders in various walks of life. Therefore, he faithfully carried my brother and myself to meet practically every prominent Negro who came to town, and we were always eagerly and graciously received. We enjoyed this practice immensely.

Though just young chaps, we had achieved quite some sophistication. We were able to size up these visitors. We always talked about them both to our father and mother and when alone.

When our father commented on these personalities with us he never mentioned anything about their worldly possessions. Sometimes we would ask our father whether a bishop, doctor or lawyer he had presented us to meet had much money. His reply invariably was, "That is not important." He observed that the value of a leader or any individual to our race or society must not and cannot be reckoned in terms of how much money he may or may not have. If one has much money - and everyone needs ~~some money in~~ to live - it is important, if not necessary, in some instances to determine how he got it. "It is better", my father said, "to be honest without money than dishonest with it.. While there is nothing wrong about having money, it is wrong to get it dishonestly, and no one who secures money or property of any kind dishonestly can ever have any peace of mind or solace of heart because he knows his action was morally wrong. This is why your mother always questions you about where and how you got a baseball or anything of value you bring home which she knew you didn't have the money to buy."

OTHER HEROES

My brother and I were introduced to other black heroes by our father at our fireplace kindergarten school, under the vigilant and disciplinary eyes of our beautiful mother. But to us our father was our great hero. He was the source of our motivation, inspiration and rising expectations. This was so because he took us to meet and talk with the big bishops,- stern, powerful and despotic - before

whom the preachers bowed in obeisance. Of course, we were not unaware of the fact that our mother was the quiet, relentless power which kept our father moving. It was she who had our father transfer us from his tutelage to the pretty young woman, our neighbor next door. It was she who ordered us to remain home from school when she discovered holes in our shoes, and insisted on our father securing second-hand shoes if there was not sufficient money available to buy new ones, which was usually the case. She inspected us every school morning to determine if there was anything wrong with our clothes before leaving for school. She was eminently well qualified to appraise our appearance for she was not only a gifted seamstress, but she made complete suits for us that were just like the suits bought in clothing stores..

Our father, whom my brother and I called Papa, counselled our mother,whom we called Mama, not to tax herself with the tedious and exacting job of making suits for us since she was far from being a rugged woman.

My brother and I were glad to see our mother involved with sewing since it kept her from her major vocation of keeping vigil over us. It afforded a good opportunity to escape to the streets to play baseball, shoot marbles or fly kites, a few of our play interests which normally required permission from our mother. We always sought to return ere she discovered our absence from the yard. Being more rule-conscious than James and concerned about chastisement by the strap or switch, I made it my business to make our way back to the yard before we were missed.

Our mother, God bless her, made it a cardinal article of the

family faith to know where her boys were at all times of the day and night. And if we ever failed to get back from an errand or from a visit with our playmates who lived on the same street, our father was sent to find us and bring us home.

Probably this high sensitivity of our mother about the whereabouts of her children is remotely responsible for the fact that no one in our family ever had a brush with the police,

Whenever we went into the streets to play and we suspected that our absence might be discovered by our mother before we returned, we would promptly, upon our quiet entry into the yard, begin bringing wood into the kitchen, one of our regular chores, in order to divert her attention from our whereabouts. But when we were called in and confronted with the question as to whether we had been in the streets, we readily admitted that we had. Experience had taught us that this was the best policy, since if we told her a lie she would give us a whipping for going into the streets without permission, and another whipping for telling her a lie about it.

Ours was a home distinguished for a notoriously circumspect behavior pattern of conduct. I don't recall ever having heard the use of any profanity in it. Neither my brother or I ever used any profanity. I cannot recall having ever seen a whiskey bottle in the home. Interestingly enough, our father always kept a rifle and a pistol in the house. The reason he assigned for this was that since he was away so often attending to the affairs of his church, our mother needed some means of protection, and she had both the courage and the skill to use them.

Although I have negotiated agreements on wages, hours and working conditions with hardboiled leaders of management of Pullman and various railroads, some of whom were past masters in the use of profanity, I have never used any profanity in a single instance. I wouldn't know how. But I had some professional masters of profanity on my side of the table who were easily the match of management. In addition to being an obvious waste of time, profanity was a substitute for argument and knowledge and a time-consuming effort to play the role of a "fighting man."

OUR HEROES

But we had other heroes beside our father. These heroes were called by our father, black folks, Afro-Americans, and colored people. He told us that all these names designated the race to which we belonged, the original home of which was Africa. This was one of the major lessons he gave us in our "fireplace kindergarten" school at home.

RICHARD ALLEN

The first black hero in whose life and work our interest was awakened and developed was Richard Allen who, together with Absalom Jones, were forced up off their knees in prayer by a white trustee in the prestigeous St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, ordering them off the main floor to the gallery. They resented this outrageous Christian behavior, and walked out of the church. This courageous action resulted in the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1787 by these two Negro leaders.

Richard Allen, together with James Forten, noted free Negro abolitionist who purchased enough subscriptions to enable William Lloyd Garrison to found The Liberator in 1831, organized the Free Negro Convention Movement destined to play a monumental role in the development of the abolitionist movement.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE

We heard the story of the story of the black revolutionist, Toussaint L'Ourverture.

A great rebellion broke out in Haiti, led by an ex-slave, Toussaint L'Ourverture. It was so devastatingly successful that by 1801 the entire island was under black domination. Though Toussaint was eventually captured and killed, the uprising of the slaves under his leadership became legendary and apparently sparked the flame of the three most celebrated insurrections in the history of American slavery, including Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831).

SOJOURNER TRUTH

We were told the dramatic story of a tall, rugged, illiterate, but not ignorant, black woman, a former slave who went up and down the country, east and west, setting it afire with her challenging, eloquent plea for freedom of black slaves. She was one of the great leaders of the abolitionist movement and called herself Sojourner Truth.

HARRIET TUBMAN

We were told the story of the brave, determined and unrelenting freedom fighter, Harriet Tubman, famous black guide of the Underground Railroad. John Brown once introduced her to Wendell Phillips as the "Moses of her people" and one of the best and bravest persons on this continent."

She made nineteen journeys into the slave states and led three hundred slaves to freedom. She threatened to kill any fugitive who wanted to turn back. By 1852, slaveholders were offering a total of forty thousand dollars for her capture, dead or alive.

NAT TURNER

Nat Turner, known as "The Prophet" among his people, had concluded that the day of judgement for slaveholders was at hand. He planned August 21, 1831 for his insurrection of the slaves against slavery. Three thousand men gathered in Southampton to put down the rebellion..

Nat Turner's insurrection, says author W. S. Drewry, "was a landmark in the history of slavery. It was the forerunner of the great slavery debates which resulted in the abolition of slavery. Some old Negroes of Southhampton, Va. and vicinity speak of "Old Nat's War'."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Frederick Douglass, called by W. E. B. DuBois "the noblest slave that ever God set free", was greatly adored by my brother and myself, having been frequently alluded to as a great abolitionist and leader of Negroes by our father.

The story goes that after a speech by Douglass at an anti-convention in 1841 in New Bedford, Mass, William Lloyd Garrison cried, "Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property or a man?" The crowd answered, "A man!' A man!" From that day Frederick Douglass became a public figure and lectured in America ~~and Europe, an authentic voice of the bol~~

and Europe, an authentic voice of the abolitionist movement.

Speaking in Rochester, New York, July 5, 1852, he asked, "What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? To him, your celebration is a sham, your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; you invite to your shores fugitives from abroad; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hurt, arrest, shoot and kill."

BISHOP HENRY MACNEAL TURNER

Here was a great hero of mine to whom my father presented me when just a youngster in short pants. I well recall my father saying to the Bishop at an Annual Conference of the African Methodist Church of which he was a minister, "Bishop Turner I want to present to you my two sons, two of the finest boys in the country." This weatherbeaten, giant of a man placed his hands on our hands and slowly said, "Some day, if you study and work hard, you will reflect a great honor on your fine father."

At a church meeting where he preached, I and my brother were shocked, startled and stunned when he pulled a pistol out of his inner pocket and placed it on the Bible. It shook the church, but the vast audience looked straight ahead at the bishop and a certain undefined feeling of moral strength gripped the church, indicating that they were unafraid.

He exclaimed, with some show of anger, "I have found it necessary to carry some arms to enable me to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ in some areas of this so-called land of the free and home of the brave."

Well has Dr. DuBois said, "Bishop Turner was the last of the mighty men, physically and mentally, who started at the bottom and hammered their way to the top by sheer brute strength."

genuine. In fact I believe all of us are genuine; I hope I am not mistaken in my belief in humanity. But I do feel that this document here, if we approach it from the background of the ICFTU, shows that not only will the ICFTU become symbolic of working men's thoughts but will become symbolic of a way of life with justice and fair play, and will have the respect of all nations of the world. I hope that all of us will dedicate ourselves in that spirit because it is for international solidarity, bringing the workers together, looking on problems and dealing with matters arising out of examinations of problems, no matter who the problem concerns.

There is one single aspect of this that I do not like. The Executive Board have already agreed to it, but I do not like an International Solidarity Fund which gives to the donors the right to say how it is going to be used and for what purpose it should be used. Its international character will be lost if that is going to be the method by which it is conducted.

Mr. A. P. Randolph (AFL-CIO) : Since the ICFTU is concerned about the extension of the boundaries of the free trade union movement it necessarily is concerned about the development of a free world, because in the nature of things free trade unions can only survive in a democratic, free society. A democratic, free society can only exist if the members of that society continue to be free. Since that is true, it is important that the question of human rights be recognised as a basic feature of every national community, because human rights represent the hall-mark of a free citizen.

Today the meaning of human rights is that they are natural rights. My right to life, my right to liberty, my right to the pursuit of happiness are natural rights. No government can give me the right to life or the right to liberty. Governments can give recognition and sanction to those rights, and governments should give protection to individuals in the exercise of their human rights. But human rights exist prior to governments. They are God-given and not man-made. In other words, God creates human beings and my human rights exist as a result of my being a human being. Since all men are created out of one blood, then all men are brothers. If all men are brothers, all men are equal before God, and they ought to be equal before the state, and, of course, in the house of labour.

But we know that all men are not recognised as equal. I refer now chiefly to the free world, because in the totalitarian Communist slave world there is no such thing as human rights; the individual is a cog in the giant wheel of the state machine; he is the creature of the state, made for the state, and not the state for the individual. In the free world it is different. The individual is regarded as the master of the state, and consequently in the system of values of the free world the element of human dignity is significant and important. In other words, every individual has worth, has value, has virtue, has significance, whether he be in the mines of Johannesburg, whether he be a don at Oxford, or whether he be in the United States Senate. He represents importance in the society, and therefore should be given all the rights, all the freedoms that are essential for the complete expression of his personality. But we

know that not to be fully true today. Why is that? In the early stages of world imperialism, when Africa and Asia were being parcelled out by the great power nations, racial discrimination and racial prejudice were invented as a means of providing rationalisation, if not justification, for the subjection of millions of people in Africa and Asia, — in other words, the doctrine of the superiority of the race was fabricated. The idea that there are inferior races became a cardinal article of faith of the imperialist powers. The object was to get the people in these lands themselves to agree and acquiesce in their own inferiority — alleged inferiority — in order that exploitation and oppression might be advanced and consolidated.

Hence the exercise of human rights by these people was interfered with by organised groups, by the state, and the concept of this historical fallacy of racial superiority, this fiction, this fantasy, this myth, became a dangerous factor in the life of the world, and because of its existence great masses of people were denied the right of self-rule. It was said that the non-white people were incapable of self-rule, and only the superior race was entitled to rule the world. This was the pernicious and destructive doctrine that prevailed in the early stages of world imperialism.

Now we know that the findings of science have negated this position. There are Africans who are superior to some Europeans; there are some Europeans who are superior to some Africans; there are some Asians superior to some Americans; there are some Americans superior to some Asians. But there is no such thing as a superior race or an inferior race. You will have individuals in a particular group more competent than some other individuals. There are some Africans more competent than some other Africans; some Europeans more competent than other Europeans. But this superior competency is not the result of innate mental and moral qualities; it is the result of superior environmental conditions and educational opportunity. All people are basically qualified to master any situation provided they have the opportunity for the acquisition of equipment and knowledge and the education and understanding. The findings of science show that no child is born with race prejudice. African children, American children, European children, have no prejudice against each other. Prejudices are not inherent; they are acquired, they are learnt in the home, in the church, in the school, in the union, in the press, in the theatre, in the literature. Just as prejudices are learnt they can be unlearnt, and this should be the mission of the ICFTU.

Now what about the record of the achievement of human rights in the world today? Let me say a word about my own country. In the United States of America, the achievement of human rights is moving at a high pace. Of course, there is a long road ahead, but racial discrimination is steadily though slowly fading away. Only recently the United States Supreme Court handed down the momentous, monumental and massive decision striking down segregation in the public shools. The President of the United States, Eisenhower, has personally sponsored a civil rights programme in the Congress now for the abolition of all forms of discrimination especially in voting and so forth. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisations, under the able and resourceful leadership of George Meany, who is dedicated

to the idea of the elimination of racial discrimination, with the vigorous and able support of Walter Reuther and other vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO, is making an able and constant and vigorous fight to eliminate discrimination in all forms, not only in the labour movement, but in all areas of American life. The negroes themselves are united behind the civil rights fight, and they have the co-operation of organised labour and also the catholic church, the protestant church, and the jewish church, in the interest of making the idea of the brotherhood of man a reality.

The Chairman : I am sorry to interrupt you, Brother Randolph, but I have to consult Congress. Brother Randolph has exhausted his speaking time, but since this is the first time he has spoken, and it may well also be the last time — I do not know — do you agree that I should extend his ten minutes? *(This was agreed.)*

Mr. Randolph : Thank you. I shall make it brief. As I indicated, the drive in the United States for the elimination of racial discrimination is moving with reassurance daily. At the same time, the job is far from complete. I would not stand up here and pretend that all forms of discrimination have been eliminated in the various areas of American life, because that is not true. But the fact is that more so than at any other period in the history of the country the conscience of the people has been aroused to the fact that racial discrimination is against sound Americanism, it is against sound Christianity, and against sound trade unionism. Finally let me observe that the test of our human rights philosophy is Africa today. If our beliefs and concepts of human rights do not go beyond our own boundaries and recognise the rights of the people of Africa then we have not built soundly in terms of a better world. I was greatly struck by two incidents in this Congress, and I think that those two incidents will make this Congress historic. One was when the Honourable Mr. Bourguiba came to the platform and welcomed the delegates to the Congress, and the other was when John Tettegah from Ghana, the new African state, south of the Sahara desert, came to the platform and told the Congress of the greetings and life of Ghana. Here you have the symbol of a new world; because Africa is the centre of the forces that are moving for a new world, and by the recognition of the rights of Africa we give reality and force and effect to our professions and declarations about human rights.

I was greatly concerned about the statement of Brother Tom O'Brien, who spoke here in the early stages of the Congress, when he said that on his visit to South Africa in the interests of the ICFTU he got the impression that in certain circles there was the idea of attempting to crush African nationalism in a blood bath. Well, my friends, this is serious. But I may say that when a people reach the point where they are conscious of their rights as the Africans have done, when a people reach a point where they are willing to die for the right to be free men, even the threat of a blood bath in Africa will not stop the march of the Africans to freedom and independence. I hope that this Congress will arouse the conscience of the world to the extent that the ruling circles in South Africa will not resort to the madness they propose in their silent circles, because it is written in the stars that Africa too will be free. I hope that we will be not too petulant, and not too critically cryptic

with African leaders on the grounds that their personnel of leadership is not sufficient and adequate for the tasks ahead. I do not know any metropolitan centre whose personnel of leadership is adequate. Moreover, I am confident that the young Africans today are qualified to meet the problems ahead of them, and as I have observed them I have been thrilled by the spirit they reflect.

Thus I want to plead with this Congress that we give the Africans our support, and I hope that nobody will be offended by the remark I am about to make. Western man bears the mark of guilt and responsibility for the tragic plight of Africa today. Western man has all to gain. Western man's contributions to Africa must not be considered a charity, because Western man has taken out of Africa treasures of wealth and millions of workers. That is not true of any other continent of the world. During the period of the slave trade millions of black men and women were carried to the four corners of the world as slave labour and upon a black pillar of flesh the wealth of great cities was built. Hence I plead with this Congress to give its support to the African workers in the building of a free trade union movement in order that they may not be lured into the trap of the Soviet Union which stands against the freedom of the worker, against the dignity of the human personality, and makes for a slave world of all men regardless of race, creed, colour, national origin or ancestry.

Mr. R. Barkatt (General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel) : I am going to speak on the first part of the item on the agenda, and I would like to begin by complimenting Brother Ahmed Ben Salah on his excellent introduction and its constructive spirit and the wisdom of its approach. I feel that the free labour movement can look back with a good deal of satisfaction on the period since the last Congress of our International. In this period the free trade union movement in the world has succeeded in consolidating and expanding its positions in many parts of the world. During this time events in Soviet Russia itself, in Poland, in Hungary, which shook the world, forced Communism everywhere on to the defensive. Large masses of workers who had fallen under Communist domination or influence were shocked and confused. It cannot be said, speaking frankly, that the free world always rallies fully to the challenge of this situation. Faced with a situation which opened boundless possibilities we cannot claim to have always found courage, imagination, and drive to find an answer which poses everywhere to the negative aspect of Communism a hopeful positive. We have still to come forward with a working solution to the real and desperate problems which face us everywhere but especially in the under-developed parts of the world. That challenge still stands.

The free world is now facing great economic and social problems. They differ, however, between the industrially advanced areas and those parts of the world which have not yet fully developed their economies. In the developed areas the pace of industrial advance is placing before the labour movement unprecedented problems which must not only be met but anticipated if the workers are to be saved from large-scale social dislocations and secure a proper place in the changing industrial order of our time. The position in the less developed regions is for the moment

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ADF 10 Randolph, Asa Philip, pet. labor leader; b. Crescent City, Fla., Apr. 15,
F 11 1889; s. James William and Elizabeth (Robinson) R.; ed. Coll. City N.Y.;
12 LL.D., Howard U., 1941; m. Lucille E. Campbell, 1914. Organizer
13 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, N.Y.C., 1925, pres. emeritus,
14 1968; organizer, dir. of March on Washington Movement which led Pres.
15 Roosevelt to start Com. on Fair Employment Practice, 1941; v.p. AFL-CIO,
16 1957-, now mem. emeritus exec. council. Mem. Mayor La Guardia's Commn. on Race,
17 1935; hon. chmn. White House Conf. Civil Rights. Recipient Civil Rights
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Who's Who in Labor

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Dear Friend,

Below is a rough proof of your listing as it will appear in the forthcoming edition of WHO'S WHO IN LABOR, being published by Arno Press/A New York Times Company, in co-operation with the AFL-CIO, leading independent unions, and organizations that work with Labor.

It is sent to you so that you may verify data already submitted to us. If your listing is correct please initial this page and return it to us. Please do not make any additions at this time. If revisions are necessary, please send them to us by August 25, 1975 and, if time permits, we will make the changes you indicate. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Felicity Lee

Felicity Lee
Editor

PLEASE CHECK YOUR ENTRY

1909
RANDOLPH, ASA PHILIP. Pres Emeritus, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 68-; Chrm of the Bd, A Philip Randolph Inst, 74-; A Philip Randolph Inst, 260 Park Ave South, New York, NY 10010, Tel 212 533-8000. **Career positions:** Co Ed & Publ, *The Messenger*, 17-25; Intl Pres, SCP, 25-68; V Pres, AFL-CIO, 55-74. **Civic activities:** Bd Chrm, Protestant Counc of the City of New York, 66-67; Hon Chrm, President's Conf *To Fulfill These Rights*, 66; Dir, March on Washington for Jobs & Freedom, 63; Fdr & Orgr, March on Washington Movement, 41-42; Founding Pres, Natl Negro Cong, 36-38; Mem, Mayor LaGuardia's Conf on Race, 35. Education: Bethune-Cookman Coll, Jacksonville, FL, 03-07; Coll of the City of New York, 12. ~~Military service~~: Organization: Masons. Awards: Presidential Medal of Freedom, 64; New York City Bronze Medallion, 74; 17 Hon Degrees from Univ, 41-74; Spingarn Medal, NAACP. ~~Hobbies~~: reading, spectator sports. Author: *Terms of Peace and the Darker Races; Truth About Lynching*. Born Apr 15, 1889, Crescent City, FL. Father: James William, Minister; Mother: Elizabeth. Married 1926, Lucille E Green Randolph.

A.P.R.

Interest

We are certain that you will want to own a personal copy of the first biographical directory of labor leaders and leaders of organizations that work with Labor. For this reason, we are offering you the opportunity to purchase WHO'S WHO IN LABOR at a very special biographee price.

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WHO'S NEWS AND WHY

Vol. 12 No. 9 October 1951

The H. W. Wilson Co., New York 52

OUR NEGRO BROTHER

by

EDITH H. MAYER

with an introduction by

ANNE COOLIDGE

illustrated by ELSE McKEAN

SHADY HILL PRESS NEW YORK

To Mrs. J. Philip Randolph

from

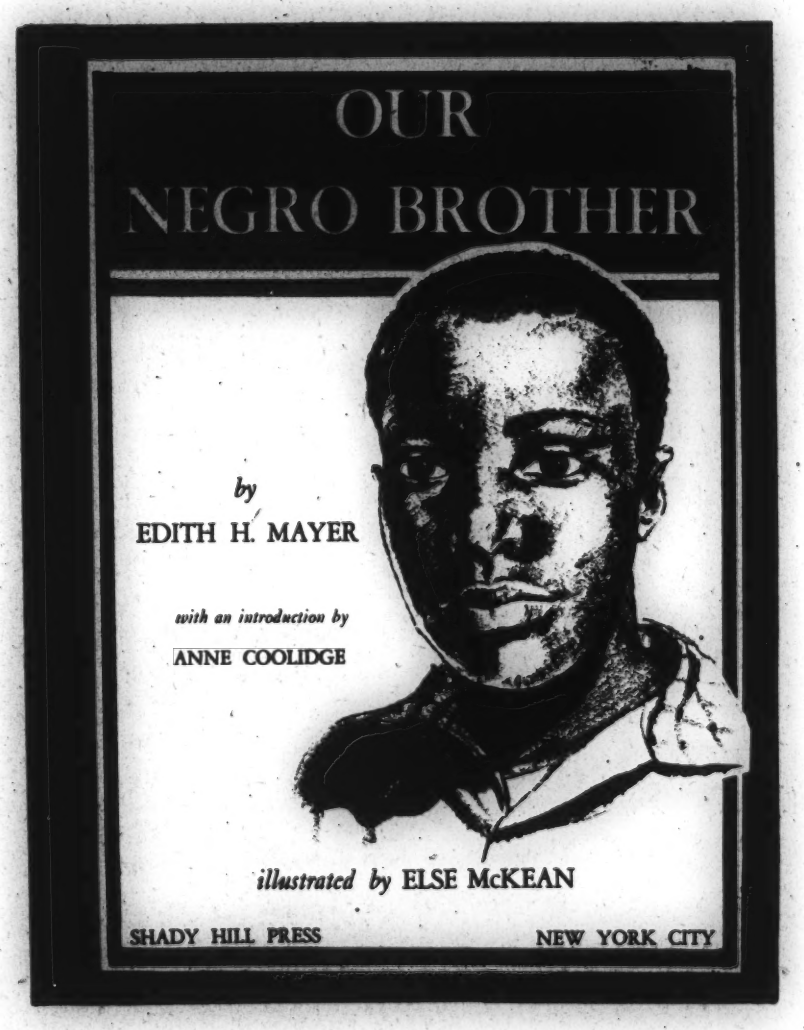
Edith H. Mayer

and Else McKean

OUR NEGRO BROTHER

by

EDITH H. MAYER



illustrated by ELSE McKEAN

with an introduction by ANNE COOLIDGE

SHADY HILL PRESS NEW YORK CITY

To

Lloyd McKean,

who, without knowing it,

inspired this book.

INTRODUCTION

by Anne Coolidge

Many of the people whom we read about in the paper are Negroes.

But as we read about them, we may not know that they are Negroes.

And why should we know!

Why does it matter so much if we know or not?

It only matters because we have not yet learned that it does not matter.

We have not yet learned that the sign by which we tell the Negro from the white is a sign of no importance.

We have not yet learned that the things that count in man are not tied up with the color of the skin of our fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers.

History has been unfair in the things that it has *not* told about the Negro.

It has been unfair in the things that it has let people think about the Negro.

In this book we tell a few stories everyone should know.

We tell a few of the things about the Negro which, too often, have been left out of the history books.

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PEDRO ALONZO NÎNO

Pedro Alonzo Nîno lived at the time of Columbus.

We know very little about him when he was a boy.

We first learn about him on Columbus' first voyage to the New World.

Do you remember the names of the three ships that went with Columbus on his first voyage to the New World?

There was the flagship *Santa Maria,* the *Pinta,* and the smallest of the three, the *Nina.*

Pedro Alonzo Nîno was the Pilot of the *Nina.*

On October 12, 1492, Columbus, with his three ships, the *Santa Maria,* the *Pinta* and the *Nina,* reached the New World safely.

In December, Columbus with his three ships started back to Spain to tell the King of his discovery.

A Shipwreck

On Christmas Eve, 1492, a terrible storm blew up.

The *Santa Maria* with Columbus aboard, hit a rock and was wrecked off the island of San Domingo.

The pilot of this ship was not as skillful as Pedro Alonzo Nîno.

After the *Santa Maria* was wrecked, Columbus and his crew came aboard the *Nina.*

It was a heavy load for the little ship to carry.

A Deserter

I suppose you are wondering what happened to the *Pinta,* the third ship?

Well, the Captain of the *Pinta* wanted glory for himself alone.

He wanted to be first to tell about the wonderful discovery.

He wanted the King and Queen of Spain to think that he, and not Columbus, had discovered the New World.

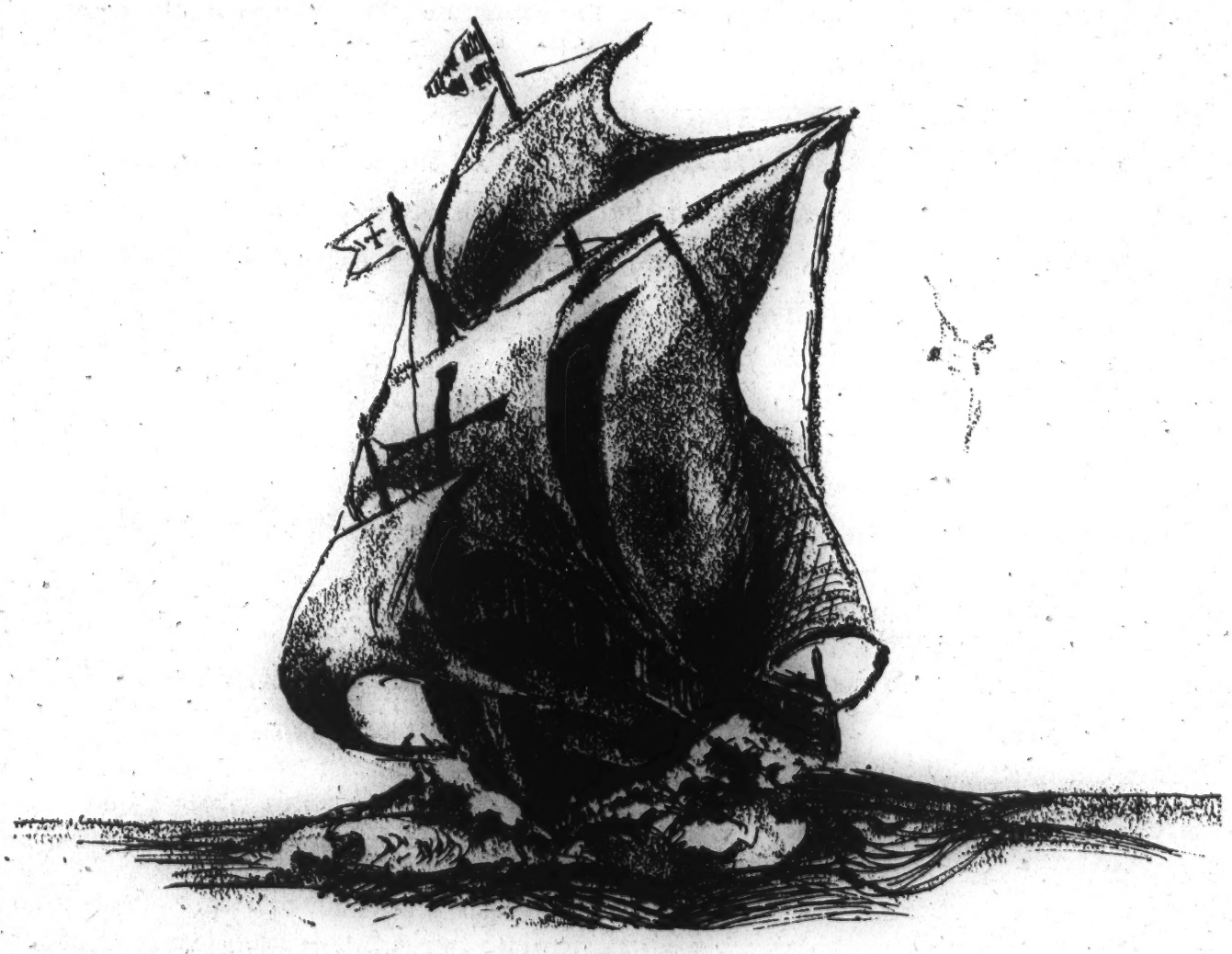
So he deserted Columbus and left the *Nina* alone with her heavy burden.

A Skillful Pilot

But he did not know what a skillful pilot Niño was.

Pedro Alonzo Niño guided the small ship with its heavy load safely back to Spain.

He guided the *Nina* with so much skill that it got back to Spain before the *Pinta* and her captain, who had tried to trick Columbus.



The Nina."

So Columbus was able to be the first to tell about the New World to the King and Queen of Spain.

He must have been very grateful to his skillful pilot, Pedro Alonzo Niño.

Pedro Alonzo Nino and Christopher Columbus on the deck of the "Nina."

CRISPUS ATTUCKS

Many people think of the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770, as the first battle of the Revolution.

On March 5, 1770, men armed only with clubs, and sticks, and icy snowballs, were shot at and killed by British soldiers.

The first man to fall was the leader, Crispus Attucks.

Crispus Attucks was a tall, strong Negro, who was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, 1723.

We do not know much about his early life.

We do know that when he was young he worked for a while on a whaling ship.

By the time we know much about him, he was well known in Boston as a leader of men.

Like many people in Boston he was getting more and more angry with the British.

He was angry because of the unfair taxes.

He was angry at the high-handed ways of the British soldiers in Boston.

But he was not only a man of anger.

He was a man of courage, too.

He had the courage to fight for what he thought were his rights and the rights of all the Colonists.

He had the courage to rebel openly against the British soldiers who had been sent to force the Colonists under England's rule.

The Massacre

On March 5, 1770, a quarrel broke out between some British soldiers and some Colonists.

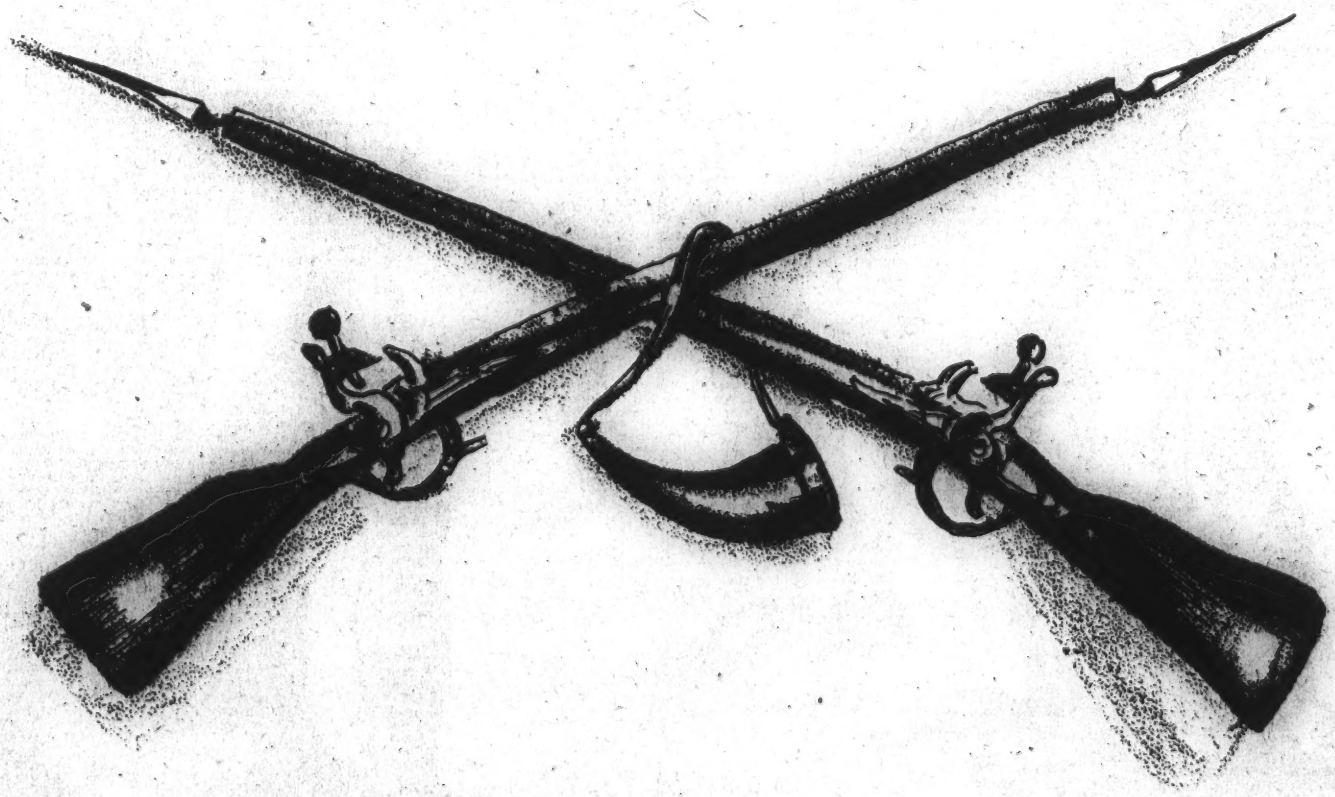
Crispus Attucks was among these Colonists.

Crispus Attucks and his companions advancing on the British Soldiers.

He stepped out before them and told them not to be afraid.
He told them that the British dared not fire.
He cried out to them not to hesitate now, but to crush the British at once.
The crowd of Colonists was stirred by his words.
Twelve men joined Crispus Attucks and advanced against the British soldiers.
But Crispus Attucks had been wrong.
The British soldiers did fire.
They fired at Crispus Attucks and his companions.
He and three others were killed.

A Monument

Many years later a monument was placed on Boston Common.
The monument reminds us that Crispus Attucks and the men who fell with him gave their lives for the freedom of America.



Some early colonial muskets.

HARRIET TUBMAN

Before the Civil War, if a Negro slave could escape to the North, he became a free man.

But it was very dangerous for a Negro man or woman to try to escape from slavery.

Harriet Tubman not only escaped herself, but she helped more than 300 slaves to do the same.

A Slave

She was born in Maryland in 1823, one of eleven brothers and sisters.

She spent many years of her life as a slave on a plantation.

When Harriet was 26, the master of the plantation died and she was afraid she would be sold to the far South.

Escape

This made her decide to try to escape to the North, and so, without money or friends, she started on her way.

She was without fear, because she felt that "there were two things she had a right to, — liberty or death."

She would either reach the North and be free, or die on the journey.

And what a terrible journey it was!

Often she had nothing to eat.

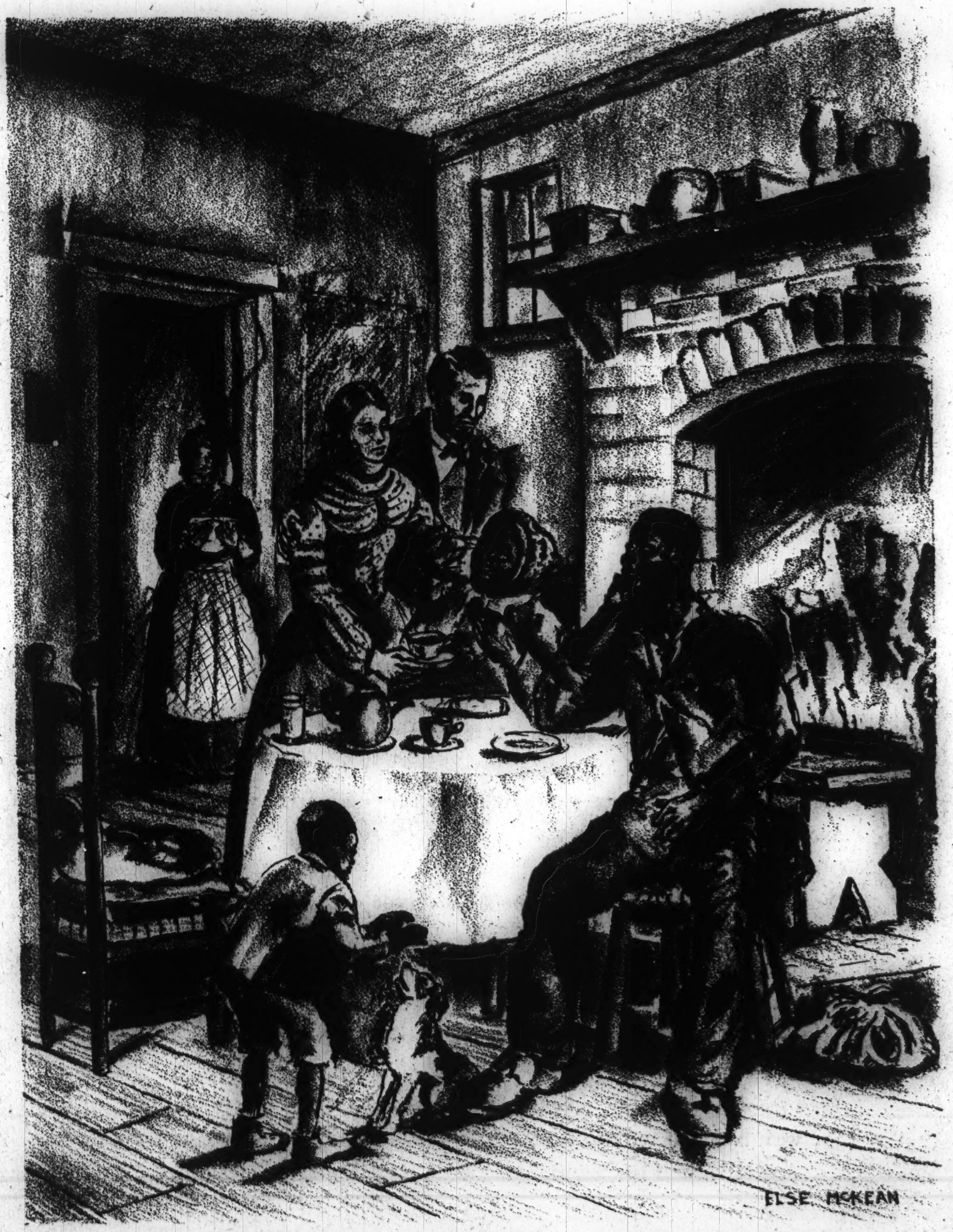
Often she had no shelter, and had to sleep outside on the cold ground in the biting wind.

Often she had to stumble through forests in the blackness of the night, hiding from her pursuers.

So, walking by night, hiding and praying by day, she finally reached the free North.

Then she decided she would help other slaves to escape.

She went back and forth to the South 19 times, helping others to escape the way she herself had escaped.



A Negro family being fed on one of the stations of the Underground Railway.

A Slave with her baby.

The Underground Railway

In her work she was helped by the Underground Railway.

The Underground Railway was run by Negro and white people.

It was not really a Railway at all, but a chain of people who helped slaves on their way to the North.

The Underground Railway hid and fed the slaves by day, and showed them how to travel by night.

Often the slaves Harriet Tubman was helping to freedom grew frightened on the way.

They were afraid of being caught.

They were cold and hungry.

Sometimes they were so scared they thought they would go back.

Then Harriet Tubman would bring out her pistol.

She would point the pistol at the frightened slave and say, "You go on or die."

They always went on!

It was Harriet Tubman's great faith in God and her fearless spirit which brought freedom to more than 300 slaves.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

A Great Orator

Frederick Douglass played an important part in the anti-slavery movement.

Some people have what is called "a gift of oratory."

Some orators seem to have the power to move people, whatever the cause for which they speak.

Frederick Douglass was such an orator, and the cause for which he spoke was a just and good cause.

He was born in Tuckahoe, Maryland, in February 1817, and lived until February, 1895.

In a book called "My Bondage and Freedom" he tells about his early life as a slave, as well as about his fight for freedom.

Early Days

His mother, whom he did not see often, was the only slave in Tuckahoe who could read and write.

His grandmother, who took care of him until he was seven, was kind and good to him.

His early childhood was fairly happy.

But after the age of seven, he was often treated cruelly.

He was starved and beaten, but worst of all, he began to realize that he was not free, and that he might never be his own master.

Fight for Freedom

In 1838 he made his escape to the North.

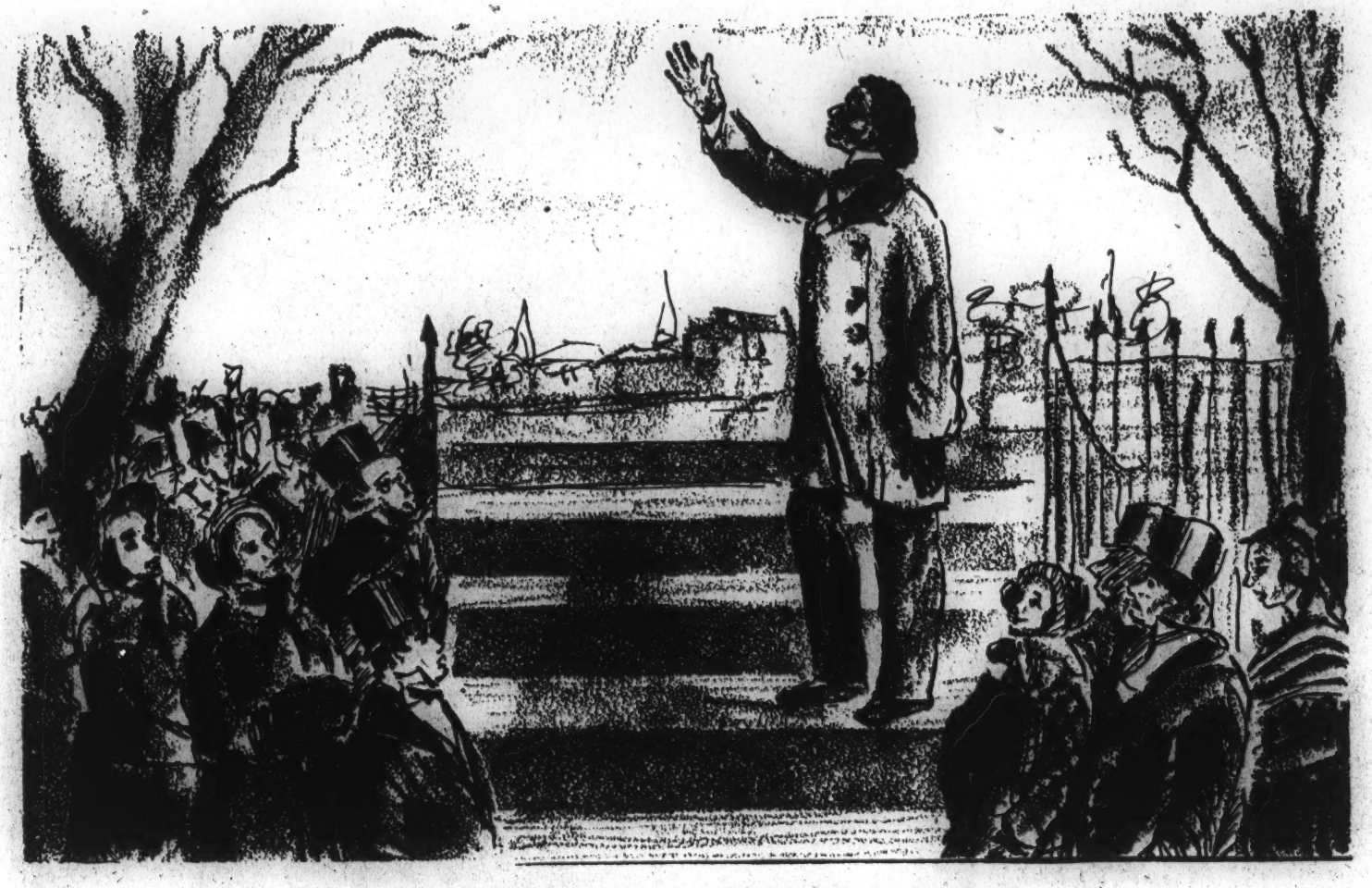
In 1841 he made his first public speech at a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society in Nantucket.

Douglass discovered that in the North, although he was free, many, many people did not treat him as an equal.

People began to think that this fine looking man, over six feet tall, who spoke so well, never could have been a slave.

So, in 1845, he wrote the story of his life.

Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln, talking together in Lincoln's Study.



One of the first speeches of Frederick Douglass.

His friends were afraid that this frank, true story of his hardships as a slave might get him into trouble.

At the advice of his friends, he went to England for two years.

In England he was treated as a man and an equal for the first time in his life.

He came back to America in 1847 feeling hope that the Negro might have equality as well as freedom in America too.

Public Life

Through the Civil War, and for the rest of his long life, Douglass was active in public life.

He consulted with Lincoln during the Civil War.

He helped form the famous Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments.

Later, while fighting for the rights of his own race, he also helped women in their fight for the vote.

The Negro has had freedom now for many years.

But the fight for equality for all men must still go on.

MATTHEW A. HENSON

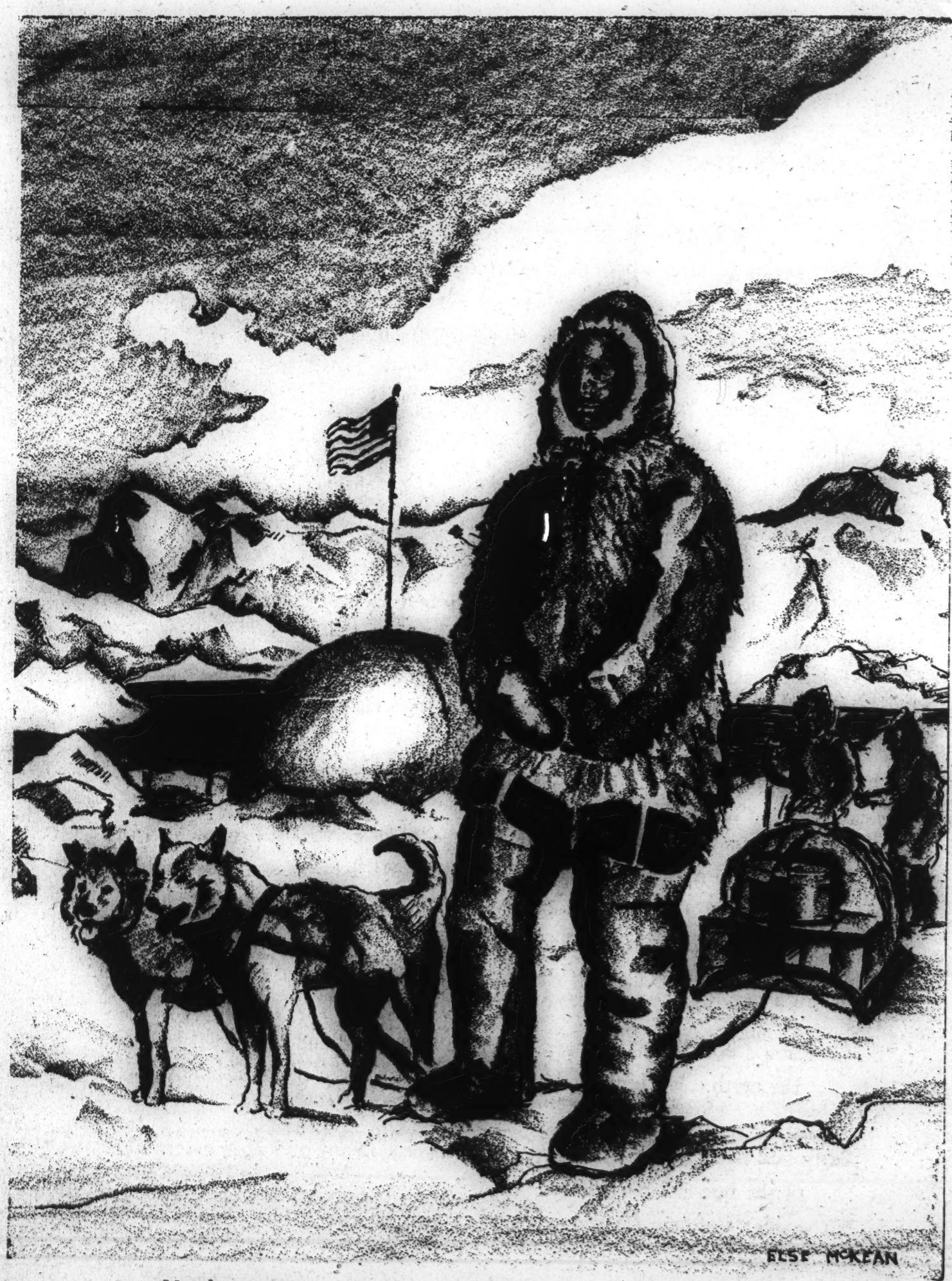
Matthew A. Henson was born in 1866 in Maryland, not far from Washington.
When he was eight years old, his parents died.
After that he lived with an uncle in Washington.
He went to the same school in Washington for six years.
He must have been born with a love of adventure, for when he was still very young he became cabin boy on a ship to China.
This first trip was followed by trips to Japan and Russia, Spain and the Philippine Islands.
Thus he became an experienced sailor.
But his real adventure was to come.

Henson Meets Peary

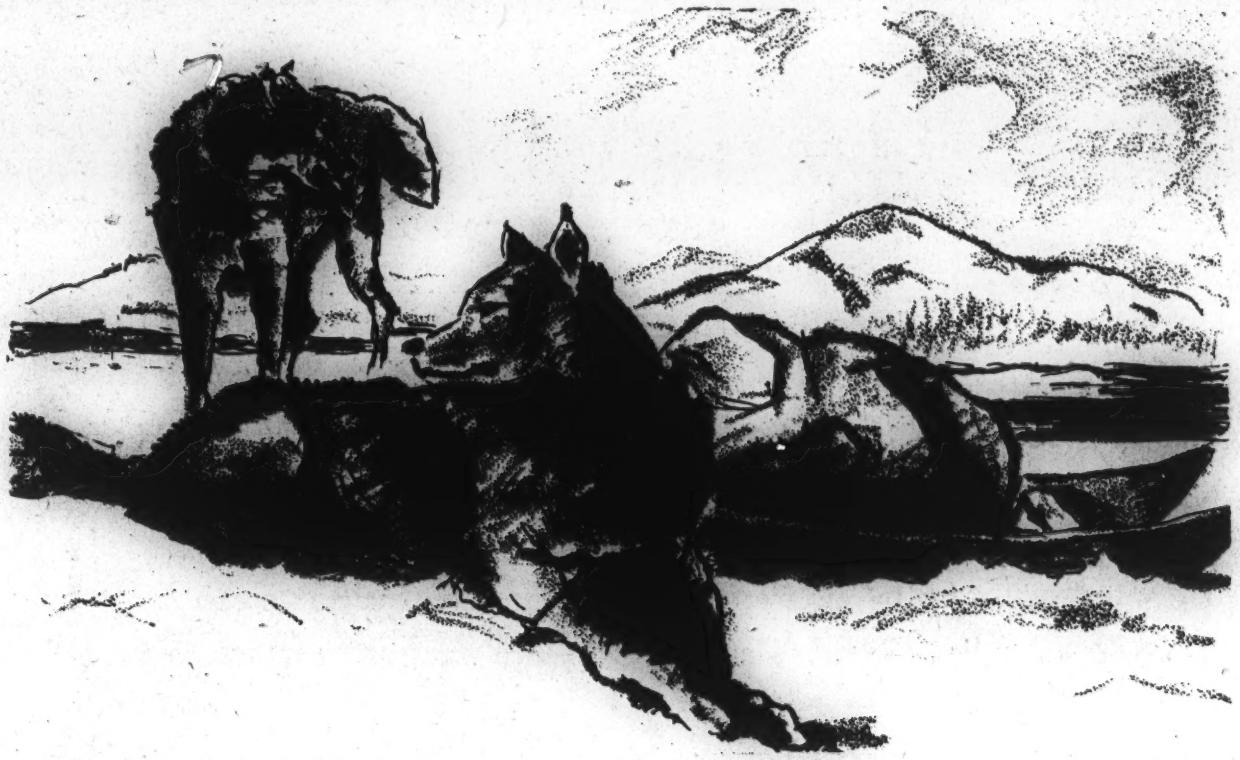
In 1888, when Henson was 22, he met Robert E. Peary who was then a civil engineer in the U. S. Navy.
Henson was at once drawn to Peary.
And Peary must have liked Henson, for he took Henson with him on a trip to Nicaragua.
At first Henson was Peary's servant. Soon he became both helper and friend.

He went with Peary on all his northern expeditions except the first one in 1886.
In his book, Peary wrote how loyal a friend Matthew Henson was, and how wonderfully he could do all sorts of things.
He could serve as blacksmith, cook or carpenter.
With his own hands he built the sledges which reached the North Pole in April, 1909.
He learned how to find his way anywhere in the cold and frozen wilderness of the north. He learned the customs and language of the Eskimos.

Peary said that Henson was a better dog-driver than any man alive except some of the best Eskimo hunters.
No wonder Matthew Henson was such a trusted and valued companion to Robert Peary.



Matthew Henson, with one of his dog sledges, at the North Pole.



Eskimo dogs who reached the North Pole.

The North Pole

When Peary reached the North Pole, April 6, 1909, Henson was the only one of his countrymen who was with him.

The other four men were Eskimos.

Henson did not realize immediately that they had arrived at the North Pole.

But when they had finished building the igloos, to make a camp, he noticed Peary take a small package from under his thick fur outer garments.

It was Peary's old silk American flag.

He fastened the flag to a staff.

He planted the staff on top of his igloo.

And then Matthew Henson knew that their goal had been reached.

The Stars and Stripes waved as if they were proud of what Robert Peary and his trusted Matthew Henson had accomplished.

The Stars and Stripes were proud too, of the four Eskimos who had braved many dangers so gallantly.

We hope the Stars and Stripes were proud of the brave dogs, too.

Matthew Henson wrote a book called "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole."

Some of you boys and girls, those of you who love stories of adventure, may want to read about the discovery of the North Pole in Henson's own words.

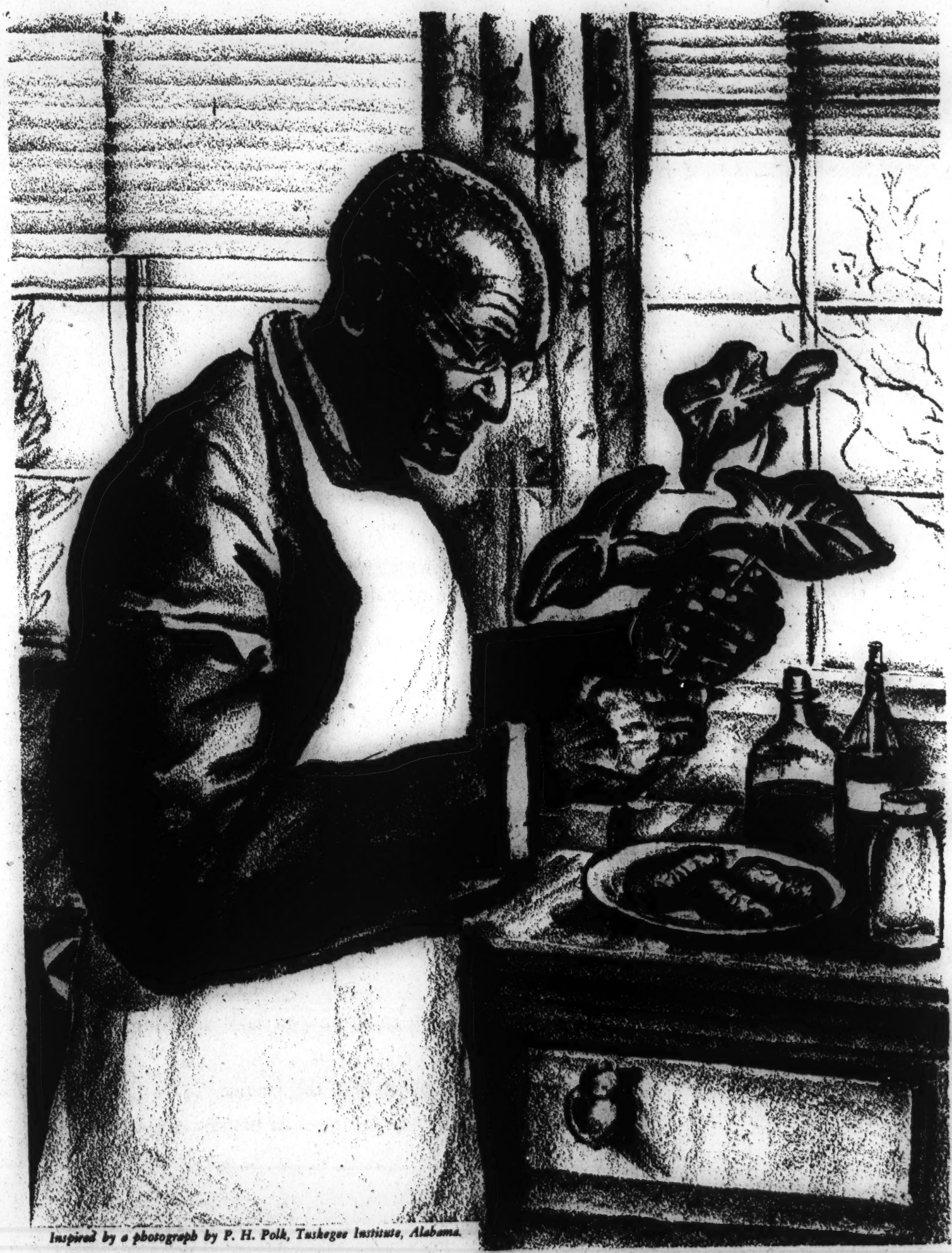
GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER

Early Childhood

George Washington Carver was born a slave on the Carver farm in Missouri in the early 1860's.
He never knew his parents.
He was brought up by his master and was given his master's name.
Later he was called George Washington because he was so honest and hard-working.
He worked as houseboy because he was not strong enough to work in the fields.
Even as a little boy he had skillful hands.
In his spare time he always went to the woods.
He loved plants and flowers and was always studying them.

School

He wanted to learn to read and write.
First he found an old speller and learned every word in it.
Then he left the Carvers and went to school in a town nearby.
At that time he had no friends and not a cent of money.
One morning, motherly Mariah Watkins found him sitting on her woodpile.
She saw that he looked shy and hungry.
She took him into her home.
She gave him love and understanding.
He already loved nature.
She taught him to love God, too.
Both Mariah Watkins and George thought he would have a better chance for schooling in Kansas than in their little town.
When he was twelve, George left for Fort Scott, Kansas.
He was very unhappy there.
He saw that Negro boys were not wanted there.



Inspired by a photograph by P. H. Polk, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

George Washington Carver examining a sweet-potato plant.

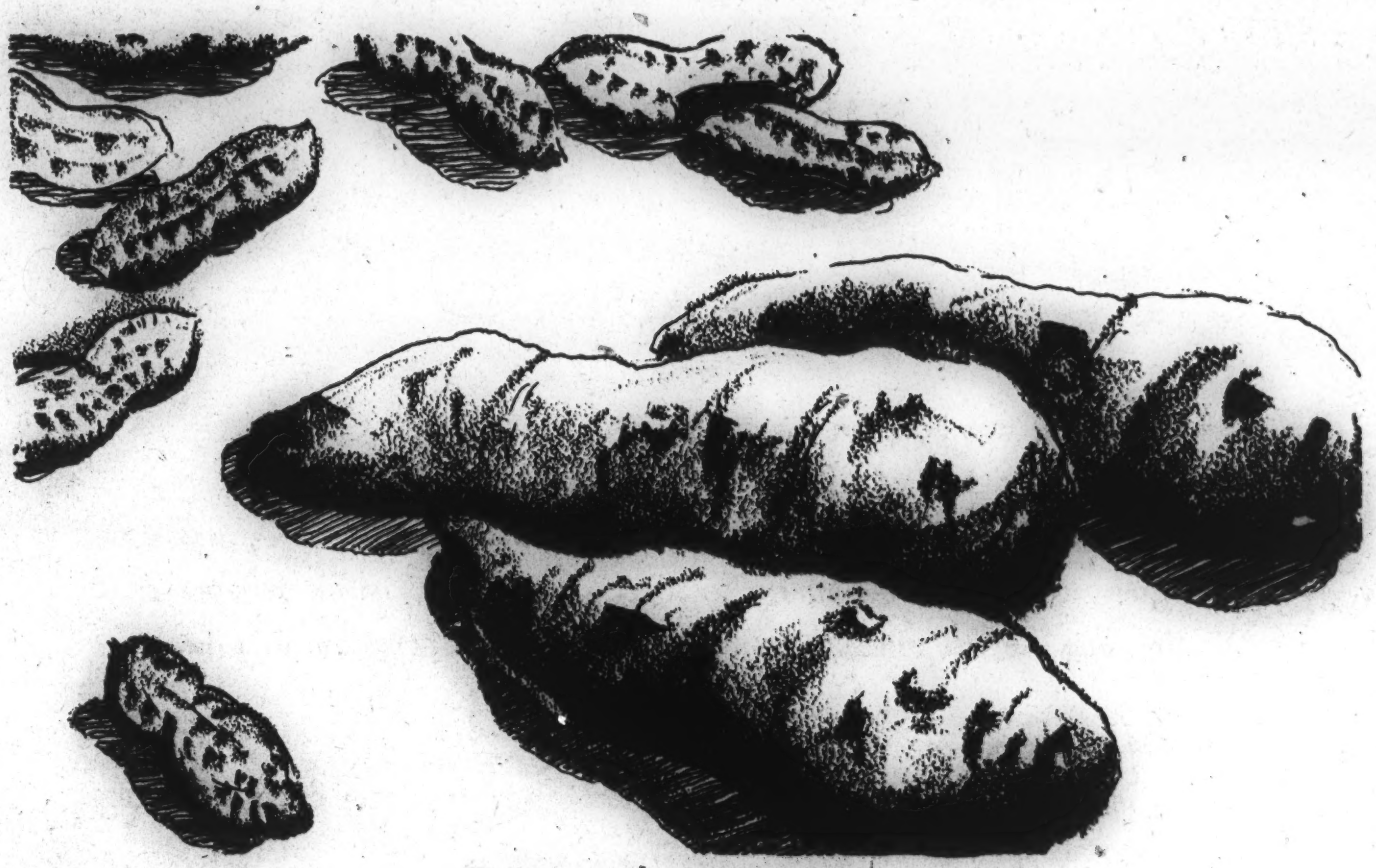
He left Fort Scott and wandered from place to place.
He earned his living by doing odd jobs.
But he always tried to learn.

College

When he was about 25, Iowa State College took him in as a student.
At first he had trouble because he was a Negro.
He was not allowed to eat in the dining hall with the students; so he became a waiter.
He was not allowed to sleep in the student dormitories; so he became a janitor of one of the college buildings.
Three years later, in 1894, he graduated first in his class.
He ate at the table of honor in the same dining hall he had not been allowed to enter when he first came to college.

Work

In 1896, Booker Washington asked Carver to come to Tuskegee College in Alabama to teach farming to the Negroes in the South.
At that time cotton was the only crop raised in Alabama.
One year the boll weevil attacked the cotton crop.
The boll weevil is a beetle that eats up the cotton.
There was no cotton to be sold that year.
So the farmers had no money to buy food.
They could not earn money because they did not know how to raise anything except cotton.
Carver showed them how to raise the sweet potato and the peanut.
But what could people do with with sweet potatoes and peanuts besides eating them, the farmers asked?
Carver at first could not answer.



Peanuts and sweet potatoes.

He went to his laboratory and worked long hours daily for months and years.

From the peanut came butter, cheese, candy and axle grease — 300 products in all.

From the sweet potato came starch, vinegar, ink, molasses — 118 products in all.

The farmers sold their crops and made money.

Success

The sweet potato and the peanut made Carver famous.

He is called "Sweet Potato Wizard." That means sweet potato magician.

Have you ever seen a magician take a rabbit out of an empty hat?

Carver was the magician who took sweet potatoes and peanuts out of soil in which only cotton had been grown.

Great honors came to him in his old age.

It would take many pages to tell you all he did that was good and useful in the long years of his life.

He worked not for his own glory but to serve his fellow men.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

On the Farm

Mary McLeod was born on a small cotton farm in South Carolina.
She was the first child of a family of 17 to be born in freedom.
Her first memories, she says, are of hard work and family prayer.
She grew up to believe nothing could be done without work and prayer.
By the time she was nine she could pick 250 pounds of cotton in a day.

Once Mary visited some white children.
When she picked up a book, one child said to her, "Put that down. You can't read."
That is when Mary made up her mind to learn to read.
That is when she first thought that all her people should learn to read.

When Mary was nine, some people from the North started a small school for Negro children.
From then on nothing ever kept Mary away from school.
For six years she walked five miles to school and five miles home again, every day.
At the end of six years the school could teach her nothing more.

Off To School

How Mary prayed for more education!
She prayed for a chance to learn and help others to learn too.
As if in answer to her prayer, a stranger offered to send her to Scotia Seminary in North Carolina.
In those days going away to school was a great event in the rural South.
Mary had always helped her neighbors and they loved her for it.

Mary McLeod, as a little girl, picking cotton in the fields.

Now the neighbors helped her to get ready to go away to school.
Some knitted socks, others made dresses for her.
When the great day came, family and neighbors took her to the train.
With blessings and tears she was sent on her way.

At Scotia Seminary she learned many things.
Her Negro teachers and her white teachers loved her and she loved them.
She was very popular with her school mates.
They called her "Dick" and came to her with all their troubles.
After she had finished school, she taught for seven years.
Then she married a teacher, Albertus Bethune.

A School Of Her Own

She could see that the schools in which she had taught, did not understand the needs of her people.
She thought her people should learn to read and write and do sums.
She thought they should learn to farm and work with their hands.
She thought they should learn how to keep clean and healthy.

So Mary McLeod Bethune started a school of her own in Florida.
She started it with a class of six children in a little four-room cottage.
She started her school with only $1.65 in her pocket.
Mary and her pupils had to make something out of nothing.
They searched the dumps behind the big hotels.
They mended the broken furniture and the torn linen that they found.

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE

That little school has grown to be Bethune-Cookman College, one of the very good colleges of the deep South.

I wish I could tell you all that Mary McLeod Bethune has done for the boys and girls of her race, and for the men and women, too.

Maybe you yourselves will want to find out more about the little farm girl who grew into so great a leader of her people.

Curtis and Cookman Halls; Bethune-Cookman College.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

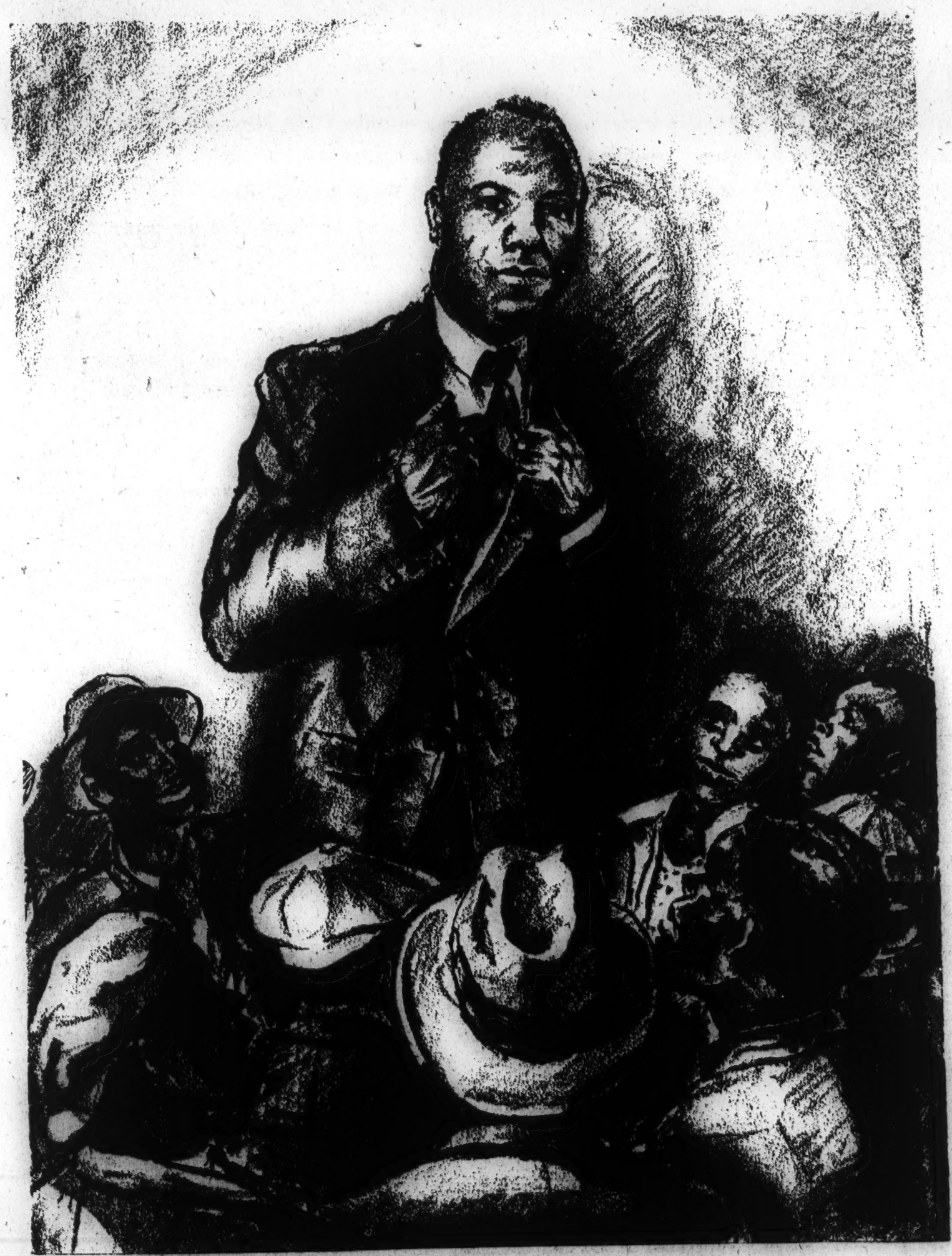
Negroes think of A. Philip Randolph almost as of a saint.
They have reason to think of him as a saint.
He fought the first fight for Negro working people.
He thought fair treatment for his people the most important thing in the world.

His Boyhood

Randolph was born in Florida in 1889, the son of a very poor minister.
His father was a great reader.
His sons were great readers too.
Randolph and his brother both had to start earning money when they were very young boys.
Between jobs they went to school!

When they reached high school age they went to Cookman Institute.
Cookman Institute later became part of Mary Bethune's College.
Randolph was a very earnest student.
He was a serious boy and young man.
He almost never played.
Nothing ever stopped him from finishing what he began.

After high school he went North where he lived by doing odd jobs.
One of his first jobs was as a waiter on the Fall River Line.
On his boat he tried to get the waiters to ask for better living quarters.
The manager overheard him. He lost his job!
But he kept right on fighting for better working conditions for the Negroes.
He lost many jobs. He didn't care.
He did not want success just for himself.
He wanted it for his people.



A. Philip Randolph talking to some of the Pullman Company workers.

THE "MESSENGER"

In 1917 he and a friend of his started a paper called "The Messenger."
"The Messenger" fought for equality for the Negro.
"The Messenger" fought to have Negro and White treated alike.
Soon many people were talking and thinking about Randolph and his paper.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

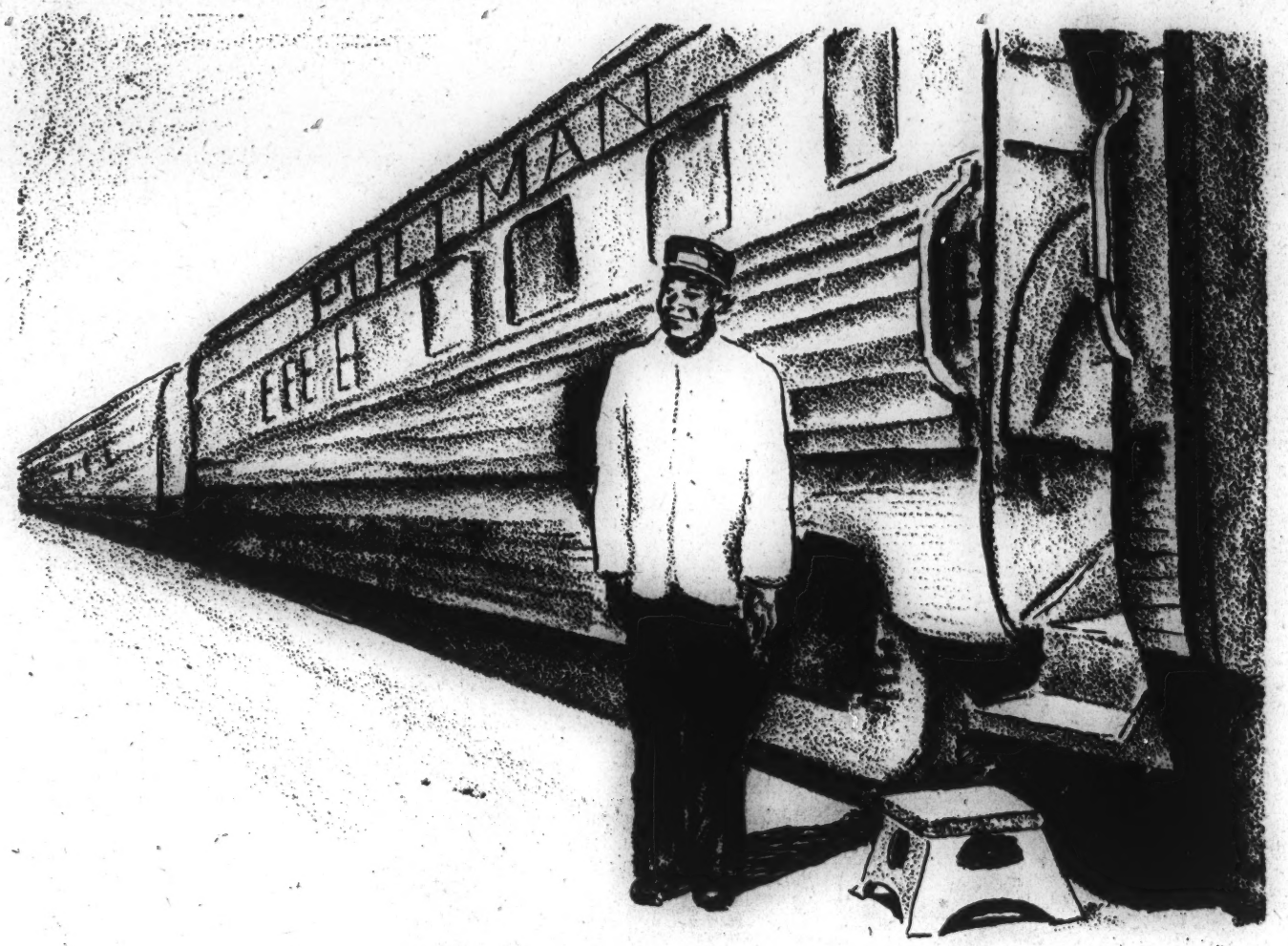
Through his work on the paper, he heard of the unfair treatment Pullman porters and maids were given by the Pullman Company.
They had to work 10 to 14 hours a day.
They only earned about $80 a month, and had to pay for their meals and uniforms out of that.
Many of the maids and porters had families to support.

In 1925, Randolph and a few other men had a meeting.
At this meeting they decided to help the Pullman workers.
To do this, they decided to form a Union.
Randolph was chosen head of the new Union.
In a Union, many men of the same trade get together to make their employers give them better pay, shorter hours, or sometimes both.
The Union of which Randolph was chosen head, was called the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It was hard work to make the Union grow.
Many porters were afraid to join it.
They thought they might lose their jobs if they joined the Union.
The Pullman Company fought the Union.

The Union Succeeds

But Randolph kept on fighting too, and finally success came.
Many porters joined the Union.
Newspapers supported it. So did churches.



Pullman Car and Pullman Porter.

In 1937, the Pullman Company signed an agreement with the Brotherhood.
Porters and maids were given much larger wages.
Hours were made shorter.
Randolph became a hero to his people.

He is still fighting for equality for everyone.
He says that this war is a fight for a free world and fair treatment for all people.
Our Government has listened to Randolph and to other leaders, Negro and white.
Our government has formed a committee whose business it is to see that defense jobs are open to all workers, no matter what their color.

His people love Randolph and have the greatest faith in him.
He has never broken a promise to them.
More than any other Negro leader he has fought for equality for all peoples in America.
He has done much not only for the Negroes, but for his whole country.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH BIOGRAPHICAL FILE PRINTED MATTER 1955-58

(2)

People You Should Know

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE name of this feature should certainly be changed if we include such a world-renowned figure as Asa Philip Randolph. Undoubtedly there is not a man, woman or child in the nation who has not at some time heard of him or come under his influence.

The Who's Who lists him merely as "a labor leader," which, of course, in the Murray-Lewis-Reuther tradition, he is, but with one major difference. His job has been this—and also a lot more, for he has performed a Moses-like role, of wise, honest, unselfish leadership, without which the result would have been catastrophic. And we have not used these particular adjectives lightly. His wisdom, as to results have shown, is unchallenged; his honesty, even the Communists, who hate him most, won't question and his unselfishness is so widely known and accepted that it is a vital part of the great Randolph legend.

His Florida birth comes as a great surprise to many as does the fact that he received his early schooling there. Well-known for his cultured, careful speech, academic profundity, and overall poise on the platform, as well as face to face, it would appear that he was a Rhodes scholar or at least a Harvard Ph. D. An omnivorous reader, blessed at birth with an unusual mind, he has made the most of his natural attributes and emerged as scholar and philosopher, respected everywhere. He holds honorary degrees from New York City College and Howard and has written countless brochures on the topics which were of current concern to him. He is now writing his memoirs.

As is well known, his greatest contribution is since 1925, the founding, presidency, and firm, forthright, honest guidance of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a distinguished AFL union. However, even more Americans were affected by his "founding" of a great idea, to put it simply, that of fair employment practices. During the depression days he had been a member of New York City Mayor LaGuardia's Commission on Conditions in Harlem. He witnessed the dark rumblings and the ugly threats, saw solutions sought in dangerous waters, heard ugly panaceas proffered, but with characteristic balance and courage, he saw only one solution, fair employment. He organized the March on Washington [illegible] ment and, as a respe[illegible] time advisor to Presidents and other public officials, his advice was not disregarded.

The march on Washington was called off. In its place the country had President Roosevelt's executive order 8802, establishing the war-time Committee on Fair Employment Practices. But, of course, it established very much more than that, for it was in essence a broader extension of the democratic ethic which came at a crucial time—a time when one shudders even in retrospect what might have happened without it.

There is one more thing for which I believe history will record Phil Randolph. In addition to being maker of unions and of extended democratic concepts, he is also [illegible] men in the [illegible] shown [illegible] recor[illegible]

Pittsburgh Courier

4-3-55

LABOR LEADER A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH chats with Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, left, co-chairman, at the NAACP Freedom dinner, in New York City, recently. At right is Mrs. John H. Johnson of Chicago.

The African American - Dec. 6, 1958 p.12

1959-6

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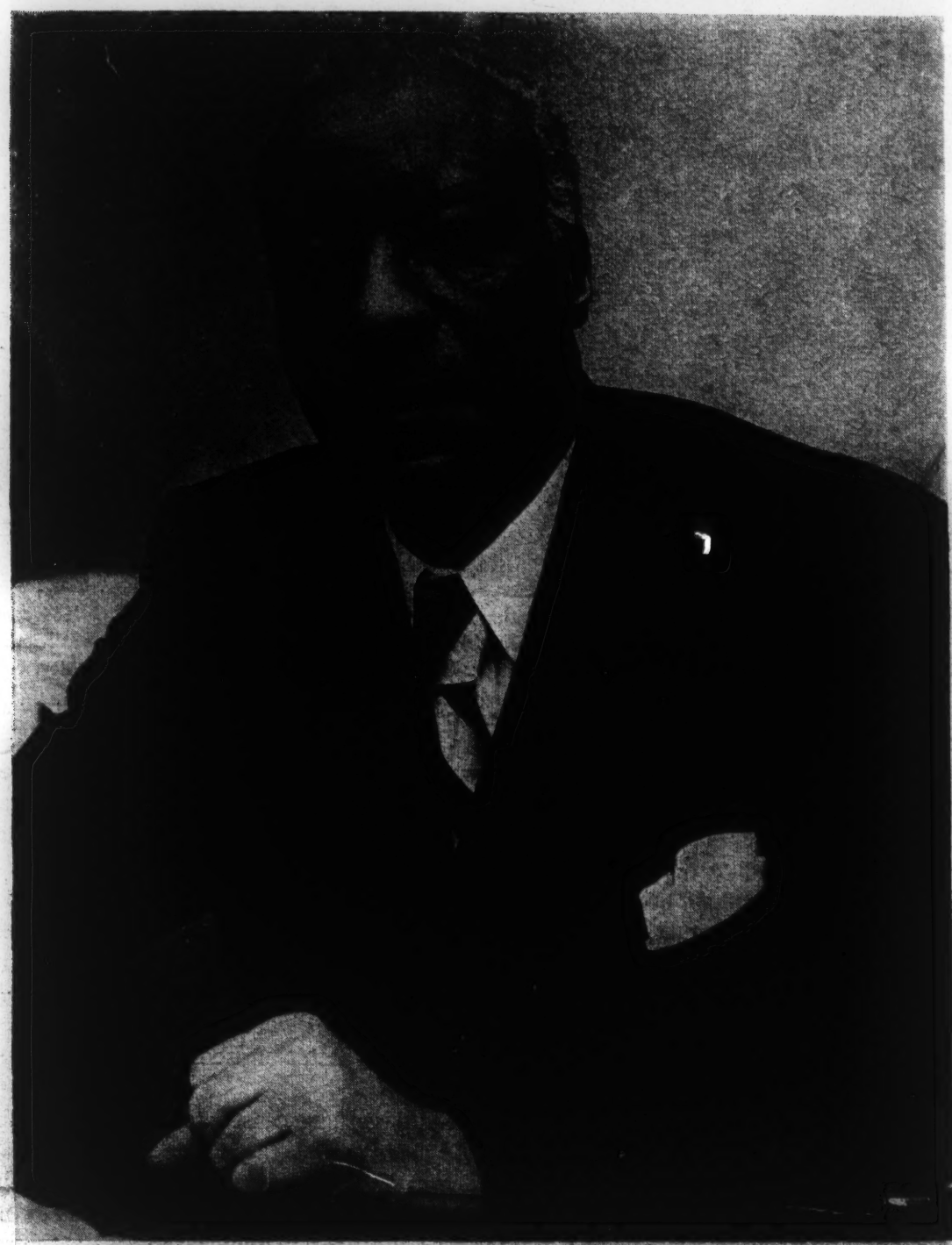
EBONY MAGAZINE - NOVEMBER, 1958

A. Philip Randolph:

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS

No. one leader has met with four U.S. Presidents in 33 years



A. Philip Randolph, President International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice president, rates (see box below) for EBONY, last five U. S. Presidents on basis of their personal stands on Negro problems. Randolph planned a children's march on Washington this fall.

RANDOLPH RATES THE PRESIDENTS

1st.
Harry S. Truman
". . . did a very good job on civil rights . . . had convictions but he had to be moved to do something about them."

2nd.
Dwight D. Eisenhower
". . . he left me with the feeling that he would do the right thing."

3rd.
Franklin D. Roosevelt
". . . he was neither pro nor con on the Negro problem."

4th.
Calvin Coolidge
"He didn't say a word. He just sat there listening."

5th.
Herbert Hoover
"He took no significant action in protection of the Negro's rights."

BY ALLAN MORRISON

IF FROM among present-day Negro leaders one man should be selected to stand above the others as the most respected and authoritative spokesman for his people, there is pretty general agreement across the country today that Asa Philip Randolph, the tall, imperious and electrically eloquent president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is the logical choice. Now a mellow but still dynamic 69, Randolph emerged this year as the unquestioned No. 1 leader of the nation's 17 million Negroes.

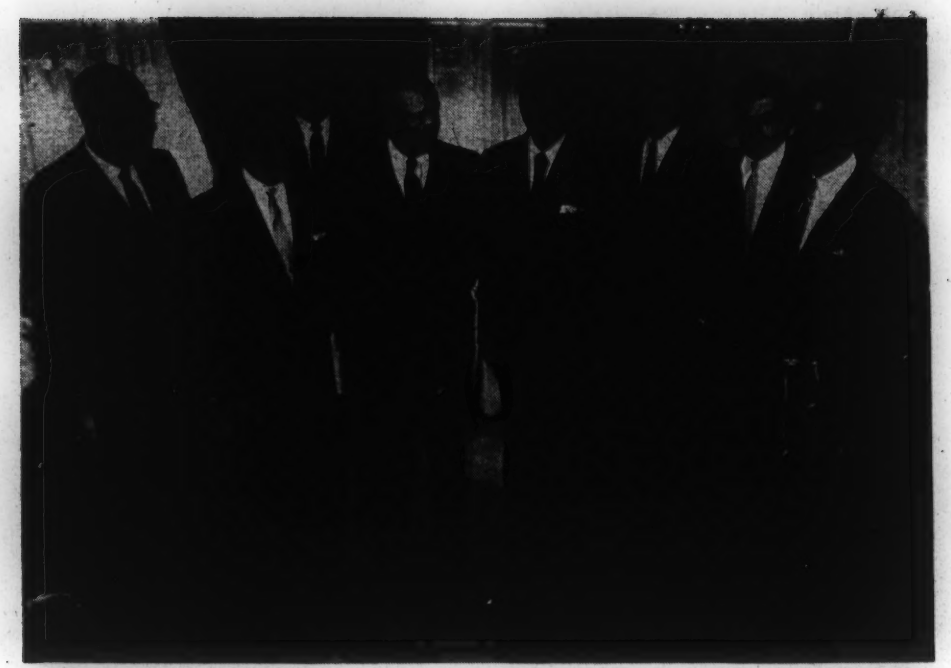
Randolph's stature as the pre-eminent leader of the Negro people can be measured by a significant honor accorded him by his three colleagues of the Big Four delegation of Negro leaders prior to the June 23 conference with President Eisenhower. The other leaders comprising the delegation, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, National Urban League Executive Director Lester B. Granger and Southern Leadership Conference President the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., unanimously and unhesitatingly chose the gray-haired labor leader to be lead-off spokesman for the group, to read a prepared statement on the civil rights crisis and present a nine-point program of action.

He had not sought this role of key spokesman for an entire minority, nor had he by deliberate preplanning promoted himself to leadership. The role of elder statesman had been assigned to him by acclamation. The mantle of the patriarch has descended on him through a process of selection based on achievement. He wears it lightly, seemingly indifferent alike to the jeers of his detractors and the ecstatic applause of his followers.

The pivotal role Randolph now plays in the life and leadership of America's Negro millions was reemphasized by his contribution to the June 23 meeting at the White House. Why was he designated to be the spokesman for so many? "Because he was the senior among us not only in terms of age but national prestige," explained Lester Granger. "Mr. Randolph was known on the national scene before any of us in that delegation, and before Martin Luther King Jr. was born." Roy

Continued on Next Page

1948 conference with President Truman included Negro leaders (standing, l. to r.): E. Henderson, B. Mays, W. Townsend, Randolph, Bishop Bell, D. Davis, C. Johnson, C. Tobias (rear), R. Booker, L. Granger. Seated: M. Bethune, Truman, W. White.



1958 conference with President Eisenhower brought Negro leaders Granger, Martin L. King, Randolph, Roy Wilkins together with White House Admin. Officer Morrow, Atty. Gen. Rogers, Spec. Asst. Siciliano to discuss school integration and civil rights.

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS Continued

Wilkins of the NAACP adds: "We felt he was the best qualified by long experience, knowledge of the problems, forthright position and because he is so articulate."

For over 40 years Randolph has worked to hasten "the process of peaceful advancement toward equality of citizenship for all Americans," as editor, orator, labor organizer and spokesman for the masses of Negroes. From the still, small voice of a young Socialist firebrand without a mass following, he has advanced resolutely through four decades of bitter, uncompromising struggles to the point where he can sit across the table from a President of the United States and convey the mood, spell out the demands of millions.

Face-to-face meetings with U. S. Presidents have long ceased to be overly impressive experiences for him. In 33 years he has participated in conferences of Negro leaders held with four Presidents.

His first Presidential encounter occurred in 1925 when he was a zealous and angry young man of 35. It was the year in which the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was formed in a Harlem recreation hall, 17 Negroes were lynched and John Calvin Coolidge had just commenced his second term of office. The delegation was headed by W. Monroe Trotter, fiery editor of The Boston Guardian. As junior member of the group Randolph said not a word, except to acknowledge an introduction to the President. Trotter did the talking and concentrated on the problem of lynching which was the most acute national grievance Negroes had at that time. He was forceful and impressive, demanded governmental action and protection of the rights of Negroes in the South.

Randolph's most vivid recollection of the conference was of Coolidge's impassive exterior and uncommunicative behavior. "Coolidge didn't say a word," Randolph remembers. "He just sat there, listening, betraying no emotion whatever. There was no way to determine what his stand on the racial problem was, but he received us cordially." Coolidge finally broke his silence as the delegation was filing out. While governor of Massachusetts he had come to know Trotter as an ardent advocate of Negro rights, and as the editor passed him, he asked him quietly: "Trotter, how are things back home?" Trotter answered, "All right, all right, Mr. President."

Glancing backward at the incident, Randolph regards it as somewhat amusing that Coolidge's one comment should have been so far removed from the purposes for which the delegation had gone to Washington.

Randolph's estimation of Coolidge is more charitable now than it was in the days when he was a fire-eating Socialist. "Coolidge did nothing noteworthy for the Negro or civil rights," he says. "He made no significant Negro appointments so far as I can recall nor any statements showing he supported the demands for equality Negroes were making at the time. But he was not hostile to Negroes and their interests."

Fifteen years passed before A. Philip Randolph confronted another President in the famous oval study in the executive mansion on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue. He had no contact with Herbert Hoover during his 1928-32 administration. A few years ago both Randolph and Hoover spoke from the same platform in Philadelphia but did not meet. Like Coolidge before him, Randolph gives Hoover very low marks for civil rights accomplishments and contributions to Negro advance. "Hoover," he says coldly, "made no Negro appointments I consider important, and I know of no significant action he ever took in protection of the Negro's rights in this country. He did nothing outstanding to help the forward march of Negroes either politically or economically, and made no statements in support of civil rights or other legislation needed by Negroes."

Randolph's encounters with Franklin D. Roosevelt produced some of the keenest sparring and toughest bargaining he has ever been involved in or witnessed. Of all the Presidents he has known, FDR stands out as the consummate showman and superb strategist. To Randolph, Roosevelt represented the perfect blending of statesman and politician, a fusion of the high-minded idealist with the rapier-witted tactician who knew how to maneuver with the machine bosses. They met only three times but each session was alive with drama, memorable not only for what took place at the time but for momentous action that followed.

The first meeting with Roosevelt was held Sept. 27, 1940, amid the darkening atmosphere of war in Europe and growing certainty of U. S. involvement. Randolph's colleagues, now both dead, were Walter White, then NAACP executive secretary, and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League. The mission of the Big Three of Negro leadership at the time was to tell the President of nation-wide resentment among Negro citizens to racial segregation in the armed services and to propose immediate and total abolition of military Jim Crow. The conference was unsuccessful in influencing changes in segregated use of Negro soldiers and sailors, but it afforded Randolph the first close-up view of FDR's flamboyant conference technique.

Says Randolph: "FDR's method was to take over a White House conference the minute the delegation entered his office. He took the offensive immediately and promptly began telling us that we didn't know what we wanted. He did practically all the talking, using plenty of anecdotes. He was a very impressive personality in action, possessed of inimitable charm, warmth and enthusiasm for his own point of view. When it was all over he left you with the feeling that you had gotten something when you didn't really have a thing. As a rule he saw to it that nobody who came to see him left with any real antagonism."

Nine months later Randolph returned to the White House prepared to cope with FDR's florid style and determined not merely to have his say but to force concessions from the government of the most powerful nation on earth. He had spent the interval between the two presidential conferences building a new movement of protest and pressure aimed at winning for Negroes a fair share of the jobs in the nation's burgeoning war industries. This was the March on Washington Movement, organized by Randolph and a few close colleagues early in 1941, which appealed to the nation's Negroes for united action which would wrest from the government an enforceable policy of Fair Employment Practices in the defense industries.

In speeches and articles published in Negro newspapers, Randolph

Continued on Page 106

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Kongolene

A great orator, AFL-CIO Vice President Randolph possesses winning combination of imposing appearance, forceful delivery, fluent command of language and deep "Harvard" voice, although his only degree is honorary one given him by Howard U.

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS *Continued*

explained the aims of the movement and urged Negroes to support it. Within a few months local March on Washington committees were formed in a number of cities. The movement drew the core of its support from NAACP membership, many MOW committees being composed almost exclusively of local NAACP workers. Plans for a mass march on the national capitol were drawn up and Randolph predicted that a minimum of 50,000 Negroes would converge on Washington. FDR was irked by Randolph's threats and frankly fearful of the consequences to Washington's well-being and the nation's prestige at a time of crisis. The President ordered his aides to have the march called off but Randolph was adamant. Sensing that FDR was alarmed, he intensified pressure on the Administration. It brought results in the form of an invitation from the President to come to Washington and talk things over.

On June 18, 1941 Randolph and Walter White were ushered into the presence of the great man and asked to sit down. FDR was flanked by an entourage of aides and advisers, that included two cabinet ministers and the late Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York City. The President started with his usual flourish, indicating that he intended to dominate the discussion from first to last, but Randolph would have none of it. After FDR had rambled a few minutes, Randolph stopped him dead and took over. "Mr. President," he said, his voice rising ominously, "we want specifically to talk to you about the problems of jobs for Negroes in the defense industries." FDR listened while Randolph told of color discrimination practiced by industries receiving government war contracts, and went on to predict that unless the government ordered such bias stopped a March on Washington would be held to dramatize national Negro feeling about the situation.

The grim implications of Randolph's prediction brought Roosevelt down to a more receptive mood. The President asked sharp, probing questions about the scope and nature of the projected march. He was particularly interested in how many Negroes would show up for it. "We expect to have 100,000 people there," Randolph coolly asserted and FDR was clearly disturbed. He addressed Randolph with first-name familiarity. "Phil," he remonstrated, "you can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington. We can't have that. There'll be trouble. Somebody might get killed." FDR pleaded for patience from the Negro leaders and the avoidance of any kind of demonstration that might lead to violence. "There won't be any violence, Mr. President," Randolph answered quietly. "Nothing will happen. We want you to address the marchers."

History records that Roosevelt, of course, did not address the marchers, that the March On Washington was cancelled after its objective of a satisfactory FEPC order had been drafted, approved and issued. Unwilling to capitulate to such formidable minority pressure, FDR appealed to Randolph and White to stop the march in return for a personal promise of better treatment of Negro workers in war industries. "We can't stop the March without an executive order forbidding such discrimination," Randolph insisted. FEPC Executive Order 8802,

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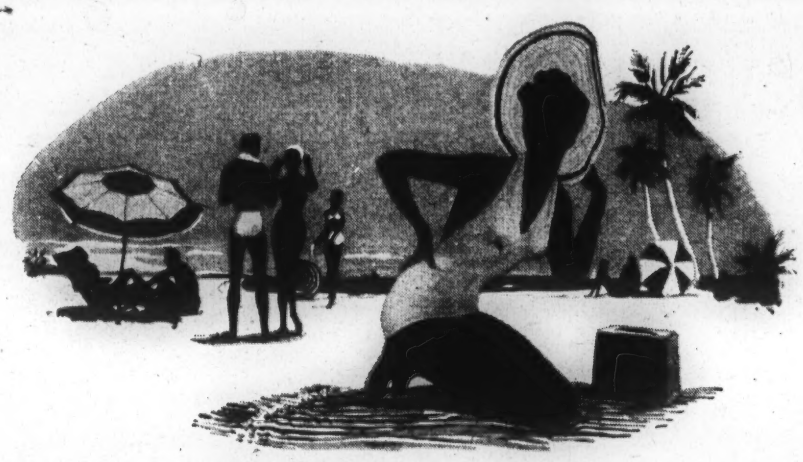

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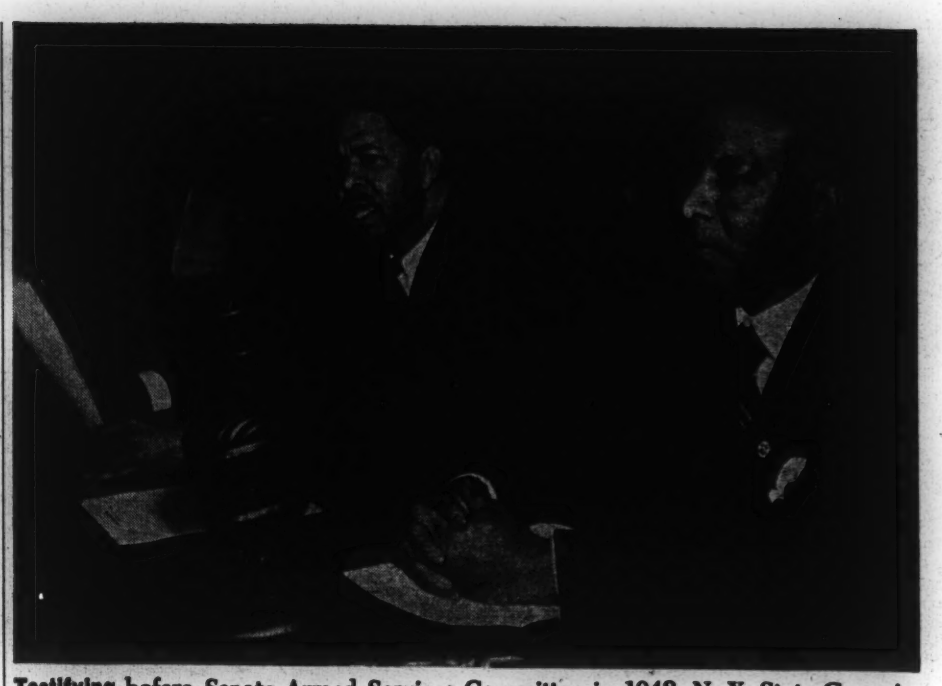

Testifying before Senate Armed Services Committee in 1948, N. Y. State Commissioner of Correction Grant Reynolds and Randolph protest racial segregation. Union leader promised Negroes would not register or serve under draft in Jim Crow army.

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS *Continued*

which Randolph describes as "the most significant and meaningful U. S. government declaration affecting Negroes since the Emancipation Proclamation," was worked out in a conference held in an office adjoining the President's study by the Negro leaders and Administration representatives headed by LaGuardia. In these negotiations Randolph proved uncompromising, insisting that the government must be included in the wording of the order. FDR finally agreed to Randolph's version and the FEPC order became a reality.

The FEPC victory was a triumph engineered by Randolph and a monument to his pluck, persistence, skill as a negotiator and willingness to gamble. Years later he admitted that he had risked all in convincing Roosevelt that an enormous protest demonstration by Negroes would automatically follow the government's refusal to issue an FEPC order.

"We weren't sure of a 100,000 turnout for the March on Washington," he admits with a chuckle today. "We weren't sure of 10,000." It was a magnificent bluff, played with superb skill and timing by two seasoned gladiators opposed to an exceptional President who was compelled to surrender to a combination of heavy pressure and irresistible logic.

FDR's capacity for compromise under pressure was probably his greatest quality, Randolph thinks, but he classifies him as neutral on the racial issue. "Roosevelt was neither pro nor con on the Negro problem," he says. "I doubt that he knew very much about Negroes and their problems. He had a wide grasp of other problems but little understanding of the Negro question. Of course, an important reason for his inaction on civil rights and his seeming indifference to the Negro's special problems was his determination not to alienate his Southern supporters in Congress. FDR was a very great man, despite this, for he built the structure of the American welfare state."

Conferences with Harry S. Truman during the latter's years in the White House gave Randolph excellent opportunities to study the man and understand his ideas, but they also helped generate vital action by the administration which led to the wiping out of segregation in the nation's armed forces. His first meeting with President Truman was as a member of a delegation of Negro leaders which included Dr. Benjamin F. Mays of Morehouse College and the late Mary McLeod Bethune. Randolph found him to be a man possessed of strong convictions about the Negro's rights which he freely and forthrightly expressed to the Negro leaders in conference.

The second 1948 conference with Truman in which Randolph participated dealt solely with segregation in the armed services and the urgent need to end it. He was chief spokesman for a Negro leaders delegation for the first time in his career and ably presented the case against continuing Jim Crow. For the second time Randolph used a potent pressure weapon against a U. S. President to strengthen the struggle for integration, and it provoked Truman to a surprising display of anger.

Tempers flared and the talk became heated when Randolph told Truman that Negroes were sick and resentful of segregation and were prepared to fight it with every weapon possible, including mass civil

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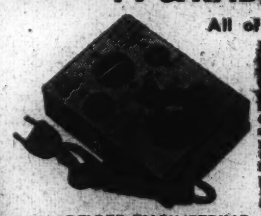

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Continued on Page 110

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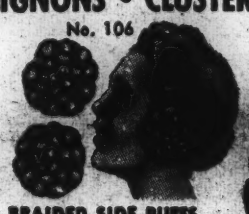

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Picketing Democratic National Convention (Philadelphia, 1948), Randolph leads demonstration demanding equal rights and anti-Jim Crow plank in platform. He chaired League For Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS *Continued*

disobedience. He said he would personally advise young Negroes to refuse to register or serve in a Jim Crow army. Truman fumed and flushed, interpreting Randolph's words as an advocacy of treasonable conduct. "Truman," Randolph recalls, "was a little shaken up by what I said."

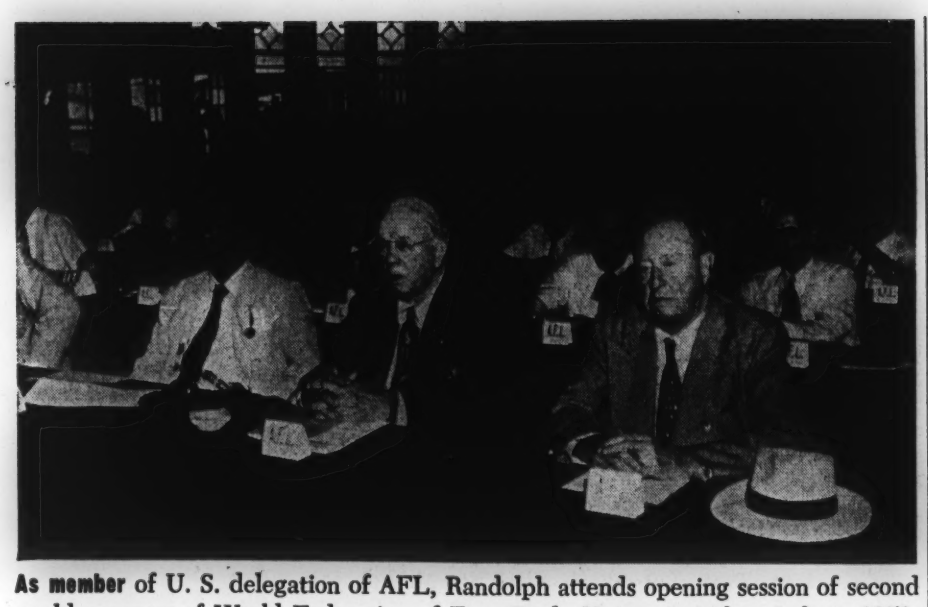
In the weeks that followed, A. Philip Randolph followed up his threat to President Truman by calling for a mass campaign of civil disobedience against the segregated military services. Confident of eventual victory, Randolph kept up the pressure. Now he explains: "We were in a strong position and knew it. In the second conference with Truman our delegation bargained from a position of strength."

Later Randolph went before the Senate's Armed Services Committee and announced that unless Congress passed legislation ending color discrimination and segregation in the services he would advise young Negroes and other Americans to engage in civil disobedience; millions of Negroes would refuse to register or serve in the Universal Military Training system. ". . . The government now has time to change its policy on segregation and discrimination in the interests of the very democracy it is fighting for," he stated under questioning by Sen. Wayne Morse who sought to interpret his stand as treason. Randolph refused to budge. "I would advocate that Negroes take no part in the army."

On July 26, 1948, Executive Order #9981 was signed by President Truman, setting up the Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces. From its labors a report was produced which charted the services-wide program of desegregation now completed. Though Randolph's campaign was not the sole reason for formation of the Fahy Committee, it helped swing Administration opinion behind service integration. Once the committee had started its work, Randolph called off his civil disobedience campaign. He had contributed to another victory, a milestone toward the second Negro Emancipation from segregation.

Of all the Presidents he has known, Harry S. Truman impressed Randolph most for his sincere support of the Negro's claims to equality and belief in civil rights. "Truman did a very good job on civil rights," he states, "although he probably wouldn't have done it if he had not been placed under great public pressure. Truman had convictions but he had to be moved to do something about them. Politicians don't move unless you move them. This is the cardinal principle of effective social, economic and political action."

He has warm, kind feelings toward President Eisenhower whom he describes as "an honest, sincere, dedicated man who has a lot of humanitarianism in his heart and soul." His comparison of Eisenhower with Roosevelt and Truman is not shared by most of today's Negro leaders. "President Eisenhower is no less liberal than FDR and Truman and certainly no less knowledgeable. I found the President to be a friendly, gracious and generous man. He left me with the feeling that he will do the right thing, that he will uphold the Constitution. His great devotion to the U. S. Constitution led him to send troops to Little Rock, not any immediate desire to bring about integration. The President ordered troops to Little Rock because the integrity of the constitutional system and the judicial system was at stake."



As member of U. S. delegation of AFL, Randolph attends opening session of second world congress of World Federation of Free Trade Unions in Milan, Italy in 1951. Labor leader was guest of honor at many receptions in Paris while on way to meet.

Conferring with Presidents is the most glamourous function of a Negro leader but White House meetings are arranged with great difficulty and after long intervals of time. Leadership, as A. Philip Randolph sees it, consists of grimly exhausting, unattractive, tedious, around-the-clock day-to-day activity. "Leaders don't have the real strength," he says. "The people have it. Leaders come and go; they reflect the strength, hopes and aspirations of the people they lead."

Randolph's job of leadership is uncentralized. The bulk of his time is devoted to his year-round job of president of the 13,000-member Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and his headquarters is a spacious room in the Brotherhood's office overlooking the heart of Harlem. His fame as an orator has become so great that each year he is swamped with far more invitations to make speeches than he can possibly accept, even if he were to devote full-time to speaking engagements, which he cannot do.

Union business, speaking engagements and conferences keep him steadily on the move, his travel mileage averaging over 50,000 miles a year. Throughout the year he attends innumerable regional meetings of the Brotherhood, which is his primary concern and basic organizational responsibility. For a number of years now he has been a vice-president of the NAACP, a position which entitles him to attend all meetings of its board of directors. He is currently the only Negro vice-president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and a member of its 29-man executive council.

Still a socialist by philosophy, Randolph rarely nowadays preaches the socialist doctrine as an answer to society's ills. During World War II he withdrew from the party because he disagreed with its opposition to U. S. participation in the war, but he is still a member of the Social Democratic Federation.

Randolph, like many an aging radical, does not reject his total past but is convinced that changing conditions call for new techniques and weapons in the struggle for the great causes in which he still believes so passionately. "I do consider myself a radical," he says, thoughtfully. "A radical seeks to get at the root of things. I suppose I am more conservative than I used to be. Everybody grows less radical as they grow older. The radicals of yesterday are the liberals of today, and the liberals of today are the conservatives of tomorrow. How do I describe myself? I'm a radical liberal, a militant on the Negro question."

For most of his life A. Philip Randolph has been a rebel with a succession of causes. Early in his life he experienced the disadvantages imposed by being both a Southern Negro and poor. He was born in Crescent City, Fla., into a family headed by an underpaid minister of the A.M.E. Church, and worked as a messenger boy, grocery clerk, truck driver and railroad section hand. After high school in Jacksonville, he headed for New York City where he registered for economics and philosophy courses at City College. As a boy he was always hungry for learning and in New York, new, rich worlds of reading and study unfolded before him. In libraries and rented rooms he feasted on books of all kinds but in order to eat and pay his rent he took jobs as a waiter, porter and elevator operator. In 1914 he married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia schoolteacher.

An important avenue of expression for him was The Messenger, a monthly magazine with a radical editorial policy which he founded in 1917 and co-edited for 10 years with a dear friend and fellow Negro

Continued on Next Page

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In office of president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, top officers planning union strategy are (seated): Randolph, Ashley L. Totten, William H. Bowe, B. F. McLaurin, O. W. Bynum; (standing): Theodore E. Brown, Thomas Patterson.

DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS *Continued*

intellectual, Chandler Owen. For vigorously opposing the participation of the U. S. in World War I, Randolph was arrested in Cleveland in 1918 and held for several days before being released. His brief imprisonment brought his name before millions throughout the country and caused him to be denounced by conservatives as a dangerous agitator. Randolph's stay in the Cleveland jail strengthened his convictions, made him more militant. By the close of World War I he had firmly decided on what course his career would take and the nature of his life objectives. Preaching the gospel of labor organization and drawing Negroes into the American labor movement were to be his chief aims in life.

During World War I, young Randolph began his career as a labor organizer and met with two decisive failures. A union of elevator operators which he launched in New York City did not survive, and an attempt to unionize Negro shipyard workers in Virginia fell flat. Undiscouraged, Randolph turned his attention to the problem of the country's unorganized sleeping car porters and in 1925 met with a group of them to form the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph was elected president of the Brotherhood which became the first all-Negro union to receive an international charter from the A.F. of L.

It required 30 years for Randolph to win recognition as an equal from U. S. labor's leaders and to be given a vice-president's place on the Executive Council of the A.F. of L.-C.I.O. But he got there finally through unrelenting use of those qualities for which he is best-known—brilliant logic, stubborn insistence on principle, sheer grit and an admirable flair for shrewd horse-trading. The amazing advance of Negro labor proceeded hand in hand with Randolph's remarkable rise to eminence as an influential figure in the house of labor and a persuasive spokesman for his people.

Economic statistics can be eloquent, and the record of gains by the nation's Negro workers in three decades tells an impressive story in which Randolph played a leading part. In 1925 there were less than 25,000 Negro workers in labor unions; today there are over 1½ million. The total number of international and national trade unions barring Negroes from membership by constitutional provision was 22 just 20 years ago; today there are only three. The differential in income between white and Negro industrial workers has been greatly reduced. Through the turbulent years of change, A. Philip Randolph worked ceaselessly against injustice and for economic emancipation, participating in many of the bitterest controversies of his time, and moving masses of Americans with his oratory. He became a leader the hard way, in slow, tortuous stages.

A. Philip Randolph resents being regarded as an elder statesman of his people, though most of the people he most respects will readily accord him that status. "I am not an old man, my health is good and I have no intentions of retiring for some time," he says gently, his eyes twinkling shrewdly. "The art of leadership lies not only in influencing others but in interpreting what the people want and need," says Randolph when asked. "The first duty of any Negro leader is to give what direction he can by way of mobilizing the total power of the Negro in order that he may effectively wage war for complete economic, social and political equality and for first-class citizenship. I say power because in our American system power is the only thing that is respected.

Continued on Page 114

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DEAN OF NEGRO LEADERS *Continued*

This is what I've been trying to do personally from the point of view of the masses."

He is currently advocating closer common consultation between Negro leaders and spokesmen, from the top national personalities to what he calls "the grass-roots representatives." "There is a vital need for greater unity among Negroes and better coordination between the Negroes' organizations. We need to develop organizational strategy that will devise the machinery for bringing together leaders of various organizations at times of crisis to bring their sense of tactics and techniques to bear on the situation. Negroes need to put their forces behind the NAACP. The NAACP should have a million members, but it doesn't. Of course I don't believe that any one organization can create the total strategy to meet the present crisis."

Emerging from the June 23 White House conference with the President, Randolph enthusiastically told reporters that he felt the meeting had "helped re-kindle hope in the hearts of Negroes." Since that time he has enunciated a three-point emergency program to deal with the civil rights crisis:

1. Convocation by the President of a White House conference to consider and plan how to make integration work.

2. Restoration of Part III of the original Civil Rights Bill of 1957, which would give the Attorney General clear statutory authority to enforce constitutional as well as voting rights.

3. Extension of the Civil Rights Commission for another year.

"Time is short," Randolph says. "Sure we are making progress but not as rapidly as we should. We are passing through what amounts to a revolution in civil rights and we must hasten its march and give it direction. The Negroes of the United States cannot permit the vanguard freedom movements of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia to pass them by."

At times, Randolph appears fretful lest the process of desegregation slows down to a halt. He is impatient for an acceleration in the Negro's drive to full equality and also anxious for more allies to help in the struggle. He is optimistic about the future of Negro political power in the Southern states. "There are over four million potential Negro voters in the South," he says, "and this should be reached in perhaps 20 years, possibly less." He sees the election of 20 to 30 U. S. Negro congressmen from such Deep South states as Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi.

"We are going to break down all the legal barriers to the Negro's equality in this generation, perhaps within the next decade," he says confidently. "But then comes the problem of implementation. That will take a little longer."

A leader's work is never finished, Randolph believes, and once the immediate objective of desegregation has been gained, there will be new problems to solve, other challenges to meet. Meanwhile his goal is complete, absolute legal equality of all Americans and he considers his most urgent long-range task as convincing his fellow Negro citizens that they must accept nothing less.

After dinner Randolph often reads to wife Lucille (l.), who has been ill last few years. Couple lives simply in five-room upper Harlem apartment. They spend little on luxuries, do no extravagant entertaining, own neither car nor property.

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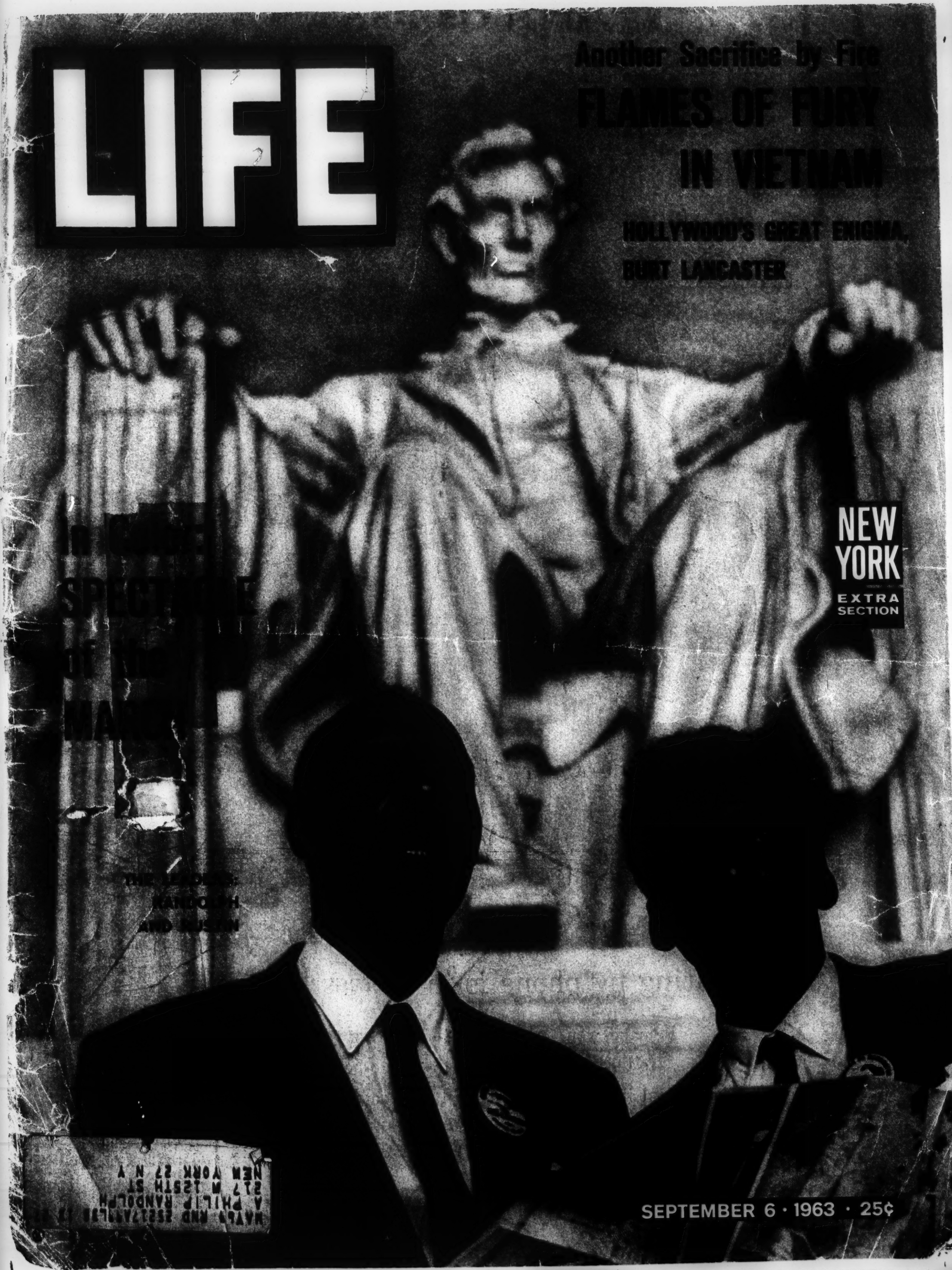


NEW YORK
EXTRA SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT ON MAN

THE LEADERS: RANDOLPH AND RUSTIN

NAVY AND 25217 ANGELES 17 CA
A PHILIP RANDOLPH
517 W 125TH ST
NEW YORK 27 N Y

SEPTEMBER 6 · 1963 · 25¢

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

PORK BARREL

Sirs:

In my judgment your article (Aug. 16) is extreme, and its philosophy is largely inconsistent with other policies and programs that your publication supports.

With respect to water resources development, the article appears to be an adroit exaggeration and distortion of facts. In every intelligent assessment it is recognized that economic wealth and prosperity are achieved through the development of our natural resources. We also know that the conservation and utilization of our natural resources materially enhance and preserve the general welfare.

It is quite significant that this type of criticism completely ignores and attempts to conceal the great wealth and prosperity that has accrued to the Ohio and other major river valleys in the nation where improvements of this character have heretofore been made. It is also noteworthy that many professed protectors of our national economy who are quick to condemn government spending for domestic water resource improvements frequently demand more and more spending abroad for the same type of projects in our foreign aid program.

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN

United States Senate

Sirs:

I believe you erred when you threw reclamation projects into this general grab bag. These projects authorized by the Reclamation Act are, if my figures are correct, being paid back in the neighborhood of 92%.

I don't deny that there is a tremendous amount of uncalled-for pork barreling projects and I have consistently voted against them. But when it comes to reclamation with the pay-back features, I can't class this in that category.

BARRY GOLDWATER

United States Senate

Sirs:

Hanging the "pork barrel" label on federal public works is a flagrant distortion of fact, a blot on the ethical standards of a free press and a disservice to the country in striving to meet critical water resource development needs.

LIFE's article deliberately ignored over 2,800 operating flood control, navigation, power, water conservation and other projects, which the Corps of Engineers has built in 50 states. It omitted the fact that these projects, costing a total of $5.3 billion, have already saved $11 billion in flood losses alone, without counting the savings in human lives or the tremendous expansion in industrial output, jobs and other benefits they have brought about.

JOHN A. BLATNIK

House of Representatives

Sirs:

You have succeeded brilliantly in putting together what is usually a solemn compilation of endless statistics in a provocative, exciting and at the same time thoroughly honest way. This story is the greatest service to economy since Ben Franklin's maxims

WILLIAM PROXMIRE

United States Senate

Sirs:

Public works program projects in the future must be subjected to a far stricter test of essentiality than in the past.

The way the system has worked, too often smaller states with the greatest need have been passed over while states with committee chairmen, and delegations with considerable seniority, have been parceled out largesse in a bountiful fashion.

STANLEY R. TUPPER

House of Representatives

Sirs:

It is my judgment that your article on "pork barreling" will mostly enhance the prestige back home of the ones most vigorously castigated in the story.

RALPH HARVEY

House of Representatives

Sirs:

Some of the statements in regard to the Fryingpan-Arkansas project are misleading and others are entirely false. You state "$170 million will flow out of U.S. taxpayers' pockets." But you fail to tell that almost all of this money will be paid back to the Treasury, most of it with interest.

This makes it a good investment for the American taxpayer. You also state that alfalfa in Colorado will be increased and that there is now "a million acres of alfalfa in the soil bank that no one is allowed to cut." This is not true. There is now a shortage of alfalfa in Colorado due to severe drought conditions.

J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

House of Representatives

▶ At the time the Fryingpan-Arkansas bill was approved by a House committee, a minority report stated that Colorado had 1,299,881 acres in the soil bank, most of which had been seeded to alfalfa and hay. There is very little Colorado alfalfa land in the soil bank today and the state has suffered a severe drought this year.—ED.

Sirs:

I take vigorous issue with your stating that the Arkansas River development is "100 percent pure pork." It's the kind of pork which will put meat on the table of millions of Americans and Oklahomans, presently and for generations to come.

Your article is an insult to Oklahomans and to the memory and foresight of the late U.S. Senator Robert S. Kerr.

FRED R. HARRIS
State Senator

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Sirs:

LIFE's statement that "last year only 40% of the people U.S. Employment Service placed were unemployed" is untrue. The 40% figure stems from a distortion of a statement I made based on data from the Bureau of the Census household survey in 1959. That survey disclosed that of every five workers hired by employers from all sources, three were employed, one was unemployed, and one was a new entrant. The figures cited have no relationship to placements by the public employment service last year or any other year. The fact is that of the job applicants who are registered with public employment offices between 85% and 95% are unemployed.

ROBERT C. GOODWIN
Administrator

Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor

▶ LIFE misinterpreted a not-too-clear statement by Mr. Goodwin and on this based its 40% figure. We are happy to have Mr. Goodwin's clarification.—ED.

Sirs:

Your article on waste in government was diluted by the half truths and omissions concerning the Small Business Administration about which I happen to have special qualifications. I was the beneficiary of the maximum loan of $350,000 for 10 years about five years ago. This was recently repaid in full, five years prior to the final payment and was of inestimable help in making our mill prosperous and creating more jobs.

HERBERT BARCHOFF

New York, N.Y.

Sirs:

Forgive us, the people of the west, for wanting things when the superior people of the east want the money. Forgive us for wanting badly needed flood control. Forgive us for coveting water supplies and recreation areas. Forgive us for wanting to put meat on our tables.

JAMES THOMPSON

Tulsa, Okla.

Sirs:

Since I live in southern Colorado, the area that will benefit most from the Fryingpan-Arkansas project, I have to live with the fact that every taxpayer in the United States is helping to pay for my economic welfare, whether he wants to or not.

JACK GARNER

Pueblo, Colo.

Sirs:

Thank God there is one magazine left with the courage to expose the "pork barrel" racket. As an Oklahoman born and reared I share the guilt of other voters for having supported the king of all pork barrelers, the late Senator Kerr. I'm abjectly ashamed of myself.

GEORGE W. PHINNEY

Nicoma Park, Okla.

Sirs:

I'm not surprised that complaints are coming in loud and long from all corners of the land. Anytime you expose rackets of any kind you'll hear it from all sides.

Please don't let up. This criminal waste of tax dollars so desperately needed to balance the budget and pay some of the nation's debt must be stopped.

SAM SCHWIEGER

Shreveport, La.

▶ For further comments see Editorial on page 4.—ED.

SEARCH FOR PRIDE

Sirs:

Gordon Parks's story (Aug. 16) is one of the most moving human experiences I have read. He has performed a great service for his people and for those of us who are less fortunate because of our refusal or our indolence in achieving greater understanding of decency and human dignity.

GORDON ELLIOTT

Brookfield, Wis.

Sirs:

I am 30, a Negro. Allowing this article to be published with no punches pulled, made me for the first time feel proud of this nation which I would so much like to be a part of.

JOSEPH C. MARSHALL

Jamaica, N.Y.

Sirs:

My heart bleeds for Gordon Parks. He says that all the colored want is respect. When the majority of the colored people raise their social and moral standards—when even they can walk through their streets without fear of assault, then will I give my respect.

JOHN CIZEK

Lyons, Ill.

Sirs:

I have followed with great interest Gordon Parks's career with LIFE. The incident he mentioned at the drug store in the Lowry Hotel in St. Paul was reported correctly. I was the druggist there who treated him.

A. C. BISCHOF

Pasadena, Calif.

THE BRIG

Sirs:

Ken Brown's new play *The Brig* is as close to the truth as can be. I was in the outfit that replaced Brown's at Camp Fuji. I had occasion to take many Marines to the "Fuji Fun House." This play gives a real insight into an unspeakable part of our glorious "Corps."

FRED MAUCH

Saginaw, Mich.

Sirs:

As an officer of six years' service, and the one who probably signed for Private Brown's honorable discharge, it seems that a bit more should be said.

From his record as set forth in your article, one can only conclude that the Marine Corps did much more for him than he did for the Corps. Not only did he get the best combat training in the world, free travel to the Far East, lessons in character-building (if a bit harsh), but he was also given an honorable discharge and material and maturity enough to write a play which has found its way to the Big City.

ROBERT H. SMART
Capt. USMC

East Meadow, N.Y.

THE ISSUE

Sirs:

Thank you for the Aug. 16 issue of LIFE—your most superb issue to date.

Miller, Parks and Brown expressed opinions on problems facing the multitudes, but did so in an individualistic manner. This is life as it really is.

KAREN KAY DEDO

Detroit, Mich.

IN NEXT WEEK'S LIFE

Special Issue INTIMATE LOOK AT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

For details see Publisher's Preview, Page 77

LIFE

THEY COME MARCHING UP CONSCIENCE ROAD

Negroes stir up nation in mighty Washington march

Dotted with color like a single giant living thing, the crowd massed at the memorial to Abraham Lincoln 200,000 strong. Each dot was a person —with a cause the U.S. has come to know very well.

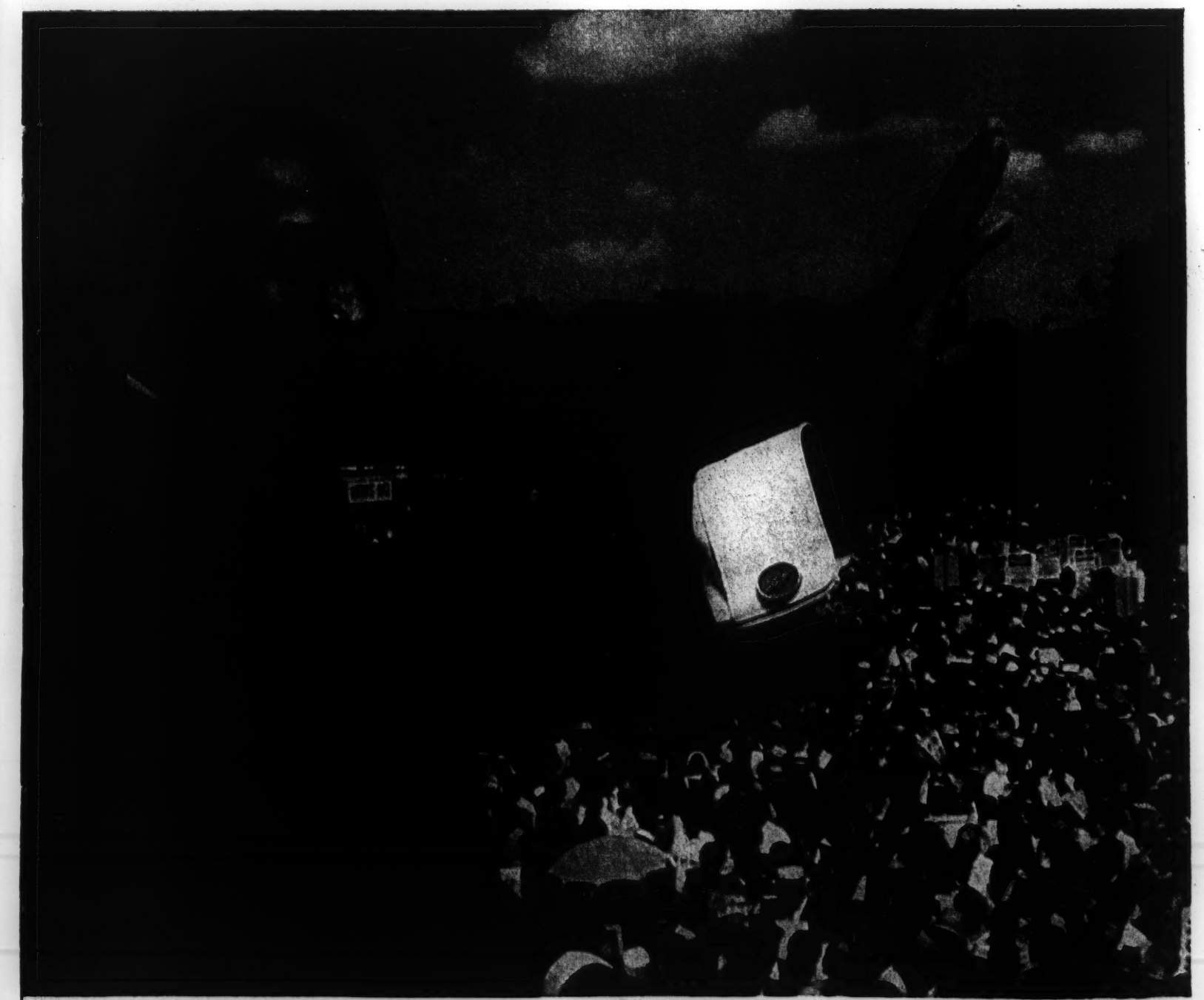
More significant than the immediate effect the Washington civil rights march would have on the Congress of the U.S., more remarkable than the spectacle itself, was the Negroes' orderly demonstration of their potential as a moral force. For all the dissension that has split Negro organizations, the march was an astonishingly well-executed product of leadership. Despite forebodings of violence, it came off without a hitch, in almost beatific calm.

Participants came in from many places. Some had driven down turnpikes from cities of the east in the gathering light of dawn, cheered along the way by Negroes who could not make the trip. Some had come from Mississippi, some had walked from New York City. They said what they had to say with songs. They said it in speeches: "We must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin." And when all voices had spoken, Roy Wilkins, head of the N.A.A.C.P., looked at the orderly, eager files and said: "I'm so proud of my people."

NEGRO GOTHIC. Overalled couple with New York delegation, reminiscent of famous Grant Wood painting, join crowd which packed mall before Lincoln Memorial (*far left*).

SIGNS OF PROTEST. Coming down Constitution Avenue, a bright spectrum of signs marks a delegation.

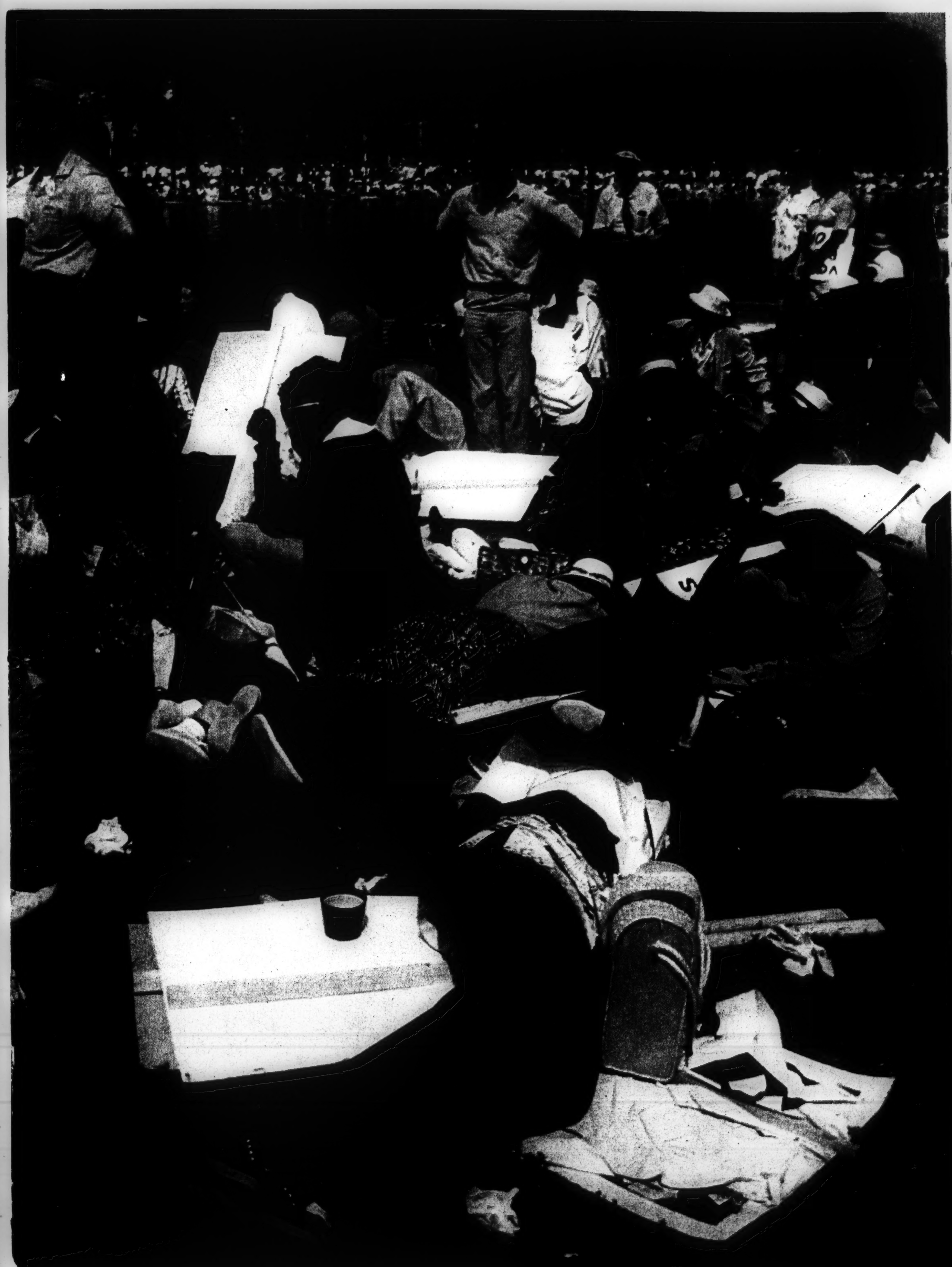
SOME SING OR ACHE, SOME TALK ELOQUENTLY



FIERY SPEAKER. The Reverend Martin Luther King, here addressing the crowd, makes day's strongest speech. He said, "America has given the Negro people a bad check. It has come back marked 'insufficient funds.'"

THE COOLING WATERS. White legs and Negro legs dangle together in the reflecting pool, soothing aching feet.

WAYS OF PROTEST. Each to his fancy, the marchers take stands. Girls from Durham, N.C. (*left*) wear stars and stripes. A young man from Virginia (*right*) sings. And an old couple (*above*), the man blind, just walk.



TIRED LISTENERS. After the long march down Independence and Constitution avenues, participants sprawl on the grass to hear the speeches.

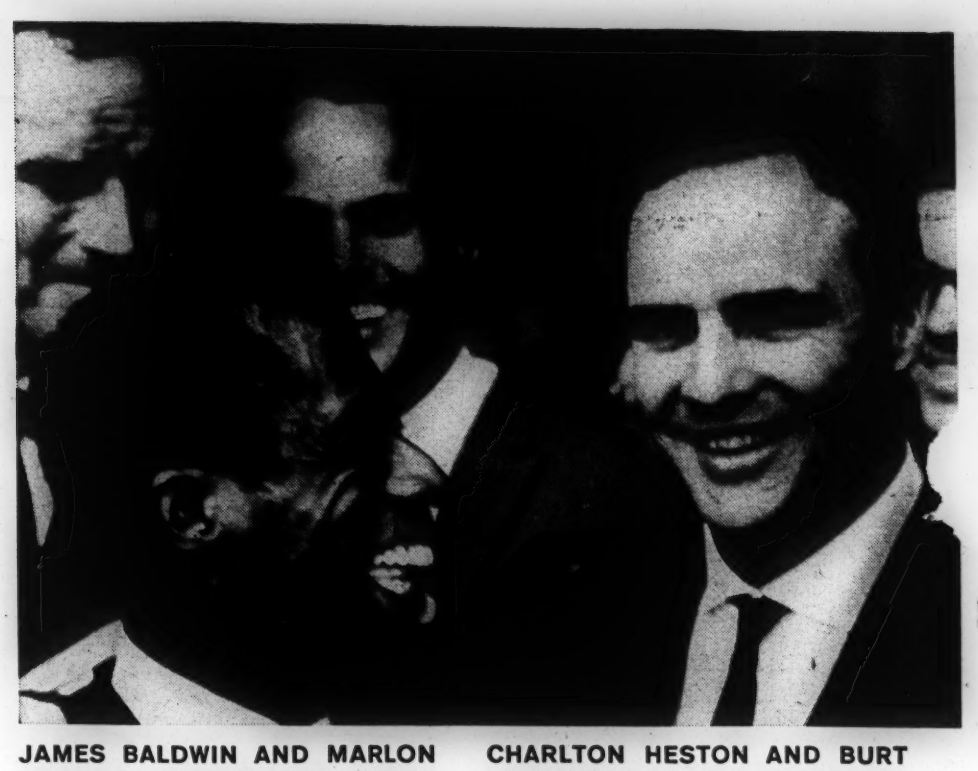
PROTEST CASUALTY. Borne above the crowd, a woman who fainted is taken to a first aid station. Some 1,700 people were treated at 24 aid stations.

REFRESHMENT SEEKER. Marcher stops at one of 21 fountains installed around line of march. Cool weather and careful planning cut casualties.

CONTINUED

SOME CELEBRITIES SHARE THE SCENE

Celebrities came too, though perhaps not so austerely as other participants. From Hollywood, stars chartered a plane. Burt Lancaster flew from Paris. And so did writer James Baldwin. Inevitably they ran into charges that they sought publicity, and they fired back. Said Marlon Brando: "As some of the most important names in the industry, we should be able to make our weight felt." Said Paul Newman: "We're desperately trying to raise ourselves above the gray mass of people who refuse to be committed." Said James Baldwin: "There are easier ways to get publicity, believe me." And New York's Mayor Robert Wagner, who only six days earlier had ordered cops to chase civil rights pickets from his own office, was also there to sweat it out.



JAMES BALDWIN AND MARLON BRANDO. Normally glum novelist and actor are effusive before rally.

CHARLTON HESTON AND BURT LANCASTER. They talk with Director Joe Mankiewicz (*second from left*).

MAHALIA JACKSON. Vibrant and rapt, she sings spirituals. Marchers clapped hands and shouted "More!"

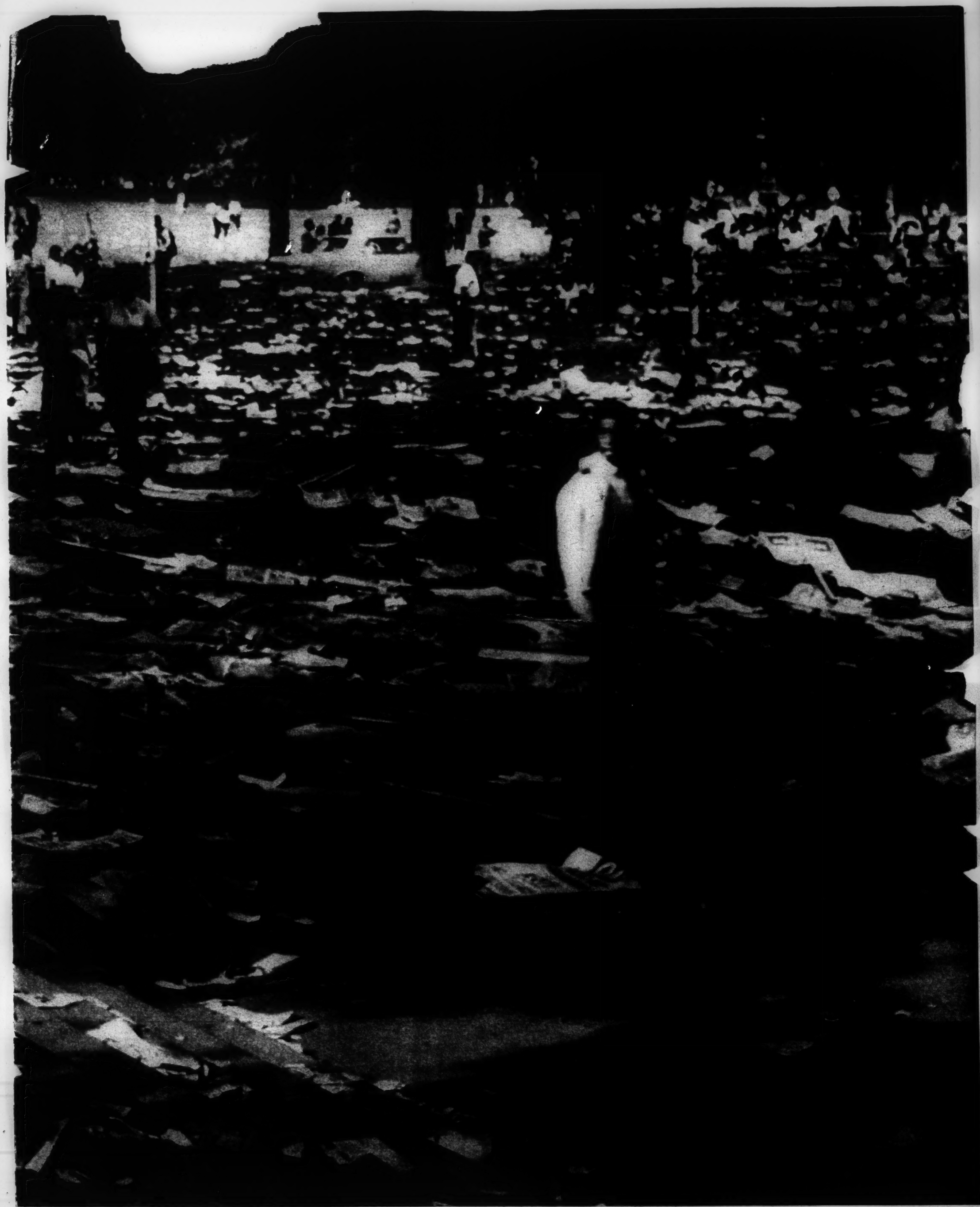
JAMES GARNER AND DIAHANN CARROLL. Hurrying to rally, singer pulls *Maverick* star along by hand.

JACKIE ROBINSON. With an arm around son, baseball star says "We'll go away feeling we cannot turn back."

MAYOR WAGNER. New York's chief executive mops his brow. He joined city employes on day off he granted.

CONTINUED

RALLY'S END. The speechmaking over, a marcher carries her placard up the steps near the Lincoln Memorial. By



nightfall Washington was emptying and its parks and malls sounded only to the rustle of discarded paper of protest.

LIFE on the
Newsfronts
of the World

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 6, 1963, 35 cents

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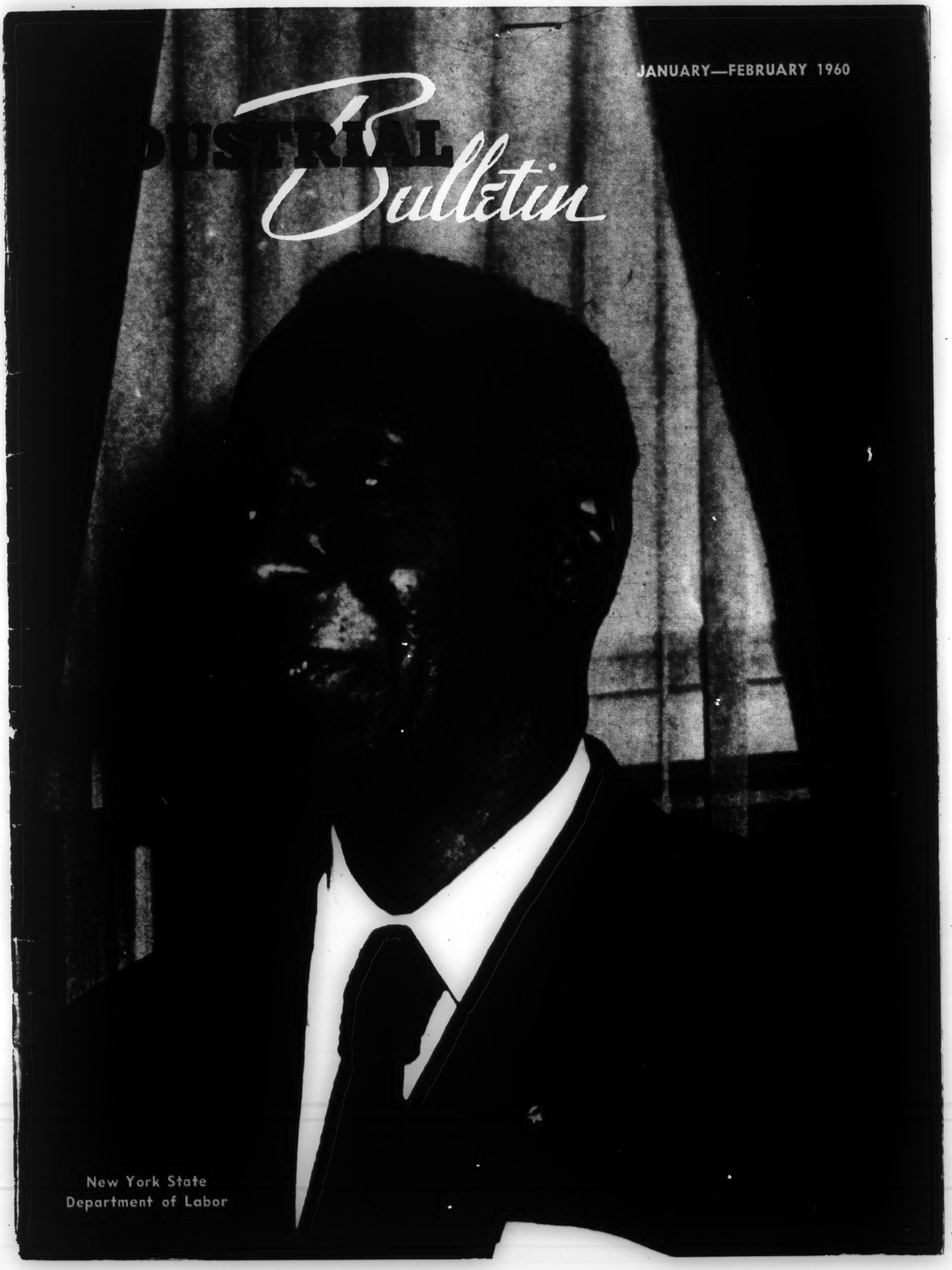
JANUARY—FEBRUARY 1960

INDUSTRIAL Bulletin



New York State
Department of Labor

Bulletin Briefs

LABOR DEPT.'S PUBLIC WORK BUREAU HOLDS SESSION

A training session was conducted by the State Labor Department's Bureau of Public Work in Syracuse Jan. 26-28. The session, first of its kind held by the Bureau, was designed to foster harmonious relationships between top administrative personnel and field representatives and to create better communications between the two levels.

Addresses were delivered by Robert Helsby, Deputy Industrial Commissioner for Administration; Thomas Halpin, Administrative Director of the Department; Julius Loos, Deputy Industrial Commissioner; Frank J. Costello, Assistant Industrial Commissioner of the Syracuse District; and Francis Disney, Director of Methods and Procedures, State Labor Department. Nicholas Valentine Jr., Chief of the Bureau of Public Work, served as moderator during the discussions.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN U. S. INCREASES

About 44.4 million persons were enrolled this fall in the regular schools and colleges of the United States, compared with 42.9 million in the fall of 1958, a rise of 3.5 per cent. The current figure is 23 per cent higher than in October, 1954 and 47 per cent higher than in October, 1950. The contrast with 1950 was especially great below the age of 14.

SOCIAL WORK FIELD FACES WORKER SHORTAGE

The shortage of labor is more acute in the social work field than in most other professional fields. And the need for social workers to fill jobs in government and private agencies is expanding as social services are broadened and new programs are instituted to cope with the increasing numbers of dependent children, juvenile delinquents, aged persons, and others.

Current graduates from the sixty or so graduate schools of social work throughout the nation will be able to satisfy only a fraction of the rapidly increasing demand. Moreover, about six out of every ten student social workers are women, many of whom will withdraw from the labor market within a relatively short period of time after graduation because of marriage and motherhood.

CHEMISTS' SALARIES VARY IN NEW YORK

Salaries for chemists in New York City vary greatly. The recent college graduate with little or no experience may start at between $75 and $90 a week, the chemist with a master's degree usually earns $5,500 to $6,000 a year, and the Ph.D—who may have administrative duties—can expect to earn $8.000 or more a year. Advancement in chemistry is dependent upon completion of graduate work in the field.

The majority of job opportunities for chemists in New York City who wish to work for industrial establishments are for those with specialized experience. Inexperienced chemists will find greater employment opportunities in New York in medical research centers, in hospitals, and on research projects conducted by the universities.

Chemists chiefly are employed in manufacturing establishments, though many work for commercial research and development laboratories as well as hospitals.

THE JANUARY-FEBRUARY EDITION

In order to conform with the practice of most monthly publications, the INDUSTRIAL BULLETIN is up-dating its current edition so that in the future editions will be available early in the months for which they are issued. Previously the compilation of certain statistics necessitated a later publication date.

The next edition, now being edited, therefore will be the March issue and will be available at an earlier date.

Subscriptions will be advanced one month so that all subscribers will receive the twelve numbers of the INDUSTRIAL BULLETIN for which they have paid in advance.

COVER

A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. See MEMO, Page 2.

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JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1960

VOL. 39, Nos. 1-2

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MEMO:

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, whose leadership in the nation's labor movement through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has brought him international acclaim, many years ago was described by a high-ranking management official as a "... hustler, who never made up a Pullman berth in his life."

Since the remark was uttered in 1925, while Mr. Randolph fought for the creation of the Sleeping Car Porters union, the same company spokesman and many others, together with several Presidents of the United States have yielded to his demands for equal rights for the Negro.

His struggle throughout the years may be culminated this year when the nation's two major political parties convene to select presidential candidates for an election campaign already steeped in civil rights issues.

At a special Carnegie Hall "Salute to A. Philip Randolph" on Jan. 24, Mr. Randolph repeated an ultimatum made in the early 1940's: Acceptance of his program or his supporters will "march." The fiery Negro labor leader plans mass demonstrations at both sites of the political conventions.

"The concrete demands and just grievances of the Negro people presented as they march before these conventions is a weapon that will circle the globe as a moral missile," he told the Carnegie Hall gathering which included Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was her late husband who first took Mr. Randolph's original intent of a "march on Washington" lightly, but then did an about face and issued Executive Order 8802 giving the Negro equal employment rights in the nation's defense plants in 1942 during the most crucial days of World War II.

The Order was a major victory for Mr. Randolph but far from his last. Former President Truman yielded to demands by Mr. Randolph and his followers to eliminate the alleged "Jim Crow" military. Mr. Truman's Executive Order 9981, integrating the armed forces, was issued July 26, 1948. Another Randolph victory!

The Jan. 24 tribute to Mr. Randolph, now in his seventieth year, (he has been described as looking like fifty and sometimes acting like an angry young man) was attended by dignitaries from all walks of life. Included among the speakers beside Mrs. Roosevelt were Senators Jacob Javits of New York and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota; Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King and Norman Thomas. Congratulatory messages were wired from many of the world's outstanding leaders including Vice President Nixon, India's Prime Minister Nehru, Henry Cabot Lodge, Dr. Ralph Bunche, and U. S. Court of Appeals Judge William H. Hastie.

Asa Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Fla., the son of a preacher. His formal education consisted of four years of schooling at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fla. and some night courses at City College of New York. However, his extra-curricular self-education—by browsing in books and amiable relationships with prominent educators—was his *real* education.

He became editor of The Messenger, "the only radical Negro magazine in America," in 1915. That publication later became The Black Worker, of which he is now editor-in-chief. The publication is now the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Through The Messenger, Mr. Randolph was in 1917 the leading outspoken

(Continued on Page 12)

MEMO:

A. Philip Randolph

(Continued from Page 2)

critic of President Wilson, who had called upon the nation for a united defense effort.

". . . lynching, Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and out, disfranchisement of millions of black souls in the South—all these things make your cry of making the world safe for democracy a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and travesty on common justice," Mr. Randolph wrote. The statement was directed to the President!

The union he heads today was created through his efforts in 1925. In that year Mr. Randolph met with a small group of Pullman porters, gathered to attempt once again—they had been foiled countless times by employes of the Pullman Company—to unionize. The young Negro's efforts mounted until in 1937, the Company did what it swore never to do—it sat down with Mr. Randolph and signed a contract which quadrupled the income of the porters within a few years.

Mr. Randolph became a vice-president of the AFL-CIO in 1955, the year of the famous merger of the nation's two largest union organizations. He has served continuously as international president of the Porters union since its inception.

Mr. Randolph holds several honorary degrees, including an LL.D., from Howard University in Washington, D.C. and Morgan State College in Baltimore; was awarded the Spingarn Medal in 1941 for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights; and is the recipient of the Clendenin Award for distinguished service in behalf of labor's rights.

He is co-author of "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races," and "The Truth About Lynching," and the author of "The World Crisis and the Negro People Today" and "The Crisis of Negro Railroad Workers."

"The Chief" as the 18,000 Porters union members hail him, promises to continue to help lead the Negro cause again this year in the struggle for equal rights. Many feel that the impact of Mr. Randolph and his large following among the 17 million Negroes in the United States will have profound social and political effects in the next year.

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Randolph Day

JAMES A. WECHSLER

For 74-year-old A. Philip Randolph this was the moment of triumph and, for certain retarded union bigots, it was the moment of truth. It came at 11:27 a.m. yesterday, in a crowded ballroom at the Americana Hotel, where AFL-CIO president George Meany led a standing ovation for the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters upon the completion of Randolph's address to labor's biennial convention.

At that instant an eyewitness could only recall the indignities and wounds this gentlemanly, scholarly, eloquent voice of an oppressed people had suffered in earlier assemblages of labor through so many lonely years.

One's memory reverted to an AFL conclave in Seattle in 1941 when Randolph, then one of only two Negro delegates to the meeting, had urged creation of a committee to "study" discrimination in the unions. William L. Hutcheson, late czar of the Carpenters Union, admonishing Randolph to cease making trouble, roared: "In our union we don't care whether you're an Irishman, a Jew or a nigger." There were some in the hall who applauded Randolph's ensuing emotion, but his motion was shouted down.

* * *

In less vulgar forms, the rebuff was reenacted year after year, but Randolph never quit labor's house, or sulked in isolated impotence. He had a rare breed of patient passion; he neither groveled nor groaned. As late as 1961 Randolph was cruelly censured by the AFL-CIO executive council for his sharp criticisms of labor's racism; two year earlier, at an AFL-CIO convention, Meany had shouted: "Who the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in America? . . ."

Last summer, under Meany's guidance, the AFL-CIO council voted to withhold support from the March on Washington movement Randolph was leading, although many unions and unionists, including Reuther's Auto Workers, Jim Carey's Electrical Workers and Dubinsky's Garment Workers, participated.

It was all very different yesterday, and it would be ungracious to say that George Meany had merely read the scorecard of history. A small man spends much of his life rationalizing past blunders rather than seeking to retrieve them. By this standard, Meany emerged yesterday as a man of size and goodwill.

* * *

The convention hall had a flat, stale quality when one arrived. Resolutions on many matters were being dutifully recited and adopted without debate. Many of those present had gone through these exercises too many times before; there was the drone of conversation, the milling about, a general sense of absent-mindedness among those allegedly present and voting.

Then it was announced that the subject at hand was the resolution on civil rights. It was, as Randolph was to say later, the "strongest statement" ever officially approved by an AFL-CIO convention, calling on labor to clean up its own house as well as on Congress and the federal government to enlist in the cause of "freedom and equality."

At 10:58, after Dave McDonald finished reciting the text, there was only a smattering of applause but the delegates were becoming more quiet and attentive. George Meany took over to introduce Randolph "to lead the discussion." Again there was polite clapping and one could detect a faint sense of history.

Randolph's speech is now a matter of public record. It began with a resolve to avoid rehearsing past "altercations." It was the same appeal to conscience and idealism he had delivered to many earlier conventions, but spoken now in the setting of a social revolution. It was a call to labor to rise to the occasion, to avoid estrangement from the Negro community, to remember the dispossessed.

For many moments there was merely courteous silence, and then intermittent bursts of applause, perhaps not because many new things were being said but because, after all these years, Randolph had touched the collective guilt of many in the hall who remembered how often he had vainly pleaded for these decencies.

As he finished came the standing tribute. From the press table one could not tell how many men rose spontaneously and how many just took the signal from Meany, Reuther and all the other bigwigs on the dais who rose in unison. There were a few in the audience who did not get up until, it seemed, some hidden electric prods propelled them out of their seats.

Amid the salute there was only a hint of pleasure on Randolph's impassive face, as if he feared that outward delight might have conveyed vindictiveness or vanity.

* * *

In a technical sense, Randolph did not win total victory. In deference to his new, warmer relations with Meany, he abandoned his demand for direct sanctions against Jim Crow locals. Convinced that the AFL-CIO leadership is on the right road, Phil Randolph was not disposed to run wild. Meany's pride reasserted itself when a resolution was offered to embody Randolph's speech in the resolution adopted; it contained too much tacitly critical of the AFL-CIO's past role.

But these were verbal anticlimaxes. The essence of what happened was that Randolph dominated the scene, and that Meany, whose basic instincts are so often better than his public postures, set the stage for him. It seemed a long time from that day in Seattle when Bill Hutcheson said "nigger" in telling off a man so palpably his superior and got away with it.

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Size of Vote Seen Decisive In Tight Election Contests

From September's 5.8%:

Jobless Rate Down To 5.5% in October

By Robert B. Cooney

The key seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment declined in October to 5.5 percent—where it has hung most of the year—from September's 5.8 percent, the Labor Dept. has announced.

Unemployment dropped by 218,000 to 3.3 million, according to the summary job report. Ordinarily, there is little change between September and October.

The total labor force — which includes the armed forces—totaled 74.9 million, unchanged from September. The labor force, which has been lagging in its growth rate for over a year, had been expected to grow by about 100,000 over the month. It is 800,000 above a year ago; it was expected to be 1 to 1.2 million higher.

[illegible] the working-age population indicates more people are not actively seeking work because they feel jobs are not generally available.

The 5.5 percent jobless rate for October means 55 of every 1,000 persons in the labor force are ac-

'62 Profits May Reach New Record

Despite year-long high and [illegible] a [illegible] economy, corporate profits are heading for an all-time record high in 1962.

The Wall Street Journal's quarterly report on earnings predicts annual profits after taxes of "near $26 billion" or more than $1 billion higher than the record set in 1959.

MESSAGE OF WELCOME was extended by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany to the first Western Hemisphere meeting, above, of the executive committee of the international trade secretariat for white collar worker unions—the Intl. Federation of Commercial, Clerical & Technical Employes. From the left, IFCCTE Sec. Erich Kissel and Pres. Joseph Hiscock; Meany, and Pres. James A. Suffridge of the Retail Clerks, a member of the executive group. (See story, page 10)

Calls Charge 'Unspeakable':

Hartke Attacks GOP 'Politics' Crv on Cuba

Impact of Cuba Crisis Uncertain

By Willard Shelton

Under the shadow of the crisis of Soviet missiles in Cuba the American people will go to the polls Nov. 6 to elect 435 members of the House, 39 members of the Senate and governors in 35 states.

The election results, giving the country and Pres. Kennedy the Congress that will serve for the two years leading up to the 1964 presidential campaign, [illegible] depend, as usual, on the number of people actually voting.

[illegible] the program blocked by the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats in the previous sessions.

The nature of the new Congress —its personalities as well as mere party division—also seemed certain to play a part in relations between the President and the legislators on

[illegible] to reflect proportionately the continual increase in the working-age population indicates some people are not actively seeking work because they feel jobs are not generally available.

The 5.5 percent jobless rate for October means 55 of every 1,000 persons in the labor force are actively seeking work and cannot find it.

The October report showed the adjusted jobless rate for adult women dropped sharply, from 6.1 percent in September to 5.6 percent. The rates for adult men and teenagers were virtually unchanged at 4.5 and 13.3 percent, respectively.

Total employment reached 68.9 million, a high for October. Nonfarm jobs rose seasonally by 315,000 to 63.4 million.

Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz welcomed the October report as

(Continued on Page 2)

generally sluggish economy, corporate profits are heading for an all-time record high in 1962.

The Wall Street Journal's quarterly report on earnings predicts annual profits after taxes of "near $26 billion" or more than $1 billion higher than the record set in 1959.

Labor economists estimated that changes in depreciation schedules put into effect earlier in the year by the Administration, plus existing depreciation allowances, would produce a cash flow to corporations of about $52 billion after payment of all costs and taxes.

They estimated also that the total amount invested in plant and equipment for the year would fall below the cash flow figure despite a substantial increase in dividend payments.

Cash flow is the amount of re-

(Continued on Page 12)

Calls Charge 'Unspeakable':

Hartke Attacks GOP 'Politics' Cry on Cuba

Republican leaders have charged Pres. Kennedy with creating the Cuban crisis for political purposes two weeks before the elections and at the same time are claiming that the GOP prodded the President to act "forcefully."

The rash of GOP attacks and charges came as the President cancelled all personal participation in the election campaign and ordered all members of his Cabinet to pull out of any partisan activity on behalf of Democratic candidates.

Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, termed the GOP charges "unspeakable," adding that "responsible Republicans must be filled with revulsion."

He warned that the Republicans have a "deep responsibility" not to misuse the Cuban crisis issue in the campaign and urged former Pres. Eisenhower to "give further consideration" to following Kennedy's lead and remove himself from the campaign.

The political charge on the Cuban crisis came first from the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in its Newsletter dated Oct. 26. The publication declared:

Text of Attack

"The timing of Mr. Kennedy's announcement—just two weeks before a national election—gave it a distinctly political ring. The statement that it was only because the White House had just discovered the existence on Cuba of missiles capable of striking American cities sounded brazenly false inasmuch as this had been known for months."

The GOP committee said there were doubts the President would take a firm position on Cuba because of the "New Frontier pattern of seeking an 'accommodation' with the Communists everywhere else in the world."

It charged further a "continued

(Continued on Page 12)

stronger support for major domestic programs blocked by the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats in the previous sessions.

The nature of the new Congress—its personalities as well as mere party division—also seemed certain to play a part in relations between the President and the legislators on vital foreign policy issues.

The campaign seemed to many observers marked in a number of states with unusual citizen apathy—although apathy is a disease familiar in off-year elections. Whether the sudden emergence of the crisis with the Soviet Union and Cuba would stir "silent" voters into going to the polls remained an enigma.

The Republicans, who historically have scored gains in the last three decades whenever voter participation was low, seemed hopeful principally of victories at the state

(Continued on Page 12)

Unanimous NLRB Finds Sears Guilty of Retail Clerks' Charges

The National Labor Relations Board has unanimously held Sears, Roebuck & Co. guilty of unfair labor practices by failure to bargain in good faith in 1960-61 with the Retail Clerks and its Seattle, Wash., Local 1207.

Upholding the findings of Trial Examiner Martin S. Bennett, the full-member board held that Sears interfered with, restrained and coerced its employes in these respects:

- Refusing to meet with a duly designated representative, Murray Plopper of the international union.
- Refusing to put an agreement on sales commissions into a signed contract.
- Refusing, in advance and during negotiations that continued through 30 meetings, to incorporate any agreement on union membership, such as the steward system, into a signed contract.

The board ordered the nationwide retail chain to bargain with "any designated representative" of Local 1207 concerning the provisions of a 1 percent commission program and a union membership program, or any other conditions of employment, and if an understanding is reached, to embody it in a signed agreement.

The board accepted the trial examiner's report that Sears as a matter of national policy had deliberately "obfuscated" and "frustrated" the collective bargaining process.

The record, Bennett asserted in his intermediate report, "well warrants the conclusion" that Eli Dorsey, general counsel for Sears in Seattle, "most probably because he (1) was hamstrung by Sears policy from Chicago and (2) was confronted with the problem of other Seattle department stores, obfuscated the issue and frustrated the collective bargaining process by insisting that even if agreement was reached on these two issues, viz., the 1 percent commission and the membership problem, they could not be placed in a written contract."

The board's decision held that

(Continued on Page 3)

Productivity Outstripping Factory Pay

American labor productivity has risen faster than factory wages during the past year and a half, Walter W. Heller, chairman of Pres. Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, has reported. Labor productivity in manufacturing has risen about 6 percent since the low point of the recession in early 1961, while factory wages, including fringe benefits, rose somewhat less, he said.

In an address before the National Association of Business Economists in Washington, he noted that the discrepancy between wages in the United States and those paid abroad has nar-

(Continued on Page 2)

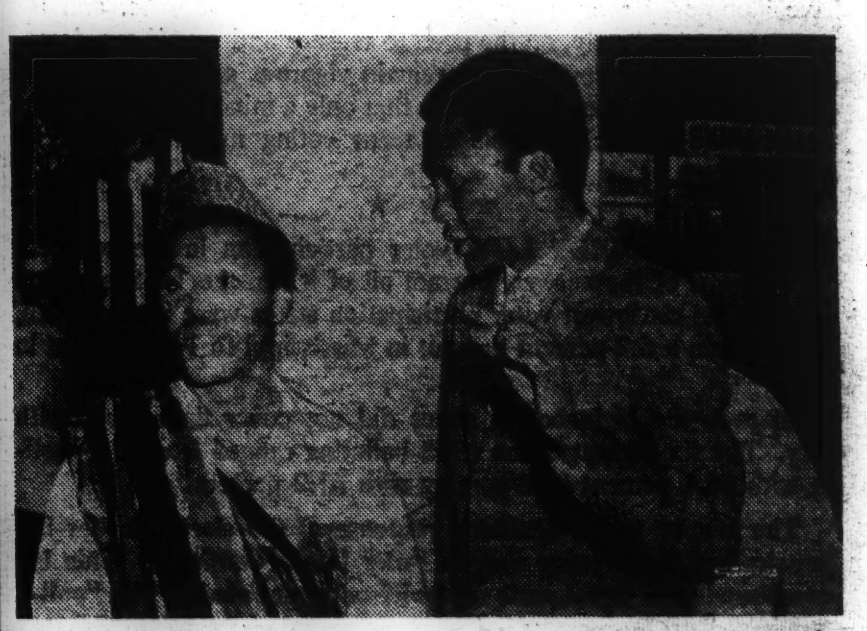
Labor Gives a Hand to Young Africans

For the second year in a row, AFL-CIO unions have helped provide summer jobs for African students studying at American colleges. For many of these students, living on bare subsistence allowances during the school year, employment during the summer months is essential if they are to continue their education.

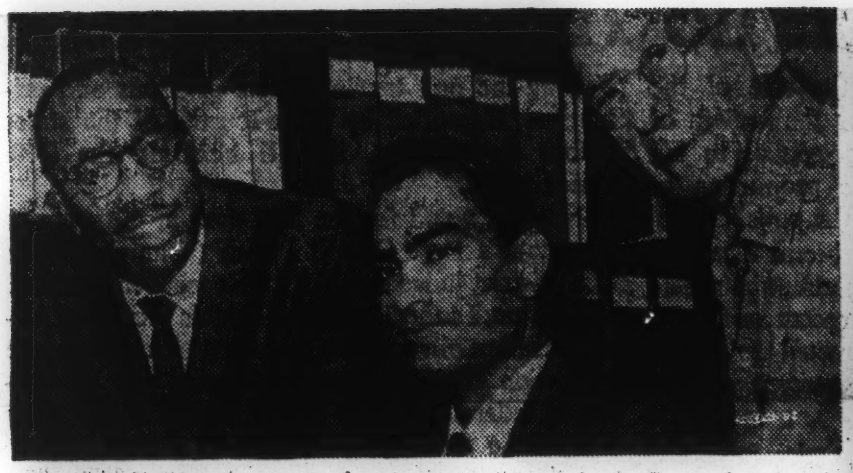
With the help of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Intl. Affairs, a number of students found temporary jobs in shops under union contract and others were employed directly in union offices.

Pictured here is a cross-section of the young Africans who worked during the summer in union headquarters—performing useful services for the U.S. labor movement, learning at first hand of an important aspect of American life, and bringing to their co-workers a vivid realization of the common aspirations of people the world over.

HOME FOR Lucretia Babin is the new nation of Sierra Leone. She points it out on the map to Pres. Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers, where she was employed last summer.



A VISITOR from Tanganyika, C. R. Tamibo, is shown around a Seafarers hall by Alphonce Okuku of Kenya, employed by the SIU under the AFL-CIO Summer Placement Program.



SUMMER JOB for P. J. Joshi, center, born in India and living in Kenya, was with the National Maritime Union. He is shown with NMU Rep. Robert Nesbitt, left, and Assistant Research Dir. Solon DeLeon at union headquarters in New York City.

AFL-CIO ITSELF employed three African students, Harrison Nwozo and Julius Anamalechi of Nigeria, and Violet Lewis of Sierra Leone. With them are federation Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler (left) and Intl. Rep. Harry Goldberg.

WORKING WITH Pres. A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters is Danielette Nelson, a student from Liberia. Thirty-four national and international unions employed African students last summer and had high praise for the ability of the young men and women.

IN CHICAGO, Francis M. Mwihia of Kenya, one of several students employed by the Building Service Employes, is shown with BSEIU Sec.-Treas. George E. Fairchild. Mrs. Maida Springer of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Intl. Affairs coordinated the program.

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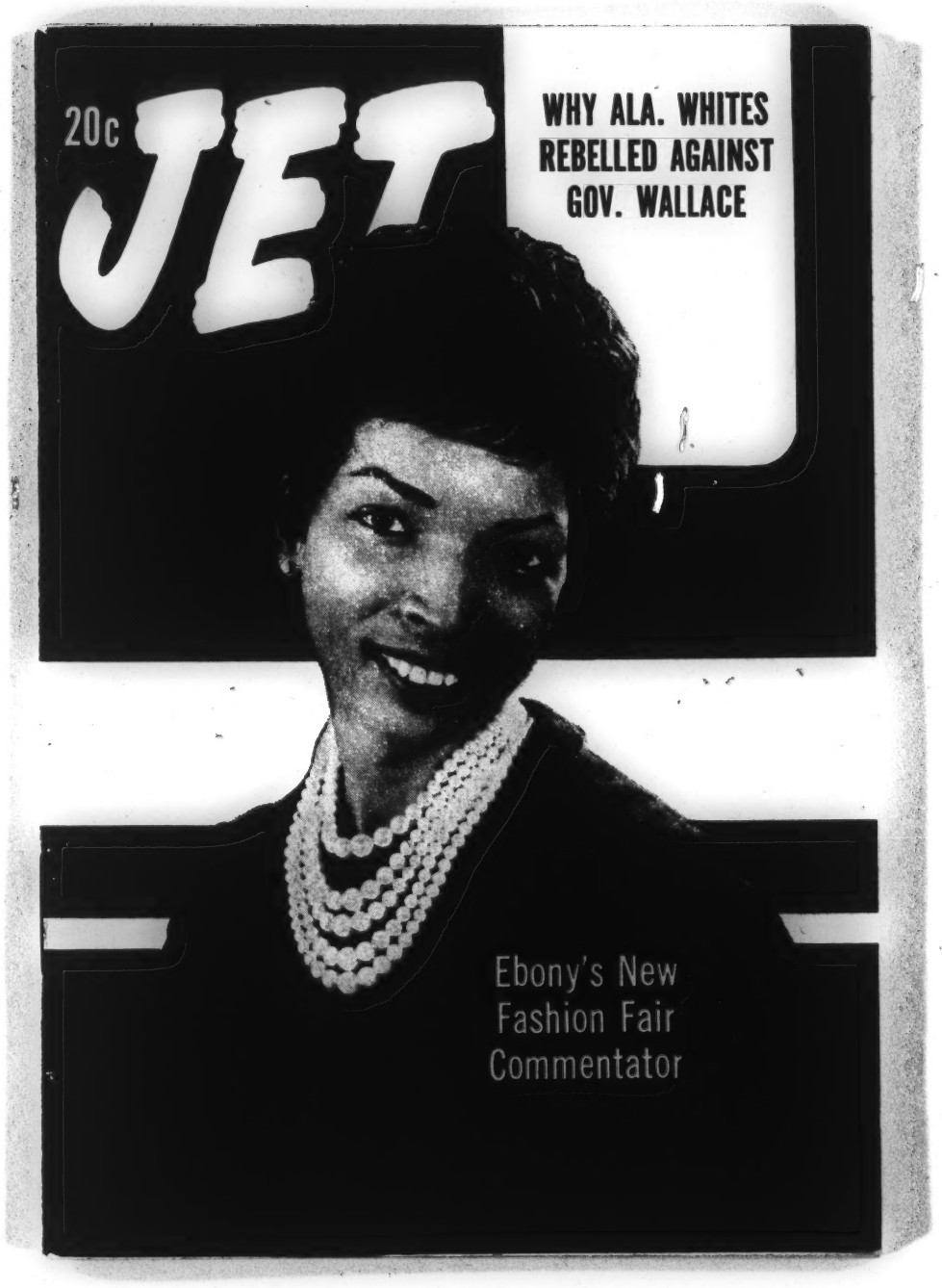
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JET
WHY ALA. WHITES REBELLED AGAINST GOV. WALLACE
Ebony's New Fashion Fair Commentator

Lonely Leader

JAMES A. WECHSLER

A. Philip Randolph, at 72, resolutely continues to lead his dramatic double life.

To a large segment of the AFL-CIO's leadership, he remains an incorrigible "trouble-maker" who ungraciously demands that the quiet march of progress become a great crusade.

To the seething "black nationalists" of Harlem—and their counterparts in other cities—he is a voice of soft compromise trying to hold back the wave of the African future.

Randolph long ago grew accustomed to such crossfires. What perhaps both confounds and exasperates his critics is the massive dignity he preserves, and the mingled tone of conviction and conciliation with which he turns away wrath.

Listening to him in his modest office on the third floor of an obscure structure in the heart of Harlem, one is reminded anew of the gifts of this man who speaks in the accents of a New England college president and who diligently serves, as he has since 1925, as leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

He is surely not a man without faults. Neither, however, can one cite many comparable examples of thoughtful dedication in a labor movement that too often reflects the blended apathy and affluence of our society.

* * *

I first saw Randolph about 20 years ago when I was a young labor reporter covering an AFL convention in Seattle. He rose in lonely valor at that session to plead his case against discrimination in labor's house. He spoke with an eloquence and passion that no one else approached during that listless, long week. No one was moved to speak in his support.

He betrayed no outward anguish about the silence; I may have felt lonelier than he did. It was not a new experience for him.

But I have often thought of that day during the current conflict between Randolph and the AFL-CIO hierarchy over the pace of labor's anti-discrimination program. The man who was so stonily greeted on that occasion—and on so many others—by his comrades in labor might surely have been forgiven if he had become a reckless racist demagogue. Randolph's resources of spirit and intellect were sufficient to overcome the temptation.

And he has had his days of triumph, as in 1941, when he was largely responsible—through combined tactics of threat and persuasion—for the first Roosevelt FEPC order banning discrimination in defense industry. He is the meditative militant; perhaps no other brand of the species can be quite so effective.

Now, at a time when he concedes a certain weariness—"I suppose arthritis is a sign of age"—he finds himself deeply involved in bigger storms than ever. He is not quitting.

In Harlem—and he has never left Harlem—he is now engaged in a large-scale effort to establish reasonable communication with the extremist nationalist group, to give them an affirmative sense of community and to minimize, if not to banish, the threat of violence that hangs so heavily over the swollen streets.

Simultaneously he remains leader of the battle for equality in the labor movement. The harsh rebuff to which he was recently subjected by an AFL-CIO committee appointed to investigate his charges of do-nothingism has provided a field day for his extremist critics. Yet he speaks with remarkable lack of rancor about the episode. He is not a man who seeks to personalize his conflicts. Time and again yesterday he emphasized that he did not question the private motives or attitudes of George Meany and other AFL-CIO leaders on racial issues. What he questions is their sense of history.

In the Meany-Randolph conflict there are few large differences of fact. Randolph does not deny that real progress has been made; Meany does not deny that large areas of exclusion remain. The real questions are those of spirit and tempo. It is at that point that one is forcibly reminded that Randolph still lives in a world apart from his labor colleagues.

He lives (as I trust I do) in a world in which the dominant modern dramas of America are being enacted by the Negro school children of Little Rock, by the bus boycotters, by the Freedom Riders—by the many young valiants in many places who have finally said that, at whatever personal risk, they have chosen to take their stand now rather than endure another age of humiliation.

He lives in a world in which the teeming tenements of Harlem are crowded with new hopes and expectations, and in which the voice of the demagogue rings loud. He lives in a world in which it is no cause for self-congratulation that two Negroes finally broke the race barrier of a major AFL union in Cleveland after two years of widespread community agitation. He lives in a world in which the sympathy expressed by the AFL-CIO leadership for nationalist risings in Africa is rendered hollow by its tolerance of Jim Crow unions in the South.

In the here and now, Negroes also face a peculiar and special peril as automation spreads; the unskilled and semi-skilled Negro workers will be—already are—the first victims.

"We cannot tell them to wait until tomorrow—there may not be any tomorrow for them," he says.

* * *

Randolph does not raise his voice or pound the table as he speaks. He still talks of the aspirations of the working class with a broad "A." He looks very much as he did in Seattle so long ago. The sadness is that, as far as the U. S. labor movement is concerned, he still seems almost as alone as he did on that day. Despite all the battles won in the interim, he will probably be almost as solitary a voice when the next AFL-CIO convention meets to table his proposals. But it will be the most impressive voice of the week. It will haunt the silent men in the hall. And, in the old phrase, it will be heard.

The Big Bomb

DORIS FLEESON

Washington.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev still has that 50-megaton bomb up his sleeve, and the Administration thinks it knows what use he proposes to make of it.

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko has called for another meeting between Khrushchev and President Kennedy to negotiate on Berlin. The presumption here is that if the President promptly agrees, Khrushchev will be graciously pleased to refrain from testing the big one.

The pressures on the President are obvious. There is already wide public outcry against the Soviet testing, particularly Monday's explosion of the largest nuclear bomb ever recorded. According to the Atomic Energy Commission, its size was 30 megatons or little more than half the scope of the weapon the Soviets threaten to drop on Halloween.

The verdict in Washington is that Soviet tests already made would increase the amount of radioactive strontium 90 in the bones of children in the Northern Hemisphere by about 50 per cent. It is this consideration which weighs most heavily in the consideration that the President must give to the possibilities of any Soviet proposal for negotiations.

* * *

Politically, the President is harshly placed. President de Gaulle of France remains adamant against negotiation on Berlin now. Chancellor Adenauer is not in a position to echo de Gaulle, but he has made it clear that he agrees with the French analysis of the Berlin situation.

De Gaulle explained that analysis to the President in Paris last May. Simply stated, it is that the Soviet Union created the Berlin crisis for its own ends and must end it before fruitful negotiations can begin.

De Gaulle believes it a sign of weakness even to admit a willingness to negotiate until Khrushchev modifies his demands. The Germans are not quite so rigid and would consent to "exploratory" talks.

It is possible to hope that Khrushchev is beginning to feel the storm of protest which is building up in the non-Communist world. So far the Soviet Union and most of its satellites have not been told either about the new explosion or the reaction outside their borders.

* * *

Even the self-centered neutralist nations, as represented at the UN, are beginning to rouse themselves to the nuclear threat. But their time is short if the Soviet Premier hews to his announced deadline.

His strategy of terror is not new; it is only more awesome than Hitler's, particularly because it viciously penalizes children yet unborn.

The President continues to set an admirable example of restraint and tries to avoid any occasion which might provoke him into unguarded expression of his thoughts. But the decisions still have to be made, as the superb politician running Communist affairs well knows.

Nehru's Visit

MARQUIS CHILDS

Washington.

If ever a President needed to have steady nerves and to detach himself as nearly as possible from the fierce pressures beating down on him, it is the man who now occupies the White House.

His position is incredibly difficult. On the one hand he is imprisoned by allies who persistently refuse to see the need to begin a rational search for a way out of the Berlin crisis. On the other hand the wild irrationality of the Soviets in exploding the super-bomb has set off a wave of fear and anger around the world.

Between these two extremes the President seems to be immobilized. He finds it hard even to communicate the nature of the trap in which he finds himself. If he talks publicly about the problem of the Allies the crack in the West wall will be widened. Almost anything he might say about Soviet action in spreading a new rain of radioactive fallout on helpless peoples would feed the fear and accentuate the frenzy.

Still another element has contributed to the sense of immobilization that this grim moment has brought. The Asians and Africans—the neutrals—in the UN have simply declined to stand up and be counted on the fallout threat and the menace of the Soviet tests in the atmosphere. And this raises a point being widely discussed in private at high-policy levels here.

* * *

On Nov. 7 Prime Minister Nehru of India is coming to Washington on a state visit. This is considered as perhaps the most important of the long succession of visits that have so occupied the President's time. Under Nehru's direction India is seeking to follow the path of freedom as against the example of Red China, which is a totalitarian regime enforcing with the utmost ruthlessness an extreme form of collectivism. The U. S., along with Britain and other Western powers, has done a great deal to help in the vast experiment India is undertaking.

Yet India's delegate to the UN, V. K. Krishna Menon, the Minister of Defense, is contributing perhaps more than any single individual to frustrating the Western effort to get a strong resolution on nuclear testing. While no official will say it out loud, the Indian effort seems calculated to give the Soviets an out and at the same time to embarrass this country if and when the President decides it is essential to conduct American tests in the atmosphere.

The resolution put forward by India proposes a new uncontrolled moratorium on all tests. The adoption of this resolution could coincide with the end of the present series of Soviet tests. Then with fine self-righteousness—the Communist bloc peoples have never been told of the current test series—they could agree to abide by the moratorium and try to turn the propaganda knife against the U. S. for continuing to test.

It has become clear that during the uncontrolled moratorium, which lasted more than two and a half years, the Soviets went ahead with the most elaborate preparations to carry out their present test series. With the exception of preparing for underground tests, which do not pollute the atmosphere, this country strictly observed the conditions of the moratorium. The President has said that he will never again agree to such an uncontrolled and uninspected moratorium.

* * *

The resolution put forward by the U. S. and Britain calls for agreement to a draft treaty that would outlaw all tests under inspection and control. The draft treaty submitted by the two Western nuclear powers embodies all the 18 articles which have been agreed to, along with parts of additional articles accepted at Geneva before the Soviets reversed their position and came out against any inspection and control.

Arthur Dean, head of the American delegation at the Geneva test talks, has declared that such a treaty could be ratified within 30 days. That may be a slight exaggeration, but it is surely untrue, as Krishna Menon is said to have led many delegates to believe, that the test-ban treaty would be as hopeless to obtain as general and complete disarmament.

Courageous leadership by India could have swung the balance in the view of officials who have been observing the struggle at firsthand. Similarly, Indian influence would have made it much easier to get a suitable solution of the dispute over an acting Secretary General that now seems to have been resolved.

No one questions Nehru's right to keep his old and close friend, Krishna Menon, at the head of his delegation at the UN. What makes the situation more paradoxical is that Indian newspapers have expressed widespread condemnation of the Soviet tests and the fallout danger resulting from them. The unspoken question in the minds of his hosts when the Prime Minister comes here next month will be with respect to the double standard of stern denunciation for the U. S., as so often in the past, and turning the other cheek to the Soviet transgressor.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

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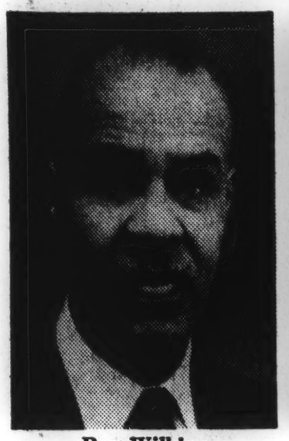
Organizations and Leaders Campaigning for Negro Goals in the United States



Roy Wilkins

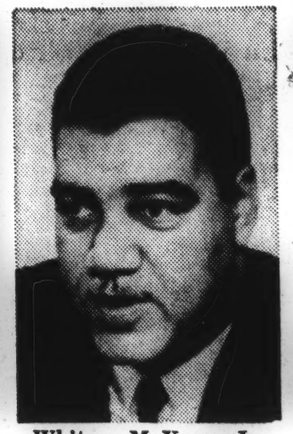
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

THE nation's most powerful civil rights organization is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. . . . Has 500,000 members of all races and religions in 1,600 local groups. . . . Organization wants to achieve equal citizenship rights through peaceful and lawful means . . . Biggest of its victories have been won in hard-fought legal struggles. . . . Most historic was 1954 Supreme Court order on school desegregation. . . . Its long fight on lynching helped to reduce mob murder from 90 a year to a few. . . . Heading a staff of 125 and the headquarters here is Roy Wilkins, graying 62-year-old executive secretary, of Jamaica, Queens. . . . Working with him are such leaders as Dr. Eugene T. Reed, state N.A.A.C.P. president. . . . Founded in 1909 by whites, headed by a woman crusader, Mary White Overton. . . . Later affiliated with Niagara movement, a Negro group led by late scholar W. E. B. du Bois. . . . Known for short as the "N-double-A."

Martin Luther King Jr.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

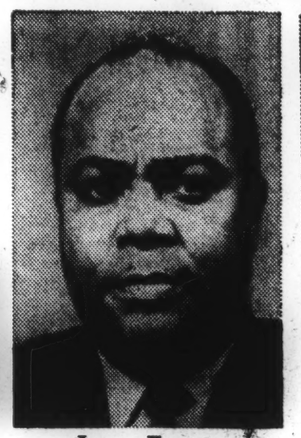
A NONSECTARIAN coordinating and service agency, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference mobilizes local organizations. . . . Often wins backing of whole Negro communities. . . . President is the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 35-year-old Atlanta Baptist minister who became national figure when he led Negro bus boycott at Montgomery, Ala., nearly decade ago. . . . Assisting him is staff of 22. . . . Home office is usually in Atlanta. . . . Agency founded in 1957 to seek "full citizenship rights, equality and the integration of Negro in all aspects of American life." . . . Chief aide now is the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy . . . Believes in the Ghandian principle of nonviolence and subscribes to the Hegelian philosophy of synthesis out of struggle . . . His impassioned "I have a dream" was the peak of last summer's March on Washington. . . . Works primarily in 16 Southern and border states, but has acquired among all Negroes something of the role of statesman.



Whitney M. Young Jr.

National Urban League

ONE of the country's conservative, older—and quietly effective—civil rights organizations is the National Urban League. . . . As a voluntary community service agency of civic, professional, business, labor and religious leaders it is dedicated to the removal of "all forms of segregation and discrimination based on race or color." . . . Chief aim is to "secure for every Negro citizen equal opportunity to develop his fullest potential and to share equitably the rewards and responsibilities of American citizenship." . . . Membership of 50,000 in 64 local groups. . . . Headquarters is on East 48th Street in New York. . . . Whitney M. Young Jr., 43 years old, of New Rochelle, is the executive director. . . . The former engineer and social worker heads a staff of 500. . . . They use research, conciliation and negotiation to obtain equal job opportunities, better schools, housing and improved family life and neighborhood conditions . . . Founded 1910, but forerunners date from 1905.



James Farmer

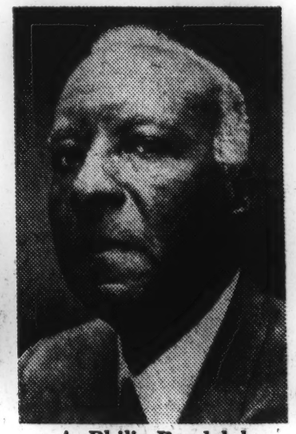
Congress of Racial Equality

FOUNDED in 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has emerged as one of the most active of the large civil rights organizations. . . . Carries out a program of nonviolent direct action in many areas to end racial discrimination. . . . Claims a membership of 65,000 in 118 local groups. . . . Has strong appeal for youth and recruits many of its members from the country's campuses. . . . National director is James Farmer, 44, who lives in a lower Manhattan housing development and heads staff of 70. . . . Associated with him are James R. Robinson, executive secretary, and Floyd B. McKissick, Durham, N. C., lawyer, first Negro chairman of CORE. . . . First sit-in was in 1942 at Stoner's Restaurant, Chicago. . . . After many demonstrations, restaurant agreed to integrate in 1946. . . . Achieved prominence in 1960 with wave of Southern sit-ins. . . . Held spotlight by organizing Freedom Rides to integrate bus lines and bus stops, sitting-in at stations.

John Lewis

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

DRIVING force behind the Mississippi Summer Project is the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, popularly known as Snick. . . . A youth agency for nonviolent direct action to eliminate segregation. . . . Has 520 volunteers in Mississippi, including 150 lawyers and law students, working on voter registration or operating "Freedom Schools" where Negro history and voter registration skills are taught. . . . Is working there with National Council of Churches and Council of Federated Organizations, established by the N.A.A.C.P., CORE, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Snick. . . . Home office is in Atlanta. . . . John Lewis, 24-year-old philosophy graduate of Fisk University in Nashville, chairman, and James Forman, a former Chicago teacher, executive secretary, head a staff of 75. . . . Founded in 1960. . . . The group's youthful membership is nebulous and shifting, but it has backers on many a campus.



A. Philip Randolph

Negro American Labor Council

NEGRO trade unionists founded the Negro American Labor Council in 1960. . . . Like a predecessor committee, it "promotes equality in employment and apprenticeship opportunities for Negro workers." . . . Also calls for growth of a strong democratic labor movement and a high level of union responsibility among Negro union members. . . . Develops community effort against anti-union legislation. . . . Council has 10,000 members (out of 1.5 million Negroes in the labor movement). . . . Home office is in Harlem on West 125th Street. . . . President is A. Philip Randolph, 75-year-old head of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, originator of the March on Washington in 1963. . . . He won the Fair Employment Practices Commission from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, desegregation of the armed services from President Truman. . . . Has lived for 35 years in Harlem. . . . Group pickets and demonstrates, but does most effective work negotiating behind scenes.

Joseph H. Jackson

National Baptist Convention

LARGEST Negro religious body in the nation is the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., headed since 1953 by the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago. . . . Church, founded in 1880, claims 5.5 million members in 26,000 churches. . . . Mission headquarters is in Philadelphia. . . . Dr. Jackson, a 60-year-old native of Mississippi, has frequently been in conflict with Negro leaders over his calls for patience and maintenance of goodwill, and his consistent opposition to demonstrations, including the March on Washington. . . . A typical comment by Dr. Jackson: "We must not sacrifice constructive human relations in a meticulous contention for the letter of the law." . . . Has said "the answer to racial confusion" is the Bible. . . . Pastor of Olivet Baptist Church in Chicago. . . . His annual election—usually by acclamation—at conventions has been disputed in court several times, and police have been called twice to quell election disturbances.

Dorothy I. Height

National Council of Negro Women

AN ORGANIZATION with 850,000 members, including most of the Negro women who are college graduates, is the 29-year-old National Council of Negro Women. . . . In 90 localities it is one of the groups that constitute Negro society. . . . Its international cotillion, where young women are introduced to society (usually in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel), is attended by many United Nations dignitaries. . . . President is Miss Dorothy I. Height of New York, director of training of the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association. . . . For the Y.W.C.A., in conjunction with its community associations divisions, she conducts an action program to accelerate integration. . . . She heads 70 women who are running a voter registration drive by telephone from the council headquarters here. . . . Miss Height has also worked as a teacher at the "Y" School of Social Work in Delhi University in India.

L. Joseph Overton

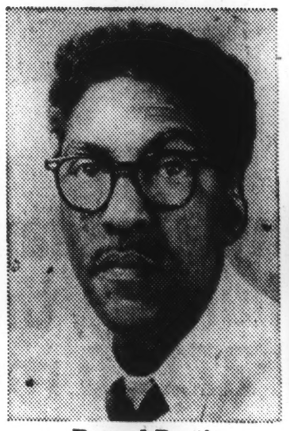
United Council of Harlem Organizations

SOMETIMES called the Harlem Residents Joint Community Action Council, the United Council of Harlem Organizations represents 69 local organizations in Harlem, including about 10 Black Nationalist groups . . . A coalition of Negro groups formed July 20 after this year's riots began in an effort to bring about unity among Harlem community organizations . . . Biggest element of strength in the council is that its acting chairman, L. Joseph Overton, Negro labor leader, is acceptable to 10 of the 17 or more Black Nationalist groups in the area . . . Mr. Overton, 43, former president of the New York branch of the N.A.A.C.P., is widely known for his service as business agent, Local 338, Retail, Wholesale, Chain Store and Food Employes Union . . . He achieved wide public attention in 1959, when he organized a successful boycott of liquor stores in Harlem in order to win more jobs and quantities of sales for Negro salesmen.

James R. Lawson

United African Nationalist Movement

FOUNDED in 1948, the United African Nationalist Movement has 100 to 300 members . . . Membership is less important than views of founder, James R. Lawson, public relations man and later United Nations correspondent for a string of Negro newspapers . . . Mr. Lawson speaks for widely held viewpoint in Harlem . . . Mr. Lawson, 45 years old, of the Bronx, quits movement now and then to look after his own economic interests . . . But at other times his concern is economic interests of other Negroes, for whom he raises slogan "Buy Black." . . . He first became active in 1937, pressing for jobs . . . Later he started his first "Buy Black" drive . . . He urges "economic self-determination for all black communities." . . . Says he maintains special liaison with African nations at the United Nations . . . His promotion of "independent black nations" won him a decoration from Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in 1954.



Bayard Rustin

ORGANIZING genius behind many of the successfull civil rights protests in the last decade is Bayard Rustin, a 53-year-old native of Pennsylvania . . . Organized several demonstrations in Washington in late nineteen-fifties, culminating in last summer's March on Washington, which drew 200,000 . . . Latest success was New York City school boycott in February . . . Participated in demonstrations as early as 1947 . . . Was field secretary for CORE in the nineteen-forties and an adviser to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. from 1955 to 1960 . . . Believes it is time to broaden fight to include voter registration and economic issues and to seek alliances with liberal sources of power like labor unions . . . Active in pacifist causes as well . . . Serves as executive secretary of the War Resisters League . . . One of the leaders who called last month for an end to demonstrations until after the November elections . . . Lives on West 28th Street, but is often on the road.

Jesse Gray

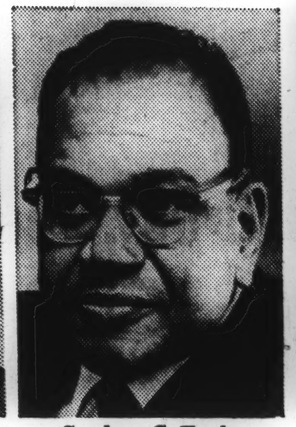
Community Council on Housing

ONE of most militant workers in the city is Jesse Gray, director of the Community Council on Housing and organizer of the Harlem rent strike . . . The council, latest in a series of groups Mr. Gray has organized in 10 years of battling slumlords, claims 2,000 members, among whom 400 pay $1 monthly dues . . . Mr. Gray said about 300 buildings were involved in rent strike but observers could not find that many . . . Started rent-strike strategy when he discovered one cold morning that there was no heat in his apartment . . . Tried to make the strike citywide, but failed to rally enough support . . . Supported abortive stall-in at World's Fair and called for "guerrilla warfare" after recent rioting . . . Given to protest rallies, publicity with shock value and charges of police brutality . . . Born in Baton Rouge, La., 40 years ago . . . . Lives in Harlem. . . . Lost campaign for a Democratic district leadership in 1961.

Livingston L. Wingate

Haryou-Act

LAST month the Haryou-Act board took the first steps in implementing massive community development and youth projects to relieve the "despair, hopelessness and futility" of Harlem . . . President of 60-member board, made up of influential citizens of area, is Livingston L. Wingate, a 48-year-old lawyer . . . Project has $118 million budget for first three years to be financed by city, Federal and private contributions . . . Mr. Wingate was a troubleshooter for Adam Clayton Powell and later director of Associated Community Teams (Act), which merged with Harlem Youth Opportunites Unlimited (Haryou) to form new agency . . . Worked his way up from impoverished Harlem youth, now lives in luxury Lenox Terrace in upper Harlem . . . Once said that the aim of schools should be to encourage the sharp intellects of ghetto youths who have learned to live by their wits . . . Did voluntary legal work against discrimination for N.A.A.C.P. and individuals.



Gardner C. Taylor

Concord Baptist Church

ONE of the most widely respected leaders in the city is the Rev. Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, 46-year-old pastor of the Concord Baptist Church in Bedford-Stuyvesant . . . The church, with more than 10,000 members, is one of the largest in nation . . . Dr. Taylor came to Brooklyn, where he still lives, in 1948. He was born in Baton Rouge, La. . . . In 1958 became the second Negro since 1917 to sit on the Board of Education, where he attacked de facto school segregation . . . An outspoken leader in demonstrations at Downstate Medical Center last summer and this February's school boycott . . . He is active in the Urban League and the Committee on Job Opportunities for Brooklyn and a power in the Kings County Democratic organization . . . An eloquent and noted preacher . . . Leader in the Progressive National Baptist Convention, which split from National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., in 1961. The new denomination holds more liberal views on social action than the parent body.

J. Raymond Jones

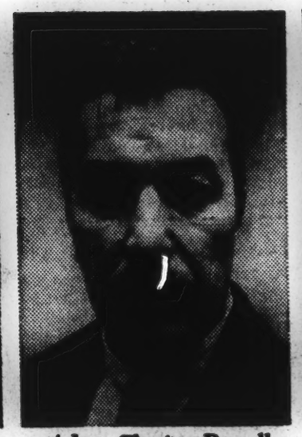
SINCE last fall, when he won election over the opposition of Adam Clayton Powell, City Councilman J. Raymond Jones is considered one of the most powerful politicians in Harlem . . . Known as "The Fox" . . . Was the top strategist in Mr. Powell's campaign against Tammany Hall in 1958 and Mayor Wagner's battle against Democratic organization in 1961 . . . Aside from influence of his political power, has not taken leading part in civil rights movements . . . Became active in Harlem politics soon after coming to city from Virgin Islands in 1918 . . . He is an acknowledged master political craftsman . . . Conducts most of his political activities out of the Carver Democratic Club in Harlem, where he is the leading power . . . Held succession of patronage jobs; now has real estate and business interests in Harlem and Virgin Islands . . . One of founders of Haryou . . . Lives in Harlem, now spends much time in Virgin Islands, where he was born 64 years ago.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark

SCHOLAR of the civil rights movement is Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at City College . . . Did pioneering research in the effects of segregation that was cited in a footnote to the 1954 Supreme Court school decision . . . Was one of first to assail de facto segregation in city schools . . . Has developed a philosophy and sociology of race relations that is influential . . . Comes from working-class Harlem background, now lives in 10-room house in Hastings-on-Hudson . . . The hard-driving, 50-year-old scholar was prime force behind program developed by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited . . . Haryou report, "Youth in the Ghetto," is on way to becoming a sociological classic . . . Once said that the "Negro must help America regain its soul." . . . On a number of occasions has served as adviser in the city's school system . . . Recipient of N. A. A. C. P.'s Spingarn Medal in 1961 . . . With his wife operates nonprofit Northside Center for Child Development in Harlem.

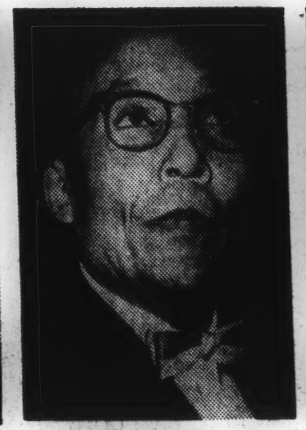
Richard A. Hildebrand
Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Employment

REPRESENTATIVES of the major civil rights groups belong to the Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Employment . . . Chairman is the Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, who has served as president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's New York branch . . . Wants to end discrimination in and by city's building trades unions . . . Seeks particularly to have qualified members of minority groups admitted to unions as journeymen or to union training programs as apprentices . . . Mr. Hildebrand, pastor of Bethel A. M. E. Church, 60 West 132d Street, has tried to win programs from the city designed to spur recruitment of Negroes for apprentice training . . . To achieve end, its supporters picket construction sites, sometimes tying them up by sit-ins and by lying down in front of trucks . . . It staged sit-ins last year at Governor's and Mayor's offices.



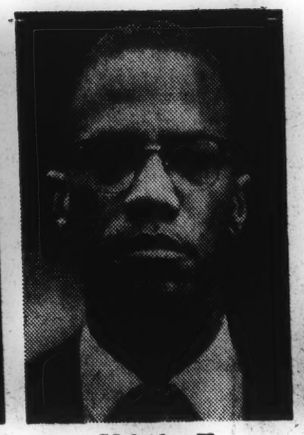
Adam Clayton Powell

UNTIL the rise to prominence in the nineteen-sixties of the civil rights leaders, the most militant voice in the Negro's struggle for equality was that of Adam Clayton Powell . . . Has represented the Congressional district embracing Harlem since 1944, serving now as head of the key House Education and Labor Committee . . . Occasionally walks on a picket line . . . At present is "Sunday visitor" to New York City because a summons has been issued (not servable on Sunday) over defamation award he has not paid . . . Although his influence is waning, the 55-year-old minister is still a hero to many through his political clubs and his pastorate of the 10,000-member Abyssinian Baptist Church on West 138th Street . . . Believes the vote is at root of attainment of civil rights and has urged Negroes to form a third political force . . . An erratic man of expensive tastes, he has stood alone many times in Congress to introduce antibias bills. . . . Has a home in Puerto Rico.



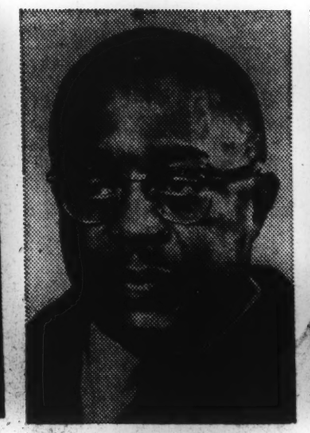
Elijah Muhammad
Black Muslims

EXISTING alongside civil rights organizations asking for integration are the iron-disciplined Black Muslims, who seek total separation from the "blue-eyed white devils." . . . Leader is Elijah Muhammad, the Messenger of The Temple of Islam, who built up movement in Detroit in 1930 . . . Claims of membership run from 50,000 to 250,000; 6,500 heard Elijah speak here in June . . . . Headquarters is in Chicago, with centers in major cities of North . . . Considered a splinter group in racial crisis, and is inactive in the South . . . Mr. Muhammad, 67 years old, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. . . . Refers to his race as "so-called Negroes." . . . Movement issues tabloid newspaper—Muhammad Speaks—that is sold on street corners and is widely read . . . His followers are enjoined to lead pure lives, which means no smoking, no drinking, no profanity and no carrying of weapons . . . Leader of the Black Muslims in New York is Minister James 3X.



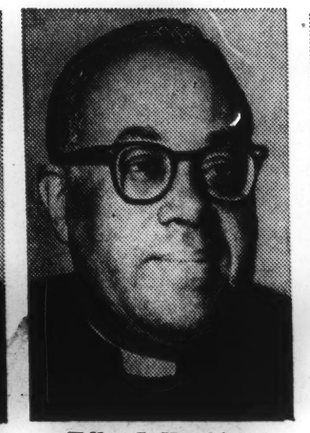
Malcolm X
Organization of Afro-American Unity

SET up this year, the Organization of Afro-American Unity is a local organization headed by Malcolm X, former Eastern representative of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims . . . Malcolm, 38, is a resident of Flushing, Queens . . . When Malcolm broke with Mr. Muhammad, he organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Theresa Hotel . . . On this following he set up the Afro-American organization as a broadly based nonsectarian movement . . . Malcolm seeks to recruit Negro intellectuals and professionals who cannot accept Islam but favor separation of the races in the United States as a solution to the problems of race relations . . . In recent visit to Cairo, Malcolm circulated an appeal to delegates of 34 African nations asking them to raise the issue of prejudice against the Negroes in the United States before the United Nations . . . In that message, he asserted the "right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors."



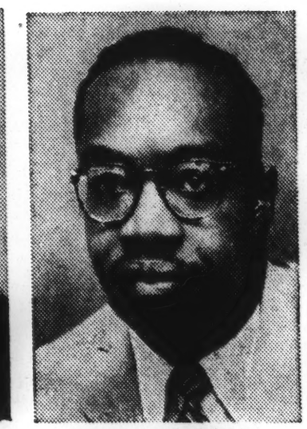
Sandy F. Ray
Empire Baptist Missionary Convention

A GROUP of almost 500 Negro churches in the state, the Empire Baptist Missionary Convention, is headed by the Rev. Dr. Sandy F. Ray . . . Born in Texas, he has been pastor of the 5,000-member Cornerstone Baptist Church, on the eastern fringe of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, since 1944 . . . Was chairman of ministers' group that planned last summer's demonstrations for more jobs for Negroes at the Downstate Medical Center . . . Group has evolved into the Committee on Job Opportunities for Brooklyn, which has about 200 members . . . Lives in Brooklyn . . . Was one of the delegates from New York who declined to make the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater unanimous at Republican National Convention . . . One of a small group of liberals who have urged social action in the largely conservative National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.



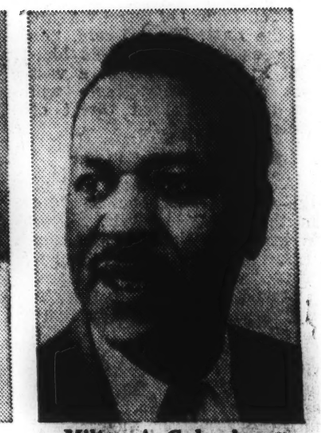
Edler G. Hawkins
St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church

A POWER in the large Negro community in the southeast Bronx is the Rev. Dr. Edler G. Hawkins, pastor of St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church, Prospect Avenue and East 165th Street . . . His approach to the problems of civil rights since he assumed the pastorate in 1938 has been based on a practical evaluation of possibilities and an attempt to raise the standards of his 1,000 parishoners and the community . . . The 55-year-old minister, born in the city, is an active Reform Democrat and has been member of panels investigating housing and employment abuses . . . Was a member of first board of directors of the Greater New York Urban League . . . This May was elected the first Negro moderator of the 3.2-million-member United Presbyterian Church . . . Lives next to his church . . . Has been a leader in pressing for integration of the Protestant churches in the city.



Eugene S. Callender
Presbyterian Church of the Master

AMONG the city's ministers who are making the work of the church felt in the community is the Rev. Dr. Eugene S. Callender, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Master on 122d Street . . . Through his 800-member congregation and the associated Morningside Community Center, the 38-year-old minister has developed a broad spectrum of projects for youths and narcotics addicts . . . Prominent in many civic groups . . . co-chairman of Harlem Neighborhoods Association, a federation of 70 local groups, and chairman of the Citywide Coordinating Committee, a ministers' group formed after rioting last month . . . Has called on the older generation to support young activists in the civil rights movement . . . Born in Massachusetts, he has worked in city since 1952 . . . Lives in upper Harlem.



Milton A. Galamison
Citywide Committee for School Integration

AN AMALGAM, the Citywide Committee for School Integration is the brainchild of a Brooklyn pastor who for 10 years has been trying to get better schools . . . He is the Rev. Milton A. Galamison of Siloam Presbyterian Church . . . He has also campaigned for job opportunities and has served as president of the Brooklyn branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People . . . Led two school boycotts this year The 41-year-old minister has at his church a credit union, vocational guidance center, mental clinic, reading clinic and mathematics center . . . He lives with his wife, a public school teacher in Brownsville, and their son, who attends a private school in Manhattan, in Crown Heights . . . He is president of the Parents Workshop for Equality in New York City Schools.

CHICAGO LABOR'S ALBUM OF MEMORIES — See Pages 4 & 5

FEDERATION NEWS

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR · INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL · AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO

Published by The Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council

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Executive Council Meets on Legislation

A meeting of the 29-member AFL-CIO Executive Council has been scheduled for Washington on November 24, AFL-CIO President George Meany has announced.

High on the agenda of the council is the legislative program of the AFL-CIO in the new, liberal 89th Congress.

Randolph Tells Civil Rights Parley:

Election Was Historic Landslide for Freedom

Pay Is the Issue

Phone Workers In Mediation To Avert Strike

Leaders of plant workers of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company met with management and federal mediators in an effort to head off a strike voted by members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. A union spokesman said no progress was made in the sessions. Another meeting was scheduled with mediators as the Federation News went to press. The dispute is over wages.

Meanwhile in New York over 30,000 plant workers employed by the New York Telephone Company are on strike in protest against management's assignment of supervisors to work normally performed by craftsmen. The workers on strike include employees of the New York Telephone Company, the long lines division of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and Western Electric Company.

We'll Mourn Him All Our Lives

NOVEMBER 22, 1963—The brass brotherhood [illegible] of famous men; not only are they

Labor & Liberal Unity Urged in Fight On 'Goldwaterism'

A. Philip Randolph called for a "coalition of conscience" to achieve the goals of the civil rights movement before 750 unionists attending the 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights in the Sherman House.

Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president and head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said these goals are:

- A war on poverty going beyond the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. "Billions must be spent on housing, public works and schools," he said.
- Quality, integrated education for all American children.
- News laws to assure Negroes their voting rights if the Civil Rights Act of 1964 fails to do the job.

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(Photo on page 3)

Teachers Petition For Poll to Name Bargaining Team

An eight-day strike of the Louisville, Kentucky, Federation of Teachers was ended as the union mounted its new strategy directed at becoming the authorized bargaining agent of the teachers.

Union leaders began circulating petitions calling on the Louisville Board of Education to arrange for an election.

It sets up a contest between the union and the conservative Louisville Education Association. Joseph F. Cascella, American Federation of Teachers representative, said that the local union was undertaking its first major membership drive in history.

We'll Mourn Him All Our Lives

NOVEMBER 22, 1963—The bronze brotherhood sculpture in front of the international headquarters of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen seemed to weep with us all for President John F. Kennedy. Pericles, one of the greatest of Greek statesman, put our feelings in these words over 2,500 years ago:

"The whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone, but in the hearts of men."

State Senate: Did You Get the Nov. 3 Message?

Can the Republican members of the Illinois state senate read election returns?

The answer to this question will determine the fate of labor's legislative program in the session of the General Assembly opening early next January.

Here's why:

The state senate has been the traditional dumping ground for labor bills. Since representation in Senate districts is based on acres instead of people, the rural-minded so-called upper house plows under any bills that might help working people or Chicago.

Last November 3, when half the state senators were up for election, the dust settled with 33 Republicans and 25 Democrats on the road to Springfield. Under the present state of the districts, this is rated the best possible performance for the Democrats.

So the senate will remain the haven of conservatism — unless any of the following takes place:

- Enough Republican senators will realize that their do-nothing state platform on labor and social issues was drastically defeated in the deluge which gave President Lyndon Johnson a record margin and put Governor Otto Kerner in charge of the state's affairs for a second term.
- The Republican senators must be aware that the election of 118 Democrats to the House of Representatives in the at-large election means that they are in danger of having their own pet bills squelched unless there is major accommodation made with the governor and the Democratic majority.
- Joseph Germano, area director of the Steelworkers, could win his suit to have votes in the senate allocated on the basis of population of the districts currently represented in the senate. The U. S. Supreme Court has upheld labor's policy of "one man, one vote" with respect to both houses of the state legislature. Germano's suit would provide temporary adjustment of representation, pending reapportionment of senate seats as ordered by the court.

What's at stake?

Basically, the realistic change in representation on the basis of population would be proof that Illinois has read the census figures which show the majority of the population in urban centers.

At last, labor and other city dwellers would get a fair share of attention from the state legislature.

This means that Governor Kerner could redeem his pledge to have a minimum wage law enacted

(Continued on page 3)

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- News laws to assure Negroes their voting rights if the Civil Rights Act of 1964 fails to do the job.

Randolph, principal speaker at the luncheon session of the annual rights parley, said the "coalition of conscience" should include the civil rights organizations, labor groups, the major religious faiths and others interested in the cause of human freedom.

The conference, sponsored by the Jewish Labor Committee and endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council, paid special tribute to Randolph. The conference awards committee presented him with a plaque that read:

"To A. Philip Randolph. In recognition of outstanding leadership in civil rights and labor movements. Awarded by the 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights and the Jewish Labor Committee of Chicago. November 14, 1964."

Annual Civil Rights Awards were presented at the luncheon. Trophies (top award) and scrolls were presented to union publications, individuals and local unions.

Trophy winners were the Fed-

(Continued on page 2)

CHICAGO LABOR'S WELCOME is extended to Thomas Augustine (right) as he takes over post of Regional Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor. He is first Negro in the nation to be appointed to head up a regional office of the Labor Department. Under Secretary John Henning (left) of the U. S. Department of Labor introduced Augustine to CFL-IUC President William A. Lee. Augustine has long experience in vocational training. Lee pledged full cooperation of the Chicago trade union movement in helping Augustine in his work.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH (right), AFL-CIO vice-president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, receives top award at 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights. Morris Bialis (left), conference chairman, and Jacob Siegel, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, made the presentation. Randolph, the principal speaker at the conference, headed up the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Election & Freedom—

(Continued from page 1)

eration News, publication of the CFL-IUC; Gilbert Cornfield, member of Teachers Local 189 and a labor attorney; Machinists Lodge 113 and Chicago Fur and Leather Workers Local 45F.

Scroll awards were given to the Chicago Union Teacher and Interval, publications of the Chicago Teachers Union; No. 1 News, magazine of Chicago Flat Janitors Local 1; Mrs. Tobie Schein, Chicago Teachers Union; Michael J. Fomusa, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 738, and Teamsters Local 738; Painters Local 237; and American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Local 1.

Thomas E. Faul, secretary-treasurer of the CFL-IUC, was master of ceremonies at the luncheon.

Morris Bialis, a board member of the CFL-IUC and a vice president of the Ladies Garment Workers, was conference chairman. Bialis said any attempt to cut off funds of the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission will be met by stiff labor opposition. State Senator John A. Graham (R.-Barrington) has threatened to scuttle FEPC appropriations in the 1965 General Assembly.

Jacob Siegel, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, said that President Johnson now has a mandate from the American people to implement the Civil Rights Act. Siegel said the labor movement will support the President.

Randolph said: "The civil rights movement is working to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We were gratified at the landslide received by President Johnson and proud of the Negro vote in the election.

"The Negro vote was the most important single block of votes. They knew that Goldwater had to be retired into political oblivion. But now we must fight 'Goldwaterism' — for 26 million

AWARD WINNERS in annual competition sponsored by the 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights are (seated, left to right): Gilbert Cornfield, labor attorney, Co-Chairman Program and Resolutions Committee of 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights, 'Individual Unionist' Award Trophy; Eileen Shannon, editor Chicago Union Teacher and The Interval, 'Union Publication' Award Scroll; Betty Rucker, trustee, Chicago Fur Workers Union Local 45F, 'Local Union' Award Trophy; Tobie Schein, member, Chicago Teacher's Union Human Relations Committee and House of Representatives, 'Individual Unionist' Award Scroll; Dorothy Hunter, vice-president, Chicago Fur Workers Union Local 45F; Morris Bialis, conference chairman, Vice-President International Ladies Garment Workers and Manager Chicago Joint Board, Executive Board CFL-IUC; Standing, left to right: John E. Cullerton, co-chairman, Civil Rights Awards Committee, director, Illinois Department of Labor; David Schacter, co-chairman, Awards Committee, financial secretary-treasurer, Jewelry Workers Local 4; Steven S. Smagala, secretary-treasurer, American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Local 1, 'Local Union' Civil Rights Scroll; Aaron Aronin, field director, Jewish Labor Committee and Conference Co-ordinator; Harry Demien, apprentice co-ordinator, Chicago Painters Joint Apprenticeship Committee District Council 14, 'Local Union' Award Scroll for Painters Local 273; Al Whitley, recording secretary, Chicago Flat Janitors Union Local 1, 'Union Publication' Award Scroll for No. 1 News; Howard Lenik, business representative Machinists Local 113, 'Local Union' Civil Rights Award Trophy; Michael Fomusa, secretary-treasurer, Teamsters Local 738 'Individual Unionist' Awards Scroll, and 'Local Union' Awards Scroll; Thomas E. Faul, secretary-treasurer CFL-IUC (Conference Master of Ceremonies), 'Union Publication' Award Trophy for Federation News, Publication of CFL-IUC.

AWARD OF MERIT for labor publications in the field of civil rights goes to the Federation News. Presentation was made at 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights sponsored by the Jewish

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"The Negro vote was the most important single block of votes. They knew that Goldwater had to be retired into political oblivion. But now we must fight 'Goldwaterism' — for 26 million Americans supported him. The roots of 'Goldwaterism' must be pulled up and destroyed.

"Goldwaterism is a form of Nazism. Nazism killed six million Jews in Europe. Goldwaterism is a form of facism. Facism banished liberty in Italy.

"The Negro has developed a new sense of his political power. He must use that power as does labor — to defeat his enemies and elect the friends of justice."

Randolph said, "The civil rights movement is confident that President Johnson will seek full implementation of the Civil Rights Act."

He praised the work of the 10th Labor Conference on Civil Rights and urged the audience to work for the civil rights goals of peace, progress and plenty.

Five workshop sessions held in the morning covered national and state civil rights legislation, immigration, employment, local union civil rights programs, housing and community facilities.

The conference urged:

- Complete enforcement of state and federal civil rights laws.
- Full labor support for changes in immigration laws introduced by the late President John F. Kennedy.
- Continued local union and community action to help immigrants adjust to a new life where with special attention to informing newcomers of their union and community rights and responsibilities.
- Support for the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission, with more funds and staff.
- Seek votes in the General Assembly for more state matching funds of Manpower Development and Training Projects.
- Use and support the Chicago Apprenticeship Information Center.
- Establishment of local union civil rights committees. (Where possible, locals are urged to include a civil rights committee in its constitution or by-laws.)
- Work for implementation of the Hauser and Havighurst reports on the Chicago school system to speed up the integration of the city' schools and improve the quality of the education offered.
- Local unions were urged to make pension and welfare funds available for investment in low-cost, integrated housing and loans for mortgages on integrated housing.

Discussion leaders were **Stanley L. Johnson,** executive vice president, of the Illinois State AFL-CIO; **Robert Herbin,** secretary-treasurer, Fur and Leather Workers Joint Board; **Robert R. McKersie,** associate professor of industrial relations, University of Chicago; **Lester Thornton,** subdistrict director, Steelworkers, and **Paul A. Iaccino,** assistant to the president, CFL-IUC.

Co-chairmen of the parley's Program and Resolutions Committee were **Theodore Robinson,** CFL-IUC board member, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, and **Gilbert Cornfield,** labor attorney.

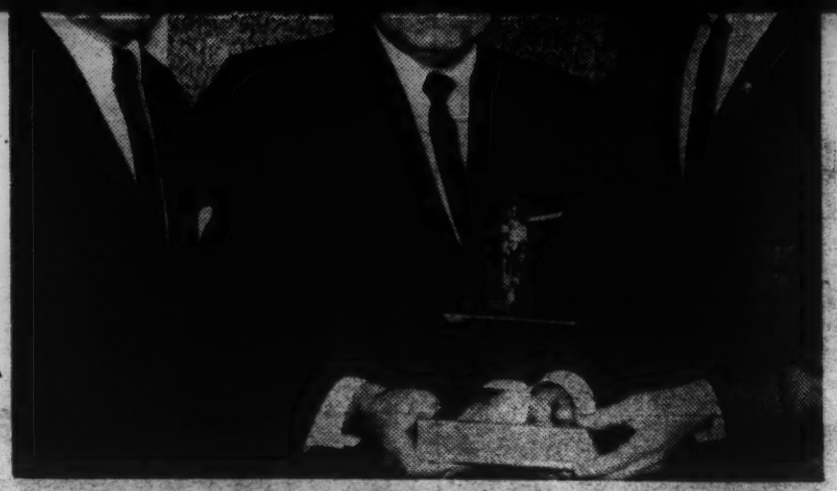
Harold Schwartz, Ladies Garment Workers, and **Leroy Shackelford,** Sleeping Car Porters, are co-chairmen of the Host and Reception Committee.

Conference co-ordinator was Aaron Aronin, field director of the Jewish Labor Committee.

Right-Wing & Revenue

The Internal Revenue Service has cracked down on the tax exempt status of contributors to the Christian Crusade run by Billy James Hargis, right-wing evangelist, who was a Goldwater supporter. "Political activities" was given as the reason. Hargis has now threatened to bring suit to withdraw the tax exemption of liberal organizations which he has accused of taking part in the last election.

Chicago Fur Workers Union Local 45F; Morris Bialis, conference chairman, Vice-President International Ladies Garment Workers and Manager Chicago Joint Board, Executive Board CFL-IUC; Standing, left to right: John E. Cullerton, co-chairman, Civil Rights Awards Committee, director, Illinois Department of Labor; David Schacter, co-chairman, Awards Committee, financial secretary-treasurer, Jewelry Workers Local 4; Steven S. Smagala, secretary-treasurer, American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Local 1, 'Local Union' Civil Rights Scroll; Aaron Aronin, field director, Jewish Labor Committee and Conference Co-ordinator; Harry Demien, apprentice co-ordinator, Chicago Painters Joint Apprenticeship Committee District Council 14, 'Local Union' Award Scroll for Painters Local 273; Al Whitley, recording secretary, Chicago Flat Janitors Union Local 1, 'Union Publication' Award Scroll for No. 1 News; Howard Lenik, business representative Machinists Local 113, 'Local Union' Civil Rights Award Trophy; Michael Fomusa, secretary-treasurer, Teamsters Local 738 'Individual Unionist' Awards Scroll, and 'Local Union' Awards Scroll; Thomas E. Faul, secretary-treasurer CFL-IUC (Conference Master of Ceremonies), 'Union Publication' Award Trophy for Federation News, Publication of CFL-IUC.



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63rd & Halsted
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95th & Cicero

GUARD HEAD FINDS UNITS INTEGRATED

Concedes 'Token' Moves in South but Cites 'Milestone'

By JACK RAYMOND

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29 — The National Guard throughout the United States has achieved at least token integration, Maj. Gen. Winston P. Wilson, chief of the National Guard Bureau, said today.

The bureau is an arm of the Department of Defense responsible for policy liaison with the Guard in each state. The organized Guard units are run by the individual states, except in times of national emergency.

General Wilson conceded in a prepared statement that there was "only token integration in some areas so far," but he emphasized that it was significant and represented "a milestone in the history of the National Guard."

Reserve Plan Cited

The question of desegregation came to the fore recently because of the Pentagon's announced plan to reorganize the Army's reserve components. Under the plan, organized units of the Army Reserve would be dropped or merged with the Army National Guard, and members of the Army Reserve would either join the Guard or be placed in a pool of fillers.

The Army Reserve, however, has been integrated since 1948 when the regular Army began placing officers and men without regard to color. The National Guard, because of its status as a state militia, was not subject to the desegregation regulations.

When Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara recently announced his plan to realign all reserve Army forces, it was immediately foreseen that many National Guard units in the South would be a problem.

The segregation issue was also expected to reinforce opposition of some Southern Congressmen to the plan, which will be presented to Congress as part of the Defense Department's next budget request.

Panel's Report Noted

While Pentagon officials stressed that they were not belittling the desegregation problem in certain National Guard units, they called attention to observations made by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. In a report issued last Saturday, the committee criticized the Army for failing to press desegregation sufficiently in areas where Negroes were stationed overseas but had praise for the progress made in the National Guard.

The committee pointed out that when it first received its study assignment from President Kennedy in June, 1962, there were 10 states with no Negroes in any National Guard unit—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Now, the committee declared, all states have at least wiped out technical barriers to desegregation—including laws that had prevented it.

'Verifies' Negro Enlistments

General Wilson said he could not provide a statistical breakdown because "identity by race no longer is listed on official reports." However, he said he could "verify" that in the last year and a half Negroes had enlisted in the National Guard of states that previously had restricted their membership.

According to his aides at the Pentagon, General Wilson was a major force in recent desegregation efforts of Guard units in Southern states. He personally discussed the problem with many Governors and Guard leaders, it was said.

Southerner by Birth

Birmingham Names A Negro Executive To Planning Board

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Dec. 29 (AP)—A Negro real estate executive today became the first of his race to be appointed to an official Birmingham city board.

By a one-vote margin, the City Council approved the appointment of Wilbur H. Hollins to fill out an unexpired term on the 12-member City Planning Commission.

Mr. Hollins's term will expire on Oct. 7, 1967. He succeeds Clyde Needham, who resigned recently.

Mr. Hollins is widely known for his civic, religious and political activities. He is executive vice president of a real estate and insurance firm, and the secretary of a finance company.

During a lengthy discussion preceding the council vote, two council members, Alan Drennen and George Seibels, noted that Mr. Hollins's appointment would be valuable to the planning commission in connection with proposed urban renewal projects involving hundreds of acres owned by Negroes.

Although Mr. Hollins is the first Negro to serve on any major city board or authority, there are several Negroes serving on Mayor-appointed committees and subcommittees that make recommendations to the City Council.

The Planning Commission, among other things, acts on zoning changes within the corporate limits of the city.

Mr. Hollins who is 55 years old, is a graduate of Alabama State College with a B.S. degree in social science. He studied law for two years and took a course in real estate appraising at the formerly all-white University of Alabama extension center in Birmingham. He was formerly a school teacher.

Birmingham drew international attention in 1963 during street demonstrations against segregation. At the time it was called the most rigidly segregated city in the nation.

Since then, the city has integrated all of its public facilities; reopened its golf and other recreation facilities, except swimming pools, on an integrated basis and desegregated downtown lunch counters and other facilities.

6 WHITES FREED IN GEORGIA CASE

U.S. Judge Drops Charges Involving Negro Rights

MACON, Ga., Dec. 29 (AP)—Federal indictments charging six white men with conspiring to injure and oppress Negroes were thrown out of court today by a United States District Court Judge.

The indictments grew out of the slaying of Lemuel Penn, a Washington Negro educator who was shot dead on the night of July 11. Mr. Penn, a lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserve, was returning to Washington with two other Army Reserve officers from Fort Benning where they had attended a training course.

Two of the six men, Cecil Myers and Joseph Howard Sims, earlier were tried and acquitted in a state court on murder charges in the slaying of Mr. Penn. The four others are Denver Willis Phillips, George Hampton Turner, Hebert Guest and James S. Lackey.

Lackey still faces a state charge of murder in Mr. Penn's death.

In dismissing the Federal conspiracy charges, Judge W. A. Bootle said that constitutional questions were involved.

BANQUET FOR DR. KING GETS MORE BACKING

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Dec. 29—The proposed hometown banquet honoring the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., recent recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, gained the support of more prominent Atlanta leaders today.

Others invited to help sponsor the event next month continued to refrain, however, and some were privately outspoken in their opposition.

The banquet is scheduled for Jan. 27 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, but still has not been officially announced. A letter was sent almost two weeks ago to about 125 business, political, religious and educational leaders asking them to join in sponsoring the event. Many of those invited have not yet replied, but a substantial number have answered affirmatively.

During the last two days, a number of prominent names have been added. Recent additions include white college presidents and some leading professional men. The list of sponsors has not been disclosed.

The letter inviting sponsorship was signed by the Most Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Atlanta; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, of The Temple in Atlanta; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, and Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution. No consensus was reached when many of the city's most influential leaders gathered without public disclosure late Monday to discuss whether the event should be supported. A widely known corporate executive argued forcefully for support of the event but this view was vigorously opposed by some present.

NESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1964.

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Southerner by Birth

The last two states to abandon racial discrimination were Alabama and Mississippi, the latter on Dec. 1.

Guard officials indicated they expected progress beyond token desegregation. Brig. Gen. Francis S. Freenlief, deputy chief of the National Guard Bureau, said he foresaw "steady growth" rather than any "tremendous surge" of Negro membership in Guard outfits in the South.

The council of trustees of the Association of the United States Army, representing uniformed and civilian supporters of the Army, has given qualified support to the Pentagon's reorganization plan in a statement sent to more than 120 chapters.

Meanwhile, Pentagon officials were reported to be working on preparing a troop list for submittance Feb. 1 to Mr. McNamara. The list will indicate which units are to be retained under the merger.

There have been indications of some resistance in Congress to the proposal, but the Pentagon received important support today from Senator Barry Goldwater.

The defeated Republican candidate for President, who is a major general in the Air Force Reserve, wrote Secretary McNamara that he believed the realignment was "just."

"In fact," he said, "I had a few harpoons thrown at me when I suggested the same thing a number of years ago."

His letter also supported the Secretary's policy on the clos-

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Lackey still faces a state charge of murder in Mr. Penn's death.

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The judge's ruling said:

"The question is by what authority should they be tried. . . . The enforcement of general criminal laws is a local matter with authority and responsibility resting squarely and solely on local city, county and state governmental authorities. . . ."

He referred to the acquittal of Mr. Sims and Mr. Myers in a state court and said it was important "that this court not usurp jurisdiction where it has none."

The ruling then stated that the Government had a speedy remedy for a review of his decision by the Supreme Court and if the indictment was valid, the men could still be tried.

The six men were identified by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents as active in Ku Klux Klan affairs.

Attorneys for the defendants asked Judge Bootle to dismiss the Federal charges of conspiracy, arguing that the indictment failed to charge any violation of Federal law.

A Justice Department attorney said the indictments were based on an 1870 law, as well as on the newly enacted Civil Rights Act.

The Federal conspiracy charges carry a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison, a $5,000 fine, or both. The charges alleged that the six men engaged in systematic intimidation of Negroes. The Government said they conspired to shoot, beat and kill Negroes, damage and destroy their property, pursue them in cars and threaten them with guns.

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The New York Tim

SUNDAY, MARCH 26, 1933.

WS OF THE WEEK

[redacted]

ncrease vote

With Dr. [redacted] is the [redacted] Inte[redacted] Brit[redacted]

ing Committee; the Rev. [redacted] Dr. [redacted] ounty Voters League, and the

Abernathy, an aide to Dr. [redacted] R. D. [redacted] Williams, another aide to

LABOR CHRONICLE

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK CITY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

Vol. 61, No. 1 — 19 — NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1965 — 10c A COPY, $1.00 PER YEAR

Donald Slaiman, Director of AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, tells the special conference on "Implications and Applications of the Civil Rights Law" called by the New York City Central Labor Council on January 22, that AFL-CIO and affiliates are "moving against race discrimination on the job and in the community" even before formal complaints are filed or the fair employment provisions of the newly enacted Civil Rights Act take effect. (from left): Warren Bunn; Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.; Louis Simon; Madison S. Jones; Slaiman; William H. Bowe; Henry Spitz; Alexander Allen.

Council Civil Rights Meeting Signals Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964 Is Key Section for New York City

Title VII, Equal Employment Opportunity, is the section of the Civil Rights Act signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on July 2, 1964, with approval of bipartisan votes in Congress, that has most significance for powerful implication and application in New York State and New York City. It was determined by

Law in New York City. The fair employment provision of the new law goes into effect on July 1. The conference considered how the new law will aid in ending race discrimination on the job, within the unions, the collective bargaining process, and in the community.

new Federal Civil Rights Law than to take action to correct the causes of the complaints of discriminatory practices that will be brought for adjustment." He urged that "we keep proper balance before us and not weaken our labor movement by neglecting to help the less privileged workers in our City."

Council Delegates Vote Support To Welfare Local

"We will do everything in our power to help Local 371, Welfare, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers, and all welfare workers concerned, to win in the dispute with the New York City Department of Welfare," Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. asserted, on behalf of the New York City Central Labor Council at the Delegates' Council Meeting held January 21.

A resolution of support was unanimously adopted by the delegates: "Be it resolved that the New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO undertakes to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the Welfare dispute in the New York City Department of Welfare on behalf of Local 371, AFSCME, and all the workers involved, and be it further resolved that the Executive Board be instructed to continue its efforts."

Executive Board Acts

AFSCME President Jerry Wurf and Seafarers International Union Vice President Earl Shepard had appeared earlier in the day before the Executive Board meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council. President Wurf asked for support by the New York City Central Labor Council. Vice President Shepard spoke of the need to aid public workers to organize and reported the help extended by his union in the present situation.

The Council Executive Board imme-

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Officers and staff members of local union affiliates of the New York City Central Labor Council met at the Hotel Commodore in special conference on January 22 to learn about the implications and applications of the Civil Rights Law in New York City. The fair employment provision of the new law goes into effect on July 1. The conference considered how the new law will aid in ending race discrimination on the job, within the unions, the collective bargaining process, and in the community.

President Van Arsdale Keynotes

At the conference, Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., in his keynote address, warned that "it is easier to talk about complying with provision of the new Federal Civil Rights Law than to take action to correct the causes of the complaints of discriminatory practices that will be brought for adjustment." He urged that "we keep proper balance before us and not weaken our labor movement by neglecting to help the less privileged workers in our City."

President Van Arsdale suggested that minority groups in New York, Negroes and Spanish speaking people among them

(Continued on Page 8)

A. Philip Randolph Is President of Week

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was hailed for his distinguished achievements for labor and civil rights by the New York City Central Labor Council during the "President of the Week," designated in his honor from January 25 to 29.

Homage to his inspired leadership and dedicated spirit in the cause of human brotherhood was expressed to President Randolph at the office of the New York City Central Labor Council and at a special luncheon in his honor on January 28. A photographic exhibit and display at the Council showed historic events and happenings of the last forty years in the life and work of President Randolph. Visitors from the public who learned of the President of the Week celebration came to see the exhibits during the week.

Adding to the long list of honors and awards that have been bestowed on President Randolph, along with the newly named A. Philip Randolph Square in New York City, was the announcement made on January 28 by President Lyndon Johnson appointing President Randolph to the fourteen member National Advisory Council in the poverty

(Continued on Page 15)

Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. presents silver-banded gavel to President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. Philip Randolph, marking tribute of appreciation, admiration and homage expressed to President Randolph during the special week designated by the New York City Central Labor Council, "President of the Week."

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The Council Executive Board immediately formed its own special committee to work to settle the dispute which broke out on January 3. This committee met right after adjournment of the Executive Board Session. In the committee with President Van Arsdale and Secretary Morris Iushewitz are: First Vice President Matthew Guinan, Second Vice President Arthur Harckham, Raymond Corbett, Paul Jennings, Frank Kissel, William Michelson, Martin Rarback, Michael Sampson, Louis Simon, Thomas Tobin, Charles Zimmerman.

AFSCME Pres. Wurf Reports

President Wurf, noting that he is a Council Delegate representing AFSCME Local 924, addressed the Delegates on the Welfare developments. The workers seek adjustments of legitimate grievances, he stated, economic issues which affect the well-being and livelihood of the members and their families, and of working conditions which must be improved. He thanked Council President Van Arsdale, Council Secretary Morris Iushewitz, Council Treasurer William Bowe and SIU President Paul Hall for their efforts to reach a settlement. President Wurf reported that the union officers and leaders of the work stoppage have been sent to jail under the Condon-Wadlin Law.

President Hall and Vice President Shepard addressed the delegates on behalf of Local 371 and the Social Service Investigators urging fullest backing by the Council and local union affiliates. President Hall emphasized the plight of white collalr workers who need the assistance of the labor movement.

Before the vote was taken on the Council resolution and action to be taken, full discussion was held on the issues in the dispute. Delegates who spoke were: Jo-

(Continued on Page 15)

The hall of the New York City Central Labor Council is decorated for the exhibit in honor of AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and President of the Negro American Labor Council.

In President Randolph's Honor

President David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union and on the Executive Council and Executive Committee of AFL-CIO, hails President A. Philip Randolph in his address at the President of the Week celebration. "We are indebted to Randolph, my brother," President Dubinsky declared, stressing the influence of Randolph's ideals on the American labor movement and the effect of his concern for international affairs on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

President Of the Week

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President Of the Week January 25-29 For A. Philip Randolph

President A. Philip Randolph identifies the photographs of himself on display at the New York Central Labor Council during January 25 to 29, when he was the President of the Week. (from left): Council Secretary Morris Iushewitz; Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.; President Randolph.

—President of the Week Photos by Alexander Archer Studio

of his concern for international affairs on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Council Treasurer William H. Bowe, Acting Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, escorts his union "Chief" A. Philip Randolph to the celebration on January 28 for the "President of the Week" designated by the New York City Central Labor Council in President Randolph's honor.

Officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Edward Welsh (first, right), of Regional AFL-CIO staff join in the New York City Central Labor Council tribute to President A. Philip Randolph (center).

President Of the Week Is Proud Event For New York AFL-CIO

Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. welcomes A. Philip Randolph to the Council offices on January 28 for the celebration in his honor, with Benjamin F. McLaurin (standing), Eastern Zone Director, and staff members (from left), Mignonette Rodwell, Annie Booker, Eugenia Pemberton, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Leaders of the New York City Central Labor Council Civil Rights Committee salute the great AFL-CIO champion of equal rights and opportunity in America, A. Philip Randolph, at reception in his honor on January 28. (from left): Frederick D. O'Neal, President of Actors Equity Association; Louis Simon, Committee Chairman and Manager, Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board; President Randolph.

Albert Shanker, President, United Federation of Teachers, in his greeting to President A. Philip Randolph, tells how the inspiration of President Randolph, who received the UFT John Dewey Award several years ago, is evident in the volunteer work of New York City teachers for integrated schools in the South.

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President of the Week for A. Philip Randolph event was covered by WABC-TV, Channel 7. Bernard Morris interviews Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. and ILGWU President David Dubinsky for the program.

Notice To All Affiliates

In order to keep the records of the New York City Central Labor Council accurately and to make sure that Council mail and "Labor Chronicle" do not go astray, all local union affiliates are requested to send in changes of address, changes of officers, to the Council office. The Council office should be notified of changes in delegates of the local unions to the Council so that new delegates will be inducted at Council meetings and seated without delay.

Furniture Workers Union Asks for Law Changes

The United Furniture Workers of America has sent recommendations to the members of the City Council of New York for legislation to be introduced and passed in the City Council which will benefit "the well-being and livelihood of New York City workers generally" Sol Silverman, National Organizing Coordinator of the union so informed the New York City Central Labor Council on January 15.

The proposed legislation, endorsed at the Delegates Council Meeting on January 21, calls for four separate acts: to amend Chapter 13, Section 342 of the New York City Charter in relation to powers and duties of the Commissioner of Purchases; amend Chapter 13, Section 343, public letting of contracts; amend Chapter 13, Section 344, relation to public letting of contracts, amend Chapter 33 Section 782, rela-

Plumbers Unions Urge To Keep City Code

A joint meeting of the Officers of Plumbers Local 1 and Plumbers Local 1 and Plumbers Local 2, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, unanimously adopted this resolution and voted to submit it to the New York City Central Labor Council. President Jack Cohen, Michael Salzarulo, and officers of Local 2 presented the resolution on behalf of both Plumbers union locals. Local 371 also submitted this resolution.

WHEREAS the Plumber has the responsibility of maintaining the conditions of sanitation without which no great ctiy can live and,

WHEREAS the health and well-being of the people of the City of New York are the first concern of the plumbers of this city and

WHEREAS the Plumbing Code of the City of New York is the best Code ever devised by any metropolis and is a model and guide for all other cities and nations in the world and

WHEREAS the proposed revision of our Plumbing Code now being drafted by a group of Educational, Legal and Architectural groups with no representation of the Plumbing Industry cannot possibly be a definitive, efficient instrument to safeguard the public and

WHEREAS methods to change the existing Code to meet advances in new materials and installation practices already are part of the Code, therefore be it

RESOLVED that Plumbers Local Union No. 2 go on record against any change in the present plumbing Code wthout taking up all changes individually according to procedures already a part of the law and be it further

RESOLVED that this resolution shall be presented to the N.Y. City Building & Construction Trades Council and the N.Y. City Central Labor Council for consideration and passage.

New Delegates Are Welcome

Fifteen new delegates to the New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO and one new local union affiliate were welcomed to the Delegates' Council Meeting on January 21 at the Roosevelt Auditorium.

Council Treasurer William Bowe introduced the delegates who were inducted and seated by Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. Wire Service Guild, American Newspaper Guild, was admitted to affiliation and Ray Mann and George Muldowney will represent the Wire Service Guild as delegates.

Also inducted were: Henry Broderick, Local 299, Paper Box Makers; Henry J. Fehling and Charles J. Stephens, Local 854, Uniformed Fire Officers; Sol Gorelick, Local 371, AFSCME; Charles Isaacs, Local 455, Iron Workers.

Also, Robert E. Moran, Local 58 New York Plate Printers; Peter Quartuccio, Local 6A Cement and Concrete Workers; Shirley Kera, Local 1707, CSAE-AFSCME; James Brett and James McCabe, Local 1101, Communications Workers.

Also, Lou Russo, Local 802, Associated Musicians; Hubert C. Wilsen, Local 38, Jewelry Workers; Eric Youngblood, Local 432, IAM.

LEADER

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Silverman explained that the proposed amendments concern a 10% edge to New York City and New York State manufacturers; the waiving of two-fifths of 1% gross business tax for New York City bidders; making it mandatory for all employes of any competing manufacturer to receive at least $1.50 an hour; to meet the loop-hole of contracts with a total dollar volume of less than $2,500 being given out without competitive bidding.

Copies of the proposed amendments to the City Charter were also sent to the City Departments concerned. Representatives of the United Furniture Workers have been meeting for the past two years with City officials and the furniture manufacturers to discuss the issues of the recommended legislation.

IN MEMORIAM

JOSEPH F. BOYEN, 64, January 23, President, District Council of Iron Workers of Greater New York and Vicinity; First Vice President, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers for the last 29 years; son of an ironworker, Joseph F. Boyen was a veteran member of Local 580, Ornamental Iron Workers, joining Local 52, now 580, in 1920 and elected to the executive board in 1924. In recognition of his skill as labor negotiator, highly regarded for ability and success in settling disputes through collective bargaining which eliminated need for calling work stoppages, President Boyen was appointed to National Joint Board for Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes. Personal representative of President John F. Kennedy attended the testimonial dinner honoring President Boyen in March, 1963. New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO mourns his loss and expresses deep sympathy and condolences to his wife and daughter, and to the Iron Workers District Council, affiliates, and to the international union.

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President Meany Gives AFL-CIO Legislative Aims

Labor's 14-point legislative program, headed by repeal of the "right-to-work" section of the Taft-Hartley Act, "can and should be achieved" this year, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declared in a keynote to the AFL-CIO legislative conference on January 11.

Eight hundred delegates from affiliated unions and central bodies heard Pres. Meany and Vice-Pres.-elect Hubert H. Humphrey stress the close parallel between labor program and the Administration goals.

Meany termed the election of President Lyndon Johnson a "mandate" for "the kind of America where there is no poverty, no unemployment."

The American people, he said, "voted for a nation where every child has a full and equal opportunity to learn, and to shape his own future; for his skills and use them to the utmost."

Vice President Humphrey told the delegates that they were making "an invaluable contribution" to the democratic process by coming to Washington to press for labor's program, "putting your citizenship first, but also proudly holding that union card."

"We are not going to do all the things we would like to do overnight," he said, "but we are going to get them done." By Spring, Humphrey predicted, "we will have passed hospital and nursing home care under social security." He told the delegates that "the next few years" will see the designing of "the finest and the most comprehensive" schol program, "from pre-school education to graduate education, that any country on the face of the earth ever dared dream of."

Taft-Hartley and Civil Rights

AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller and Lawrence F. O'Brien, special assistant to Pres. Johnson; a panel discussion of Sec. 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, led by AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph A. Beirne.

Discussion of social security, including hospital care and unemployment compensation, with AFL-CIO Social Security Dir. Nelson H. Cruikshank, and Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, Sen. Pat McNamara and Rep. John A. Blatnik on public works and community facilities. Fair Labor Standards Act discussion chaired py BSEIU President David Sullivan.

On education, with AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Peter T. Shoemann and U.S.

Rehabilitation Project and Community Services Committee Advance Programs for AFL-CIO Affiliates

Eleven hundred cases of rehabilitation of trade unionists and members of their families, referred by 250 local unions affiliated with the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, have been processed by the Labor Rehabilitation Liaison Project of the Council's Community Services Committee, Michael Sampson, committee chairman, reported at a committee meeting held at the headquarters of Utility Workers Union Local 1-2 on January 26.

These cases, handled during the year and half since the Project was established, involved physical, mental, financial and family problems, 46 per cent of which were successfully resolved, 42 per cent are in the process of completion, and the remaining 12 per cent did not come within the scope of the Rehabilitation Project or did not respond to treatment or help.

Labor Rehabilitation this year plans to extend its activities in the field of mental health, and the Community Services Committee to the question of day care centers for working mothers.

The volunteer Union Counsellors came in for great praise for setting up the contracts with the great social voluntary and public agencies and following through on the cases of trade-unionists in need of help.

Aid Welfare Members

During the first 22 days of the walkout of the Welfare Department workers, the Community Services Committee processed 1,500 requests for assistance from strikers, Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, expressed the deepest gratitude to Chairman Sampson and the committee for their efforts in helping to alleviate the situation in which many of he strikers found themselves.

Director Louis Levine announced the series of Union Counseling classes at the Federation of the Handicapped, 211 West 14th Street, New York, beginning February 8th and urged all local unions to send representatives to these classes. In addition, there will be a series of 8 sessions on Mental Health—conducted in cooperation with Cornell University for 30 trade union leaders at Cornell Center at 7 East 43rd Street, New York, beginning February 8.

Institute on April 10

Chairman Sampson announced the annual Community Service Institute which will be held April 10 at the Commodore Hotel. There will be three panel sessions on rehabilitation, mental health, and agency personnel and the trade-unions. Awards for community service will be presented to Louis Hollander, Sec.-Treas. of New York State AFL-CIO and Commissioner Mary E. Switzer of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration.

Sam Kovenetsky, chairman of the Camp subcommittee, reported on the opportunities being created by the subcommittee for camp vacations for underprivileged children. He urged local unions to make greater financial contributions to the work of the subcommittee, to make its work possible.

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Taft-Hartley and Civil Rights

Sec. 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, Humphrey noted, "has worked to prevent effective organization." He reiterated Pres. Johnson's pledge to recommend its repeal "in fulfillment of the Democratic platform."

The unemployment compensation system, the vice president-elect said, will be "modernized." The Civil Rights Act will be implemented "fairly and effectively." America must provide jobs for our young people," he added. "We have learned that you can take care of the needy in this country without in any way punishing those with plenty,' he said.

"Don't tell me it doesn't pay to win elections and don't tell me that the peoples' voice can't be heard without a hearing aid," Humphrey declared. But, he stressed, "we are going to need your help when those votes are called up there in the Congress of the United States."

Meany told the conference that the nation, despite prosperity faces "very real problems." He added: "Poverty is a fact. Unemployment is a fact. Bad housing is a fact. Poor schooling is a fact. Lack of medical care—or the means to pay for it—is a fact."

President Meany pointed out that a $3,000-a-year family income is classified as the borderline of poverty. Yet he noted, it would take a wage of $1.50 an hour to reach even that level and the federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, represents "legislated poverty." Labor's call for a $2 minimum wage, he declared, is "simply saying that an employed person, engaged in useful, productive work, is entitled to something better than a poverty wage."

He described labor's legislative goals as "a people's program" and not, in a narrow sense, a "labor program." He said "there is not a single, narrow, selfish proposal in the lot—and that includes the repeal of Sec. 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act."

Conference Sessions

The Conference held sessions on: A preview of the 89th Congress by AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller and Lawrence F. O'Brien, special assistant to Pres. Johnson; a panel discussion of Sec. 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, led by AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph A. Beirne.

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On education, with AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Peter T. Shoemann and U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel; discussion of the poverty program by Chairman Adam C. Powell, deputy director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Leaders in the 89th Congress, Senator Russell Long, Senate Majority Whip, and Senator Thomas Kuchel, Senate Minority Whip, came to a session of the conference and deilvered impressive speeches in support of the legislative goals of AFL-CIO.

The New York City Central Labor Council was represented at the legislatiev conference by President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., Secretary Morris Iushewitz and Treasurer William Bowe.

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LEISURE TIME NOTES

Theatre 1199

Arranged by Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, RWDSU, Theatre 1199 begins a series of monthly programs in its own FDR Auditorium on February 7 for members and their families and friends. Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee are the stars on the opening show. Diana Sands and Alan Alda, are scheduled for the following Sunday; programmed next are John Randolph, Sarah Cunningham and Eugene Roche, to appear in scenes from plays by Sean O'Casey. Will Geer is in the series with readings from Mark Twain and Walt Whitman.

The fifth program is planned as "Theatre in Education" and will feature scenes from Shakespeare.

Tickets are $1.50 for each performance and $6 for all five. Theatre 1199 is part of the education program of the union devoted to encouragement of leisuretime activities.

Lectures and open forums are also attended by Local 1999 members throughout the year.

Hotel and Motel Trades Council Shows Labor Films

Free showings of labor films in the Gertrude Lane Auditorium sponsored by the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council started on January 27, at 5 p.m. The first film was "The Rise of Labor," about the struggle to organize and bargain collectively, from the early strife in the coal mines, to the sitdown strikes of the 1930's, to the present. A question and answer period with general discussion "on the lessons to be learned from labor's past struggles" follows each movie.

More Films For AFL-CIO Library

Monsignor Carroll on WOR-TV

All friends, admirers, supporters of Boys' Towns of Italy and wide audiences will be happy to view a feature program, "The Smiling Man," about founder and President, Rt. Reverend Monsignor John Patrick Carroll-Abbing, on WOR-TV, Channel 9, Saturday, February 27, at 9:30 a.m. It is expected that a later showing at an evening hour will be scheduled. AFL-CIO unions are among the important sponsors of Boys' Towns of Italy.

WYNC-TV-UHF Channel 31 Expands

When ready for a new television set, be sure to get one equipped for receiving UHF channels. UHF channel in New York is New York City's own Channel 31, WNYC-TV. A wide variety of programs is offered daily covering local, national, world news, events in the City, and at the United Nations, schools and colleges, travelogues, discussions, education and entertainment shows that are absorbing and highly enjoyable. Seymour N. Siegel, Director of Communications, WNYC, WNYC FM. WNYC-TV, expects that Channel 31, by April or May of this year, will expand its programming by having facilities to produce shows outside the studios. Channel 31 may then be able to bring in shows and events originating in different parts of the City.

On the February Channel 31 schedule (broadcast also on WNYC radio) is a program on "World of the Arts": Tuesdays at 4:30 p.m.; also Fridays at 8:30 p.m. (on Channel 31); on radio Thursdays, at 5 P.M.: February 2, the dance; February 9, performing arts in the public

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More Films For AFL-CIO Library

George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, informs that 12 new films have been added to the AFL-CIO Film Library since last May. Titles are: The Captive, The Inheritance, The Living Machine, A New Earth, The Quiet Battle, Right Now, RX For A Nightmare, The Streets of Greenwood, The Union with a Future in the Industry of the Future, Your Grievance Procedure, Your Union, When the Day's Work is Done. These movies cover topics of automation, civil rights community services, health, international affairs, poverty, labor history, union membership. Rental is $3 for each film. The 78 page film catalogue may be obtained by writing to Pamphlet Division, 815 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Baseball News

Thanks to the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Council of Greater New York and Long Island, baseball fans at the May 16 game scheduled at Shea Stadium will see Met Manager Casey Stengel receive "the first Union Label Community Service Award" as well as a double-header played by the Mets and the Cincinnati Reds. The award is projected as "the first annual Salute to Labor," sponsored by the Label and Service Trades Council, and will be presented at the same time Stadium officials will install a plaque to honor the construction workers who built the new sports arena in Flushing Meadow Park.

Although tickets for this benefit game go on sale in March, early reservations can be placed now with the Salute to Labor Committee, 20 East 15 Street, New York 10003.

Announcing the award presentations, Union Labor Council President Charles J. Garrahan stated, "We in organized labor feel Stengel deserves the award for his contribution to constructive community relations in this City."

Negro College Choirs Resume on ABC

Choral arrangements of music of the Americas will be heard by the choirs of member colleges of the United Negro College Fund in the opening broadcast of ABC's "Negro College Choirs" series on February 7.

Three more UNCF choir programs will be heard during February.

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WNBC-TV Programs

The rubric of WNBC-TV which is "Your Community-Minded Station" is deserved, judging by several programs offered this month. The series "Profiles in Courage" included a program (Jan. 24) starring Burgess Meredith as John Peter Altgeld. The great struggles of labor to achieve the eight hour day was thus observed in the dramatization of Governor Altgeld's self-sacrificing act to free the men serving life sentences after the Chicago Haymarket tragedy in 1886.

The following week, on January 31, the program portrayed Frederick Douglass, fugitive slave who 120 years ago became spokesman for ending slavery and achieving equal rights for all, one of the most forceful reform leaders of America. Robert Hooks, Frederick O'Neal, Claudia McNeil, Alfred Ryder are among the star performers in this compelling, thrilling dramatization.

"Recital Hall," weekly program in association with Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and the Juilliard School of Music, marked its fifth anniversary since its premiere on January 24, at 1 p.m. Thirty-six new programs are presented each season, from September through June. A timely show produced by the Public Affairs Department of WNBC-TV on January 19 was "Oath of Office: The Inauguration Story," highlighting the historical significant ceremony, and anecdotes of famous Presidential inauguration.

Tickets Are Available For Show

The Special Promotions Department of the drama, "Slow Dance on the Killing Ground," at the Plymouth Theatre, announces that tickets are available at reduced rates to union members. Local unions interested should call Carol T. Herold, at PL 1-1290 or write to 745 Fifth Avenue, NY 10022, 17 floor, for the tickets. Note that no discounts are given at the box office of the theatre.

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Randolph Week

(Continued from Page 1)

program. President Randolph and Miles C. Stanley of the West Virginia Labor Federation are the only two representatives from the labor movement named to the panel.

Pres. Van Arsdale Welcomes Randolph

Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. welcomed President Randolph to the Council offices and informed him about the activities of the New York City AFL-CIO, carried out by the Executive Officers and Executive Board, Council Committees and local union affiliates. President Van Arsdale, who instituted the President of the Week series, observed that "better understanding has been gained about the Council activities since the program began last year of inviting international AFL-CIO union presidents in the New York City area to be honored guests of the Council. It is good for the national union and good for the local unions here and for the Council to have close relationship with one another," President Van Arsdale pointed out.

AFL-CIO Presidents previously honored as "President of the Week" are David Sullivan, Building Service Employees International Union; Jacob S. Potofsky, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

President Randolph Praises N.Y. Labor

Labor in New York City is particularly grateful to President Randolph, the Council President stated, recalling as an example, President Randolph's valuable help in the hospital strike through his encouragement of the workers and the unions and his influence and prestige at City Hall. President Randolph, in his remarks, expressed interest and concern for the current organizing drive of New York City taxi drivers for a union of their own through the sponsorship of the Council Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee. He also praised efforts to organize the Horn and Hardart workers.

President Randolph commended President Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council Executive Officers. "I like the spirit shown in the Council," he declared. He is proud, he said, of Council Treasurer William H. Bowe, proud of his role in the Council where he "knows he does his job well." Treasurer Bowe is Acting Secretary Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and longtime co-worker and associate of President Randolph. "The Central Labor Council," Randolph stated, "signifies a new image of the labor movement in New York City."

Luncheon Ceremony

At the luncheon in his honor at the Prince George Hotel, President Randolph was presented with a silver-banded gavel by President Van Arsdale on behalf of the New York Central Labor Council to mark this special occasion.

President David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union greeted President Randolph and told the luncheon guests that "We are all indebted to A. Philip Randolph, my brother." President Dubinsky spoke with warmth and appreciation about President Randolph's ideals which he transmitted to AFL-CIO, for human betterment ,against opposition of strong, vested interests and groups, the workers organized and strengthened their union.

President Randolph proudly mentioned that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had been the first union to appear before the then newly established National Mediation Board and developed the machinery for adjustment of grievances. "We never stopped," he declared, "in the struggle to end exploitation, to free workers, black and white, from hardships, deprivations, poverty." He expressed hope and confidence in the future of the organized workers of the United States, and of the world, concluding with the words, "Onward, Forward, Upward."

Greetings Extended to Randolph

Greeting the admired, beloved and revered AFL-CIO leader with expressions of recognition for his work and achievements were Council Secretary Morris Iushewitz; Benjamin McLaurin, Eastern Zone Director, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who is a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education; Louis Simon, Manager, Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board, ACWA Vice President and Council Civil Rights Committee Chairman; Albert Shanker, President, United Federation of Teachers; Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 65 RWDSU and Vice President of the Negro American Labor Council; Regional AFL-CIO Director Michael Mann; Council Treasurer William Bowe.

President Frederick O'Neal, Actors Equity Association; Council Civil Rights Committee member and leader in equal rights action, greeting President Randolph, told about President Randolph's

President A. Philip Randolph delivers a moving speech at the luncheon in his honor on January 28 at the Prince George Hotel. He termed the homage paid him a tribute to the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters who have participated with him in the long fight to "free black workers and safeguard white workers from being victims of exploitation."

Pavers Win 20 Year Wage Fight

"The Highway Laborers have scored a major and historic victory in the decision by the New York Court of Appeals assuring them of the prevailing rate of wages to which they are entitled," James V. Barry, Business Representative of the Pavers & Road Builders District Council, AFL-CIO declared in a statement issued on January 28.

"It has taken almost twenty years for this to be accomplished and members of this organization since 1946 know that we have fulfilled our pledge to them in obtaining competitive class and per annum salary based on the prevailing rate of wages." "The wage rates established by this District Council in its agreements in private industry are recognized by Federal, State and Municipal authorities as being the prevailing rates for all Pavers, Asphalt Workers and Laborers. This means that these wage rates must now be considered for Laborers, the current rate being $4.45 per hour," the statement continued.

Barry stated that "we cannot praise too highly, the members who had the courage and fortitude to stand with us in this case. They should reap a reward to which they are justly entitled and we extend to them our heartiest congratulations. Congratulations are also in order for our attorney, Charles Haydon, whose tireless efforts were a major factor in obtaining this favorable decision."

"This is the only union," Barry noted, "which concerns itself with highway

TDOC Calls Mass Meeting

A mas meeting of New York City taxi drivers has been called for February 10, at 8 P.M. in Manhattan Center, 34 Street and Eighth Avenue, Manhattan, by the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO.

TDOC will present a progress report since the organizing campaign opened last September 3 sponsored by the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Council Backs Plans For ICFTU Entertainment Unions

Delegates to the January 21 meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council expressed approval and support for the International Summer School for entertainment unions, which are within the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions. Plans for the 1965 Summer School are being made by the International Secretariat of Entertainment Trade Unions in Brussels.

A communication from A.J. Forrest, Director of the Secretariat, to Council President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., was read at the Delegates' Council Meeting. Director Forrest, Mr. Littlewood, his associate and Herman Kenin, president, American Federation of Musicians, had met with the Council Officers in November. The letter to President Van Arsdale, acknowledging the meeting then, states in part:

"We found the vision and the dedication to the international trade union cause which you displayed in your speech most inspiring. Your words have greatly encouraged us in our efforts to form an effective international organization for entertainment unions. As Mr. Littlewood mentioned we may be very glad to have your help in some aspect of our International Summer School for entertainment trade unions to be held on September 1965, and I shall send you the programme as soon as it is worked out early next year."

LEISURE TIME NOTES

(Continued from Page 14)

Marriage a la Mode?

"PETERPAT" the comedy by Enid Rudd, at the Longacre Theatre, opened January 6. The play contains but two personages, Peter and Pat (Dick Shawn and Joan Hackett), whose troublesome story makes ironic (sarcastic or sardonic?) the running together of the names as indicated in the play title. Original touch of the production would appear to be the use of music at intervals, popular songs from the 1930's on, whose purpose here may be attributed to the thought that "they learned about love from Tin Pan Alley." A salute of appreciation goes for the music arrangements by Walter Marks and a bow to organist Louise Rush.

Recommended Plays

Now that the season is well underway, herewith some productions on Broadway, and Off-Broadway to have in mind to see: "Any Wednesday"; "Bajour," "Barefoot in the Park," "Ben Franklin in Paris," "Comedy in Music,' "Fiddler on the Roof," "Golden Boy," "Hello, Dolly," "High Spirits," "How to Succeed

... Van Arsdale and the Central Labor Council Executive Officers. "I like the spirit shown in the Council," he declared. He is proud, he said, of Council Treasurer William H. Bowe, proud of his role in the Council where he "knows he does his job well." Treasurer Bowe is Acting Secretary Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and longtime co-worker and associate of President Randolph. "The Central Labor Council," Randolph stated, "signifies a new image of the labor movement in New York City."

Luncheon Ceremony

At the luncheon in his honor at the Prince George Hotel, President Randolph was presented with a silver-banded gavel by President Van Arsdale on behalf of the New York Central Labor Council to mark this special occasion.

President David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union greeted President Randolph and told the luncheon guests that "We are all indebted to A. Philip Randolph, my brother." President Dubinsky spoke with warmth and appreciation about President Randolph's ideals which he transmitted to AFL-CIO, for human betterment in economic life, equality before the law and in society, in international affairs, for respect for human dignity.

Acknowledging the tributes made to him, President Randalph expressed his appreciation to President Dubinsky, to Council President Van Arsdale and to Council Secretary Morris Iushewitz for "manifestations of comradeship." He cited also this mark of appreciation for Cleveland Robinson, David Dubinsky, Benjamin McLaurin and his union staff.

History of the Brotherhood

In honoring him, he stressed, the Council is honoring the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters throughout the United States and Canada. President Randolph surveyed the stirring history of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from its early beginnings as an organization of porters and cartenders struggling against the ruthless power of the Pullman Company. With the struggle led by Eugene Victor Debs in 1894, the union entered the threshold of its existence, President Randolph emphasized. Fighting against public sentiment ... future of the organized workers of the United States, and of the world, concluding with the words, "Onward, Forward, Upward."

Greetings Extended to Randolph

Greeting the admired, beloved and revered AFL-CIO leader with expressions of recognition for his work and achievements were Council Secretary Morris Iushewitz; Benjamin McLaurin, Eastern Zone Director, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who is a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education; Louis Simon, Manager, Amalgamated Laundry Workers Joint Board, ACWA Vice President and Council Civil Rights Committee Chairman; Albert Shanker, President, United Federation of Teachers; Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 65 RWDSU and Vice President of the Negro American Labor Council; Regional AFL-CIO Director Michael Mann; Council Treasurer William Bowe.

President Frederick O'Neal, Actors Equity Association; Council Civil Rights Committee member and leader in equal rights action, greeting President Randolph, told about President Randolph's organizing campaigns in St. Louis during 1927 and 1929. He witnessed then how church and citizens groups were won over to the cause of the workers by President Randolph's speeches and examples of social responsibility. The example of President Randolph is a guide to him, President O'Neal said, and to many, many others. He told about his elder brother in St. Paul who is now a retired member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters after years of service with the Pullman Company. There are hundreds of retired men like his brother, able to live comfortably with their families, because of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he stressed.

A message saluting President Randolph was wired by Council First Vice President Mathew Guinan from Philadelphia where he was negotiating for the Transport Workers Union with the city transit authorities.

Participating in the President of the Week ceremonies for A. Philip Randolph were also Council Executive Board Members, Michael Sampson, Manager, Local 1-2, Utility Workers Union and Council Community Services Committee Chairman; and Martin Rarback, Secretary-Treasurer District 9, Brotherhood of Painters, and Council Housing Committee Chairman, and Edward Welsh, Regional AFL-CIO; Christopher Plunkett, Administrative Assistant to the Council President, and President of the New York Metal Trades Council.

President Van Arsdale spoke for all in expressing deep appreciation to President Randolph for making this "President of the Week" celebration a great, memorable event in the history of the New York City Central Labor Council, which is in turn honored by his interest and by his visit to the Council that day.

on January 28.

"It has taken almost twenty years for this to be accomplished and members of this organization since 1946 know that we have fulfilled our pledge to them in obtaining competitive class and per annum salary based on the prevailing rate of wages." "The wage rates established by this District Council in its agreements in private industry are recognized by Federal, State and Municipal authorities as being the prevailing rates for all Pavers, Asphalt Workers and Laborers. This means that these wage rates must now be considered for Laborers, the current rate being $4.45 per hour," the statement continued.

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"This is the only union," Barry noted, "which concerns itself with highway workers exclusively and our members in private employment enjoy wages and working conditions second to none in the building and construction industry." He serves on the Executive Board of the New York City Central Labor Council.

next year."

LEISURE TIME NOTES

(Continued from Page 14)

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Delegates' Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

seph Labaczewski, NMU; Sam Heller, Local 150, RCIA; George Altomare, UFT; Mortimer Gellis, Local 5, Insurance Workers; William Wolpert, United Hebrew Trades; Henry Newman, Local 1412, AFSCME.

Also, Joseph Fisher, Local 848, Painters; Sam Kovenetsky, Local 1-S, RWDSU; Benjamin Bergman, Local 76, United Furniture; Al Knopf, Local 802, Musicians; Sal Iacchio, Machinists; Matthew Guinan, Transport Workers Union.

Also, Martin Rarback, District 9, Painters; William Michelson, District 65 RWDSU; Gerald Ryan, Uniformed Firemen; Thomas Tobin, Plumbers.

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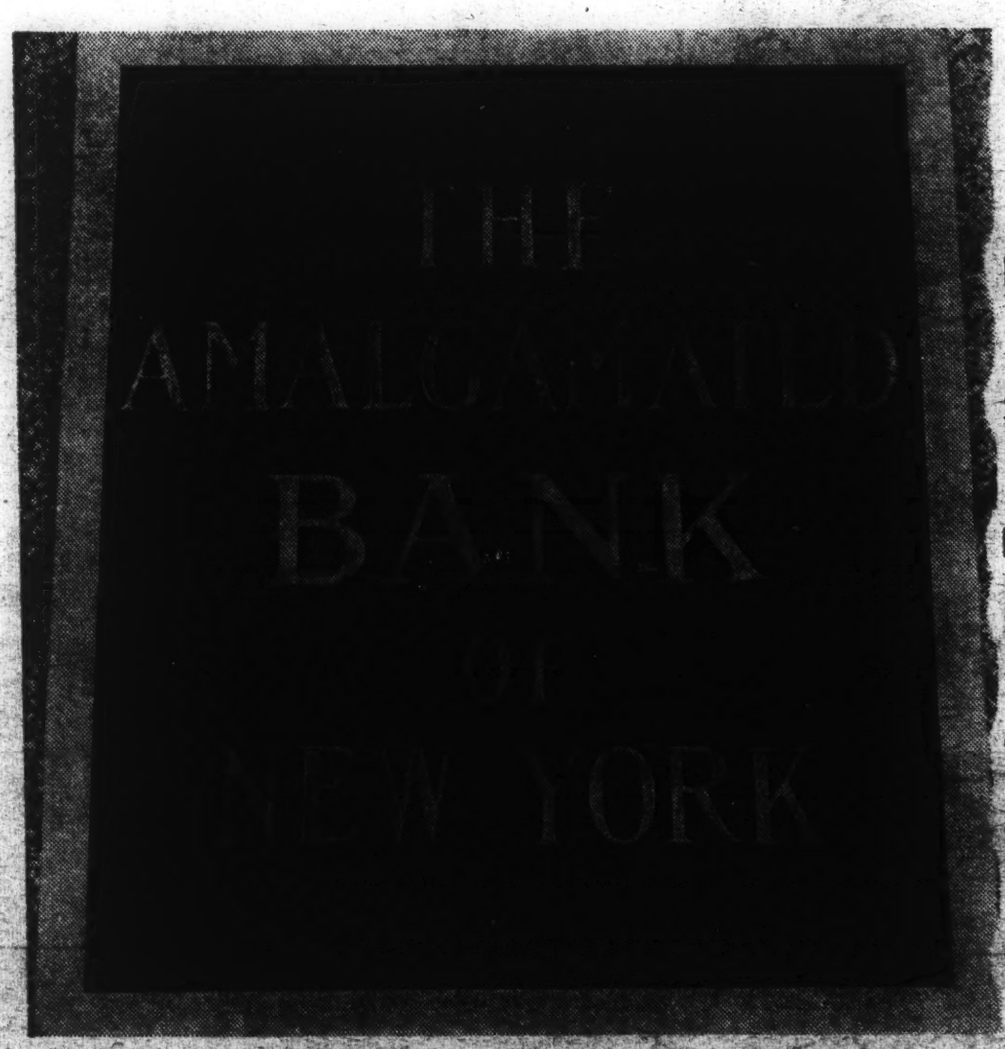

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TAXI DRIVERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

AFL-CIO BOROUGH OFFICES

Hours Open: 11 A.M. to 9 P.M. Daily

Manhattan — New York City Central Labor Council
AFL-CIO — 386 Park Avenue South
Room 601 MU 5-9552
305 East 26th Street
MU 4-8377
MU 6-8120

Brooklyn — 217 Court Street
UL 5-8078

Bronx — 798 East Tremont Avenue
TR 2-8343 or TR 2-3520

Queens — 41-13—31st Avenue
Long Island City
Phone 274-3045
RA 6-1439

Note: Affiliates of New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO are welcome to send members and staff to the borough offices as volunteers to aid TDOC.

MEETING NOTICE

The regular meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO will be held

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1965

At 6:00 P.M. at Roosevelt Auditorium,

100 East 17th, cor. Park Ave. So., New York

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Phone

A GENERATION APART

Randolph, McKissick Symbolize Rights Shift

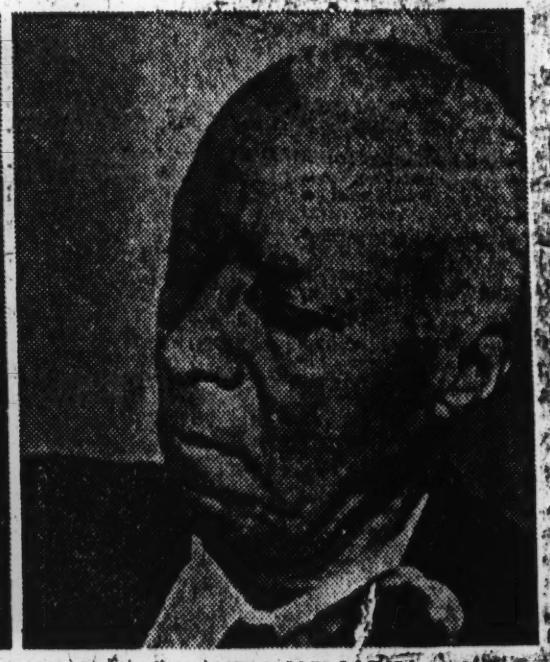
By MARY McGRORY
Star Staff Writer

Anyone curious about the change that has come over the civil rights movement in the United States had only to watch Floyd McKissick and A. Philip Randolph in their separate appearances before the Senate cities subcommittee this week.

Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is 78. McKissick, the chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, is 44, and has spent the best years of his life in litigation to get himself and his children into the schools they wished to attend.

For Randolph, the 1963 March on Washington represented the culmination of a lifetime of patience, persuasion and hope. For McKissick, that romantic and moving episode was "a glorious picnic," which signalled "the death of the civil rights movement," and led to the creation of "black power."

FLOYD B. McKISSICK



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Randolph was brought up in the tradition of "black and white together." But broken promises, he told the committee in his sad, deep tones, have split the Negro youth from its old leadership, and the grand old man of the struggle is shunned by his own in the ghettos.

"They view you with suspicion and skepticism," he said mournfully, "if not with disgust and contempt. The Negro leadership today does not have the confidence of the Negro youth."

McKissick obviously does not have this problem of alienation. A band of youths followed him into the Caucus Room and applauded when he said the first step towards racial peace is to end the war in Viet Nam.

Randolph told the committee that a Negro who works with the whites is considered a "water-boy."

McKissick told them wry: "We must quit being Uncle Toms—which is to please people or to ingratiate them. Nineteen sixty-six is the year the Negro said 'I am what I am.'"

It is a different approach and a different pace, from long-suffering to importunity. Randolph asked for a $185 billion Freedom Budget over the next ten years. McKissick demanded "instant money" for the ghettos—now.

Randolph fears the future,

See McKISSICK, Page A-6

McKISSICK

Cities Hearings Show Rights Drive Change

Continued From Page A-1

the explosion of the sullen young rebels in the ghetto.

McKissick seems almost jaunty. He has a slogan which he has no intention of abandoning, although Sens. Abraham A. Ribicoff and Robert F. Kennedy warned him it was dangerous and divisive. He has a program and, obviously, he thinks the times are with him.

The senators deplored the "black power" concept, they ignored his program, but they were obviously impressed by McKissick's recollection of things past.

What made him an agitator was an incident of his childhood. As a 13-year-old Boy Scout, he was assigned to patrol a street blocked off for skating. Challenged by a policeman, he resisted—"you know," he said, "a Boy Scout is supposed to be trustworthy, obedient, loyal" — and was struck and carried off to the police station.

Up until then, he did not know whether to be a lawyer or a preacher. That taste of "blood and asphalt" decided him. He went on to college, to law school, the Army, all the while bringing suits on various schools that closed their doors on him and his children.

"That is the difference between black and white," he said, "You have to spend the productive years fighting for what—you don't know—for no reason other that that you woke up one morning and found out you were black."

Unlike his more fiery contemporary, Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, he has found friends among the whites, some he trusts and some he doesn't.

"Dual Personality"

"I don't want to get hurt," he said. "We always get hurt. You have to have a dual personality, one for whites and one for blacks."

In the sympathetic calm that followed, Kennedy told McKissick he found him unexpectedly moderate, and urged him again to give up the slogan that has frightened both races.

"We have always been radical," said McKissick with a touch of pride. "And we have more than a slogan."

His young followers pronounced themselves pleased with the account their leader had given of himself. But they did not appreciate the plea to consider the susceptibilities of the rest of the nation.

"Bobby Kennedy ended up preaching," said one of them disdainfully.

STEEL LABOR

THE VOICE OF THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

Vol. XXXI—No. 10 | Second class postage paid at Indianapolis, Indiana | October, 1966 | Printed in U. S. A. | Western Edition

...People and Places

Trade union conventions, according to some members of the working press, have excited little more than a big, wide yawn in recent years. But when some 3569 Steelworker delegates left Atlantic City last month the only yawns were from tired local union representatives who had completed one of the most productive conventions in 30 years of USWA history. It was working evidence, in fact, of the "riptide of new militancy" which "Newsweek" recently said is evident in American labor.

The working press at Atlantic City seemed to agree. The "New York Times" wrote of a "fresh mood" in the Steelworkers with "union members having a greater voice" in their affairs. Of the convention proceedings, the Pittsburgh "Press" reported, "delegates were allowed to speak at length until they themselves raised their voices to shut off debate." And veteran labor columnist **Victor Riesel** commented that "what dominated this convention was not the parade of national celebrities, but the leaders' moves to involve the rank and file more and more directly in collective bargaining."

The convention itself was the largest in numbers of delegates, and very possibly the openest in terms of debate and discussion. An array of national and international figures addressed the delegates. District 9 Director **William Moran,** who was temporary chairman of the convention, observed that the proceedings would be "historic in the affairs of our union." This issue records the events that underscored that prediction.

"Tex and Mac" came to the convention in the person of their creator, artist **Jere Gabrielle** who created the popular [redacted]

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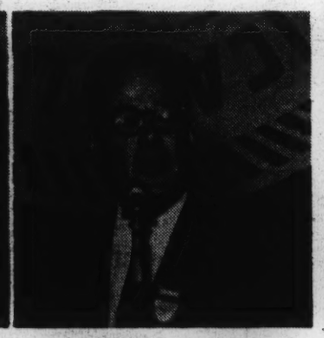
"Tex and Mac" came to the convention in the person of their creator, artist **Jere Gabrielle** who created the popular characters for STEEL LABOR earlier this year. "Gabe" was in evidence during the convention highlights, sketching from every possible vantage point, and the results of his "Steelworker's Sketchbook" may be seen on pages six and seven in this issue. The sketch here is of a 35-year veteran of the trade union movement, **Frank Kaldor** of Shadyside, Ohio, a member in District 23.

Between their convention business, delegates heard from some of the country's top spokesmen of government and labor. They included Labor Secretary **W. Willard Wirtz,** AFL-CIO President **George Meany,** U. N. Ambassador **Arthur J. Goldberg,** civil rights leader **A. Philip Randolph,** UAW President **Walter Reuther,** Canadian Labor Congress head **Claude Jodoin,** British Iron & Steel Confederation leader **Dai Davies** and Vice President **Hubert Humphrey.**

VICE PRES. HUMPHREY



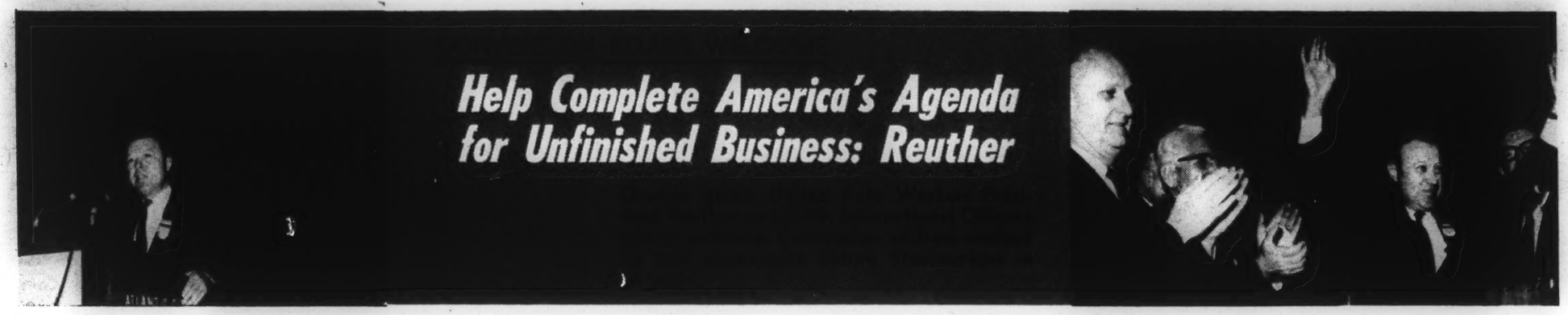
SECRETARY WIRTZ

MR. REUTHER

MR. RANDOLPH

Union Democracy in Action

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR CONVENTION ISSUE



Help Complete America's Agenda for Unfinished Business: Reuther

America's unfinished business will demand the increased participation of all trade unionists in the years ahead, United Auto Workers President Walter P. Reuther told a cheering audience at the 13th Constitutional Convention of the USWA last month. "We are the vanguard of the eternal struggle to expand the frontier of economic and social justice," he told Steelworker delegates.

Receiving a standing ovation following his address, the veteran CIO leader who is now also president of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, was warmly praised by Steelworkers President I. W. Abel. He termed Mr. Reuther a "brilliant" trade union leader and said that his appearance at the convention marked a new era of cooperation between the two big industrial unions.

The fiery auto union leader said that when the Steelworkers and the Auto Workers "march shoulder to shoulder there is no force on earth that can stop" them in the fight to "translate technical progress into human progress and human happiness."

TURNING TO President Abel, Mr. Reuther said "we in the UAW extend to you our friendship and fellowship, and we pledge to work with you in building an invincible partnership of leadership and solidarity."

Scoring the automobile price boosts for 1967 models—which had been declared by Ford and General Motors in a succession of announcements during the convention—Mr. Reuther said [illegible] disparity

largest capital expansion in the history of America in the past three years, the purchasing power of the American people has not increased.

We are living in "what is the most exciting and yet the most frightening period in the history of the human family," Reuther told the convention. "For the future is both dark with the threat of nuclear war and yet is bright with the promise of peace and opportunity of human fulfillment and betterment.

"The great challenge . . . which will test both the solidarity and sanity of the human family is the question as to what purpose we are going to commit the 20th century technological revolution. Are we going to harness its destructive capability to the madness of war or will we build a responsible and rational world community?"

THE STRUGGLE for peace and freedom is inseparably tied together with the struggle for economic and social justice, Mr. Reuther declared. Calling for the elimination of Communism "not with pious slogans," he

against Communism than all the fat cats in Wall Street do in their whole life, because they don't understand that when people are hungry, when people's kids are starving, when there is great social injustice, that this is the raw material out of which Communism builds its political power."

Millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are being swept forward in the "revolution of rising expectations," he said, "and they are determined to catch up with the 20th Century and to share its abundance."

Something is wrong with the value system of our free society, when, faced with the challenge of war "we are always prepared to spend billions and billions to train our young people how to die." We should concentrate on making a comparable effort to "educate them on how to live in peace," he said.

AMERICA IS FAILING both her young people and her older citizens, Mr. Reuther maintained, for "if the true test of a worth of a society" is what it does to educate its children and to provide security and dignity to its senior citizens, we are not meeting the needs of either.

Americans should be prepared to "fight a total war to root out poverty in this land of plenty, for we are the richest nation in the world and yet 30 million Americans live in poverty. They are the old and the young and

Referring to the new $1.60 minimum wage which Congress had passed the week prior to the USWA convention, he recalled that prophets of doom in business and industry had feared that thousands of firms would go out of business with minimum wage legislation. "I say that a company that can't pay a living wage has no moral right to be in business to exploit workers in America," Mr. Reuther exclaimed to delegate applause.

HISTORY WILL JUDGE America in this period of technological advance "less by our technical ability to enable an American astronaut to walk safely in space and more by our moral commitment to enable an American Negro to walk safely in Mississippi," the UAW leader continued.

"The American labor movement must pick up a major portion of the responsibility for the building of the Great Society, because we are the one force that has economic power and political leverage . . . we have the sense of human and moral commitment to give it a basic human purpose."

"We have got the job of educating these people so that they not only have a union card in their wallet but they have got an understanding of what the labor movement is about," Mr. Reuther challenged the Steelworkers' convention. "They must

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Scoring the automobile price boosts for 1967 models—which had been declared by Ford and General Motors in a succession of announcements during the convention—Mr. Reuther said [illegible] disparity between [illegible] productivity and multiplying profits. "Both the worker and the consumer are being shortchanged," he added, for despite the years, the purchasing power of the American people has not increased.

We are living in "what is the most exciting and yet the most frightening period in the history of the human family," Reuther told the convention. "For the future is both dark with the threat of nuclear war and yet is bright with the promise of peace and opportunity of human fulfillment and betterment.

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"The labor movement does more in one week in the practical struggle [illegible] tions," he said, "and they are determined to catch up with the 20th Century and to share its abundance."

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"We have got the job of educating these people so that they not only have a union card in their wallet but they have got an understanding of what the labor movement is about," Mr. Reuther challenged the Steelworkers' convention. "They must [illegible] have this understanding in their head and some commitment in their hearts, and then we will have a labor movement," he added.

Randolph Hits 'Black Power,' Urges 'Freedom Budget'

A twofold call for unions to give full assistance to peaceful solutions of the problems of the Negro and for Negroes to "shift from the streets to the conference room" to gain their objectives was made by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in his address to the Steelworkers' convention.

"I deplore riots of any kind," said Mr. Randolph. "Throwing Molotov cocktails is not the answer to the problem of the Negro. The answer is deeper than that.

"And consequently the civil rights leaders are greatly concerned about this trend, and I want to see the civil rights leaders take great care against overheating the ghettos that have the . . . ingredients of explosive potentialities. . . .

"Therefore I plead with you as workers to help us to resolve this problem. . . . Now, we have developed a program, and I believe that the time has come when the street marches and demonstrations have about run their course. I believe that the strategy now in order is to shift from the streets to the conference room for the purpose of discussion of the problems in the interest of finding an answer."

MR. RANDOLPH set the theme for his address by opening with the observation that "while we are living in a period of tension and crisis, I want to stress with you the moral basis of the civil rights revolution. The moral foundation of the civil rights revolution is the source of its strength, hope and promise. . . . The foundation of the moral order is respect for the dignity and infinite worth of the personality of every human being."

After citing the history of the Negro's efforts to gain his rights over the years, Mr. Randolph took note of the current talk of "black power."

"Well, the civil rights organizations are not committed to black power. That is a slogan, and you cannot solve basic social and economic problems with slogans. It is based upon the assumption of salvation through racial isolation, which is absolutely unsound. . . . However, it has been created by oppression of Negroes in this country.

"It came out of frustration, a sense of despair and hopelessness. . . . Instead of separation, we need cooperation. That is why we have proposed a 'Freedom Budget,' which is based upon the alliance between labor and the civil rights movement. . . ."

"I AM PROUD of the position that the American labor movement has taken on this 'Freedom Budget.' . . . We are attempting to transform the civil rights revolution into a social revolution which is concerned not only about the Negro but about the poor whites as well, and we realize that there are 35 million people . . . on the poverty line in this country.

"Twenty per cent of them are black and about 75 per cent are white. Therefore the black working poor and the white working poor must unite in order that we might be able to create full employment under the leadership of organized labor. . . .

"We must have great determination and courage, but we must also have level heads . . . to find the correct path to the destiny we are trying to reach."

President Abel presents honored guest badge to A. Philip Randolph, veteran rights leader and AFL-CIO vice president, who made a major civil rights policy speech before the convention.

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INTER-AMERICAN LABOR BULLETIN

Issued monthly by O.R.I.T.—The INTER-AMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS—I.C.F.T.U.

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Low Wages Are Threat To Freedom of Press, Newspapermen Warn

Newspaper workers representing 23 countries meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, November 15-18 agreed that the wages they receive in many countries are so low and the working conditions are so bad that a real threat to freedom of the press is developing.

The fourth Congress of the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations decided that trade unionism is the only real basis for improving their lot.

Discussions, which in earlier Congresses had emphasized professional aspects of journalism, were concentrated on practical trade-union methods.

For the first time, the IAFWNO publicly embraced the concept of industrial unionism for newspaper workers. "We recognize," the Congress stated, "that the organization which will best benefit all newspaper workers, of the news, commercial or administrative and graphic departments, is one which includes all workers.

"We applaud the fact that some of our organizations are industrial in membership structure, and we encourage our other members to take all possible steps in the direction of unity of all the workers in the newspaper industry."

New Co-Chairman

The Congress elected Jaime Humerez Seleme, Executive Secretary of the Bolivian Federation of Newspaper Workers, as Co-Chairman. Charles A. Perlik, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer of the American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO), was reelected to the other co-chairmanship, a post he has held since the IAFWNO was founded in 1960.

Leocadio Morais, President of the Brazilian Federation of Professional Journalists, was elected Secretary of the federation, replacing Alberto Schtirbu of Argentina. Schtirbu will continue as representative of IAFWNO in Brazil.

Humerez replaces Luis Carnero Checa of Peru as Co-Chairman. Nicolas Pentcheff of the Union of Free Journalists in the United States continues as Treasurer.

A high point of the Congress, which was attended by some 60 representatives of newspaper trade-union organizations, was the forum on trade-unionism. Speakers were Humerez, describing the position

NEWSPAPERMEN MEET. Former Puerto Rican Governor Luis Munoz Marin (seated, left) meets with newspapermen at the Fourth Congress of the Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen's Organizations held in San Juan in November. Standing, from left, are Luis Montanez, Jr., President of the Puerto Rico Newspaper Guild and IAFWNO Vice Chairman; Alberto Schtirbu of Argentina, outgoing IAFWNO Secretary, who is presenting Leocadio Morais, President of the Brazilian Federation of Professional Journalists. Charles A. Perlik, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO) and Co-Chairman of IAFWNO, is seated at right.

Institute for Free Labor Development Presents Certificates to 15th Class

Nineteen graduates of the 15th training program of the American Institute for Free Labor Development received their certificates at special ceremonies last month in the auditorium at AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, D.C. The group, all trade union educators, included 14 Brazilians, four citizens of the United States and one representative of the Paraguayan labor movement in exile.

Speaking at the commencement exercises, Jack B. Kubisch, Director of the Office of Brazilian Affairs in the U.S. Department of State, declared that a broad attack on educational problems is vital to Latin American human and economic progress.

Kubisch declared that the responsibility of the labor movement in raising educational standards south of the border is heavy because "it alone has the capability of making the worker realize his great personal stake."

"Until the worker realizes that greater education — both general and technical — is indispensable both to his own future and well-being and to the progress of his country," he declared, "and until

Loan of $2 Million From AFL-CIO to Aid Guyana TUC Housing

AFL-CIO President George Meany announced November 29th the signing of an agreement providing a loan of $2 million from the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions to the Trade Union Council Cooperative Housing Society of Guyana (formerly British Guinea).

The loan, which amounts to $3.4 million in Guyana dollars, will finance the construction of 568 homes for TUC members.

Meany signed the agreement in Barbados, where he [illegible]

International Federation Of Oil, Chemical Workers Holds 5th World Congress

By Gerald Funk

The Fifth World Congress of the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, the first such worldwide meeting of an International Trade Secretariat to be held in Latin America, took place in Caracas, Venezuela, November 20-25.

The highly successful Congress drew more than 100 delegates and observers from six continents. The delegates, representing nearly two million workers in the chemical, petrochemical and petroleum industries of 77 nations, discussed a wide range of issues, problems and projected programs in six crowded days of working sessions.

The Congress was officially opened by the President of Venezuela, Dr. Raul Leoni, and addressed by several dignitaries and guests, including Venezuelan Minister of Labor Dr. Hens Silva Torres, Jose Gonzales Navarro, President of the Venezuelan CTV; Luis Perdomo, special representative of ORIT; Sam Butler, of the League for International Social and Cooperative Development, and many others. Additional personal greetings to the Congress were delivered on behalf of Bruno Storti, General Secretary of the ORIT, and Cousins, of the British Transport Workers, and others from the entire free world trade union movement.

Luis Tovar of Venezuela, the internationally respected President of the Venezuelan petroleum workers federation, FEDEPETROL, was unanimously selected to succeed O. A. (Jack) Knight as President of IFPCW. Knight, who retired from the presidency of the OCAW (AFL-CIO) last year, declined nomination to a fifth term as President of IFPCW, and nominated Tovar for the post. Loyd Haskins, who has served as General Secretary of IFPCW since its founding in Paris in 1954, was unanimously returned to office by the Congress.

Several important resolutions were adopted by the Congress, including calls for the implementation of ILO resolutions dealing with hours of work, the commencement of a coordinated program of making the trade union expertese of the more advanced nations available to the lesser developed areas, and more intensive programs of trade union and workers education for women and youth.

In addition, the Congress called for continued and strengthened efforts to amalgamate national unions in the chemical, petrochemical and petroleum [illegible]

New Workers Bank Founded in Venezuela Under July Statutes

A new Workers Bank has been founded in Venezuela, the result of a partnership between the government and the organized labor movement. It is the third such institution to be established in Latin America under the Alliance for Progress. Earlier workers' banks have been opened in Peru and Guatemala.

Venezuelan labor organizations have long been asking for the establishment of a bank of this kind, and last July, the National Congress finally approved the statutes for a Workers Bank (Banco de los Trabajadores). The new institution will function as a corporation with main offices in Caracas and branches in other cities of the country.

Its chief purposes are to: (1) encourage savings, (2) extend loans for the vital needs and the welfare of workers with emphasis on home ownership, (4) support and stimulate the creation of cooperatives and strengthen existing ones, and (5) help develop new work opportunities by giving loans to productive enterprises.

The initial capital will be 20 million bolivares (one bolivar equals $0.22), but the Bank may begin operating with a paid-in capital of four million bolivares, and engage in all transactions allowed to similar institutions by the Banking Law of the land.

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A high point of the Congress, which was attended by some 60 representatives of newspaper trade-union organizations, was the forum on trade-unionism. Speakers were Humerez, describing the position taken by the Union of Newspaper Workers of La Paz in the face of the military government of Bolivia; John K. Sloan, inter-American representative, describing the IAFWNO seminar program; and Enrique Tortosa, President of the Association of Newspapermen of Buenos Aires, telling of his union's organizing program.

Earn $40 a Month

The Congress noted that some full-time newspapermen in El Salvador received as little as $40 a month for their work. It pointed out that practically no Latin American newsman lives from one job alone.

Such conditions for newsmen can only weaken the press, the Congress said, especially when accompanied by a trend toward monopoly, control of newspapers by political parties, and any number of governmental restrictions on the press.

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(Continued on Page 5)

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"Until the worker realizes that greater education — both general and technical — is indispensable both to his own future and well-being and to the progress of his country," he declared, "and until he is willing to make the substantial investment of time and effort which education entails, the best efforts of government and industry will prove only partially effective.

Labor's Opportunity

"If organized labor in Latin America can make the worker realize the immense educational effort, on his own part, which the rapid and effective economic development of the continent requires, it will be making perhaps its greatest contribution to the Alliance for Progress."

Brazilian Ambassador H. E. Vasco Leitao de Cunha voiced his nation's appreciation to the AIFLD for its services to Brazil and urged his countrymen among the graduates to return home "and work for the freedom of unions."

The present government, he said, "wants free unions," but he said improvements in wages and working conditions must go hand-in-

(Continued on Page 6)

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Meany signed the agreement in Barbados, where he attended a conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Ishmael Present

Present at the ceremony were Richard Ishmael, TUC President; Joseph A. Beirne, an AFL-CIO Vice President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Institute for Free Labor Development; Alexander Bookstaver, AFL-CIO investment counsellor, and James Holway, Director of Social Projects for AIFLD.

Construction of the 568 homes will begin in late February. Bids are now being invited. The security of the loan is guaranteed by the governments of Guyana and the United States.

This is the second Latin American housing project financed by the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions. The first was the $10 million Kennedy development in Mexico City.

(See photograph of signing of the agreement on Page 3.)

By Gerald Funk

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In addition, the Congress called for continued and strengthened efforts to amalgamate national unions in the chemical, petrochemical and petroleum industries as a means of effectively combatting the pressures being generated by the increasing growth of the various international petro-chemical complexes around the world.

The Congress also adopted the concept of instituting regional and

(Continued on Page 2)

New Workers Bank Founded in Venezuela Under July Statutes

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The initial capital will be 20 million bolivares (one bolivar equals $0.22), but the Bank may begin operating with a paid-in capital of four million bolivares, and engage in all transactions allowed to similar institutions by the Banking Law of the land.

Shares Are Sold

Capital comes from the sale of nominal shares at 25 bolivares each, in two classes, A and B. Class A shares may be acquired by individual workers, labor unions, savings banks, and workers cooperatives and federations. Class A stockholders will get dividends and have voting rights.

Class B shares may be acquired only by the Government, and the Government must sell them at the Bank's request, at nominal prices, to natural persons or institutions, as the demand for them develops. The Bank will then exchange them for class A Shares.

Individual workers may buy any number of shares, but institutions must buy them in the following minimum lots: labor unions and workers cooperatives, 100 shares; savings banks, cooperative and workers federations, 800 shares; cooperative confederations, 500 shares; and workers confederations, 1000 shares.

Merry Christmas

The *Inter-American Labor Bulletin*, on behalf of its staff and the officers of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) wishes all of its readers a happy holiday season.

ORIT's basic aims of "Bread, Peace and Freedom," we believe, are in the spirit of the true meaning of Christmas, and we pledge continued efforts to win these goals for all the workers of the Hemisphere.

Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party Suffers Setbacks from New Dissension

Recent reports from the Dominican Republic indicate that there is growing dissension among the leaders of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) of former President Juan Bosch. At the recent party Congress, control of the Executive Committee of the PRD was taken over by party leaders representing the extreme left, causing a further fragmentation of the party.

The two PRD leaders of the moderate wing, invited by Dominican President Balaguer to join his cabinet, Antonio Martinez Francisco as Minister of Finance, and Jose A. Brea Pena, Minister of Commerce and Industry, publicly announced their resignations from the PRD and submitted their portfolios to President Balaguer. The President, however, refused to accept their cabinet resignations and reassigned them to their posts with the statement that he did so "because they were appointed as Dominicans and honest people, and they enjoy my complete confidence."

In resigning from the PRD, Dr. Martinez Francisco, ex-Secretary General of the party, stated, "the extremists of the left have taken possession of what used to be a democratic-political organization." He added that the IV National Convention of the PRD that had reportedly expelled him 24 hours before his resignation "had no authority to do so."

In the same statement, he accused ex-President Bosch of having organized the PRD Congress "to use it as a show against the democratic leaders." He said that the ex-President "is provoking all these situations of agitation and confusion to set the country on fire before he leaves it."

"What Bosch Wants"

"What Bosch wants," he added, "is to create bigger problems for the country. He wants the country to become a chaos and is stirring up the situation so that disorders and their consequences are created. He also wants to destroy the PRD and is trying to create confusion in every phase of national life."

Martinez then stated, "His (Bosch) attitude is aimed at creating serious problems for both

The ruse used by the PRD at its recent IV National Convention was an accusation by the PRD Political-Trade Union Bureau against Martinez accusing him of "betraying the working class."

This was in reference to the stevedore problem at the docks in Santo Domingo, involving the Communist-infiltrated dock workers Union POASI, and the democratically oriented port workers Union STAPI, a problem on which Dr. Martinez had worked for two months trying to conciliate the warring factions on the docks.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry, Jose Brea Pena, had earlier been pressured by the PRD to resign as a member of the Balaguer Cabinet. Rather than submit to the PRD pressure, he resigned from the PRD declaring himself publicly free of any political ties.

Brea Pena is the owner of two of the most powerful radio stations in the Dominican Republic, and had been generous not only with his financial support to the PRD but generous in permitting his radio stations to be used by the PRD in its radio programs. Twice his stations had been assaulted by terrorists, accusing him of permitting the transmission of programs in support of democratic institutions.

Letter of Resignation

In his letter of resignation to the General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the PRD, Brea Pena stated, "It is for me a cause of deep sorrow to have to withdraw from the party to which

INDEPENDENCE FOR BARBADOS. A reception in Government House in Bridgeport was among the events celebrating the coming of independence to Barbados on November 30th. Sir John Stowe (right), the first Governor General, greets Frank Walcott, General Secretary of the Barbados Workers' Union (left), and AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph, who also is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph and AFL-CIO President George Meany were members of the United States delegation to the independence ceremonies.

AFL-CIO Leaders Attend Ceremonies Celebrating Independence of Barbados

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Vice President A. Philip Randolph were members of the U.S. delegation officially attending the independence ceremonies of Barbados on November 30th.

Chief Justice Earl Warren headed the delegation, which witnessed the passing of the independence documents to Prime Minister Errol Walton Barrow by the representative of the British Crown, the Duke of Kent.

The two AFL-CIO leaders also were part of the U.S. trade union contingent bearing greetings to the Barbados Worker's Union on its 25th anniversary observance, just prior to the independence

Pan American Union Statistics Disclose Effects of Inflation

How inflation has affected the countries of the Americas over the last 10 years is indicated by figures recently published by the Pan

AIFLD Graduates 15th Advanced Class In Special Ceremony

(Continued from Page 1)

hand with increased productivity, Brazilian unions are passing through a period of "great vitality," he observed, decrying the fact that "certain elements" in the labor movement are using unions to promote political goals he described as those of the Communists.

"There is great interest in Brazil," the ambassador said, "in collaboration with the United States labor movement that will bring Brazilian union members into contact with U.S. unionists . . . in the hope that they may attain the degree of growth and capacity for action that characterizes U.S. unions."

AFL-CIO Vice President Joseph A. Beirne, President of the Communications Workers and AIFLD Secretary-Treasurer, presided at the ceremony, presented the certificates and read a message of congratulations and encouragement sent the graduates by President Johnson through AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Speaks for Class

Edson Buarque Ferreira of Recife, Brazil, Public Relations Director of the Commercial Workers Union, speaking for the class, described the union educator as "the torchbearer . . . the hope of the majority of workers who, for centuries, have dreamed of a better world and cry out for recognition as men and as citizens."

Henry B. Sargent, an AIFLD Director and President of the American and Foreign Power Co., which has large Latin American operations, was the principal speaker at a luncheon honoring the graduates.

He called the AIFLD "a good illustration of constructive collaboration between capital and labor to achieve objectives which are important to both groups and

tary General of the party, stated, "the extremists of the left have taken possession of what used to be a democratic-political organization." He added that the IV National Convention of the PRD that had reportedly expelled him 24 hours before his resignation "had no authority to do so."

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Martinez then stated, "His (Bosch) attitude is aimed at creating serious problems for both the country and the government. He wants to leave, but before he does, he wants to leave enough problems behind him to undermine the peace. I withdrew from the party because I am tired of fighting the ingratitudes of Bosch. By the same token, my resignation is mainly based on the fact that Communists have taken over control of the PRD and henceforth they will manage the party as they please."

Martinez announced that probably a new political organization will be formed around the moderate sector of the PRD and that in all probability a former leader of the PRD, Angel Miolan, will be responsible for its organization.

"In our desire to serve our country, we shall establish this new political organization with the moderate men of PRD," Martinez explained, and added: "It is unfortunate that the former powerful and democratic PRD is now a Communist-controlled party."

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Letter of Resignation

In his letter of resignation to the General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the PRD, Brea Pena stated, "It is for me a cause of deep sorrow to have to withdraw from the party to which I gave all my enthusiasm and efforts to contribute with my grain of sand to the high and noble principles which this organization instilled in the hearts of the majority of the Dominican people.

"But the wisdom and good judgment with which the party had always been identified is now conspicuous by its absence, and the seed of disagreement, hatred, ambition and, above all, pressure has been substituted, changing the course of the brilliant paths followed by the party since its beginning, despite the almost insurmountable obstacles."

In recalling the motivations upon which the PRD was founded, Brea Pena remembered, "the atmosphere of understanding and harmony which prevailed, and the great aspirations that stimulated each of the founding members, making them feel like pioneers of freedom and democracy in the new era of the Dominican Republic." He added:

"This beautiful panorama has now been changed within the inner circles of the party and unexpectedly we see springing up the policy of the useful fools; that is to say, 'hold-this-until-I-return' policy."

In a later paragraph, Brea Pena stated, "I have struggled unfalteringly so that freedom in this country could become a reality, and this being the principle for which I stand, I cannot tolerate any compulsory action taken against me, nor can I stand impositions and much less threats of sanctions."

He ended his letter stating that his resignation from the party was irrevocable, but, he said, "this does not mean I shall not continue, in accordance with my principles, to fight for the ideals that from the beginning I set for myself."

Sources close to the ex-leader of the PRD asserted that his resignation was due to his firm conviction that the party had fallen into the hands of extremist elements who "are contrary or opposed to the revolutionary and democratic principles which I defend."

The same sources maintained that Brea Pena is also opposed to the new doctrine that the new PRD leaders advocate, and because of this opposition, Brea Pena has won for himself the antipathy of the new PRD Executive Committee members.

Loan of $7 Million Made to Honduras To Aid Development

The Inter-American Development Bank has been announced the approval of a loan equivalent to $7 million to be used in extending credits for private agricultural and industrial enterprises in Honduras.

The loan, which was extended from the Bank's Fund for Special Operations, was made to Honduras' national development agency, the Banco Nacional de Fomento. It will use the proceeds to continue a credit program initiated with the aid of two Bank loans authorized in 1962—one for $6 million, also from the Fund for Special Operations, which is financing livestock, agricultural and industrial development, and the other for $2.5 million from the Social Progress Trust Fund, which is helping to finance a rural credit program for low-income farmers.

$9 Million in Loans

Under that program, up to December 31, 1965 the Banco Nacional had made 1,653 loans totaling $9 million. Of this sum, $6 million came from the first Bank loan. The second loan helped to finance 9,500 credits to low-income farmers.

House in Bridgetown was among the events celebrating the coming of independence to Barbados on November 30th. Sir John Stowe (right), the first Governor General, greets Frank Walcott, General Secretary of the Barbados Workers' Union (left), and AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph, who also is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph and AFL-CIO President George Meany were members of the United States delegation to the independence ceremonies.

AFL-CIO Leaders Attend Ceremonies Celebrating Independence of Barbados

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Vice President A. Philip Randolph were members of the U.S. delegation officially attending the independence ceremonies of Barbados on November 30th.

Chief Justice Earl Warren headed the delegation, which witnessed the passing of the independence documents to Prime Minister Errol Walton Barrow by the representative of the British Crown, the Duke of Kent.

The two AFL-CIO leaders also were part of the U.S. trade union contingent bearing greetings to the Barbados Worker's Union on its 25th anniversary observance, just prior to the independence celebration. Among others attending were Secretary-Treasurer William H. Bowe of the Sleeping Car Porters and President Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., and Secretary Morris Iushewitz of the New York City AFL-CIO.

Meany, speaking at an anniversary service in St. Michael's Cathedral, also conveyed the greetings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and lauded the contributions of Barbados labor to the ICFTU. He recalled the long association between the AFL-CIO and the BWU and its General Secretary, Frank Walcott, and foresaw a continued close relationship.

Silver jubilee tributes to the Barbados labor organization also were paid by clergymen of all faiths, other trade union officials and government leaders, including Prime Minister Barrow and the governor, Sir John Stow, who later was installed as the island nation's first governor general.

Hemisphere's Smallest

Besides being the smallest nation in the Hemisphere, with an area of 166 square miles, Barbados also is the most densely populated, with about 1,500 people to the square mile, and many of its skilled workers have emigrated to the United States, Canada and England.

Sugar and rum are the keystones of the Barbados economy, but tourists are being increasingly attracted by the white sand beaches of the island, easternmost in the Caribbean. The Hilton chain recently built a $5.4 million hotel here.

Prime Minister Barrow has declared the new nation's intention to seek immediate membership in the United Nations and "within a matter of months" in the Organization of American States. Barbados has already received provisional approval as the 26th member of the British Commonwealth.

The island has a long history of self-government as a British colony, dating back to its first House of Assembly in 1639. Most of its population of 250,000 is of African descent.

Pan American Union Statistics Disclose Effects of Inflation

How inflation has affected the countries of the Americas over the last 10 years is indicated by figures recently published by the Pan American Union.

Taking 100 as an index in 1955, the increases in each country by 1965 were as follows:

Argentina (Buenos Aires)	1,437
Bolivia (La Paz)	1,033
Brazil (Sao Paulo)	3,432
Canada (all country)	119
Colombia (all country)	272
Costa Rica (San Jose)	120
Chile (Santiago)	1,283
Dominican Republic	115
Ecuador (Quito)	120
El Salvador (country)	103
Guatemala City (Guatemala)	100
Hati (Port au Prince)	115
Honduras (Tegucigalpa)	110
Mexico (Mexico City)	146
Nicaragua (Managua)	97
Panama (Panama City)	106
Peru (Lima & Callao) (1963)	177
United States (country)	118
Uruguay (Montevideo)	1,022
Venezuela (Caracas)	113

Secretary-Treasurer, presided at the ceremony, presented the certificates and read a message of congratulations and encouragement sent the graduates by President Johnson through AFL-CIO President George Meany.

Speaks for Class

Edson Buarque Ferreira of Recife, Brazil, Public Relations Director of the Commercial Workers Union, speaking for the class, described the union educator as "the torchbearer . . . the hope of the majority of workers who, for centuries, have dreamed of a better world and cry out for recognition as men and as citizens."

Henry B. Sargent, an AIFLD Director and President of the American and Foreign Power Co., which has large Latin American operations, was the principal speaker at a luncheon honoring the graduates.

He called the AIFLD "a good illustration of constructive collaboration between capital and labor to achieve objectives which are important to both groups and to the public at large."

General Secretary Stefan Nedzynski of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, also spoke briefly.

Hickey Is Honored

AIFLD Administrator William C. Doherty, Jr., on behalf of campesino unions in Venezuela, presented a plaque to William Hickey, Vice President of the United Corp. and an AIFLD Director, in appreciation for a contribution of tools to a training center for Venezuelan farm workers by a United subsidiary, the True Temper Corp.

A plaque from the class to the AIFLD was presented by President Alva K. Moore of Local 6137 of the Communications Workers of America, Corpus Christi, Texas, who was one of the graduates.

ADDRESSES IFCCTE CONFERENCE. Elmer Foster, Inter-American Representative of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, addresses the III Inter-American Conference of the International Trade Secretariat in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in November. Pictured also are, in the first row, left to right: Napoleon Posada, Assistant General Secretary of the CSEP (Peru); V. A. Stanford, President, UCIW (Trinidad); Charles Gray, Director of Regional Activities of the IFCCTE, Geneva, Switzerland; and Armando March, Secretary-General of the Argentine Commercial Workers Union. In the second row, same order, are Jose Bermudez of ORIT; Foster; James A. Suffridge, President of IFCCTE and of the Retail Clerks International Association (AFL-CIO), and Erich Kissel IFCCTE General Secretary. Over 100 delegates from 15 countries of the Americas attended the conference. (See story on page 2.)

NOVEMBER 1966 • ISSUED MONTHLY

A SUPPLEMENT TO
THE TIMES-UNION

Tuesday
MAGAZINE

THE NEGRO IN WORLD HISTORY—PUSHKIN

AMERICAN SCENE: THE WEST INDIANS

TIMMY, FOOTBALL'S OTHER BROWN

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: *MAN FOR ALL SEASONS/PAGE 4*

ILLUSTRATION BY JACK BRESLOW

Memo from Washington

by Tuesday's Capital Staff

'YOUNG TURKS'

Militants on the national board of the NAACP, who would like nothing better than to oust Roy Wilkins as national director and put an end to the influence of his moderate backers, appear well on the way to getting half the job done. The "Young Turk" followers of former NAACP leader Franklin Williams, now U. S. ambassador to Ghana, have been instrumental in causing the defeat of four veteran directors for renomination as at-large members of the national board. In the startling development, a former national president and the current chairman of the board were defeated. Although the losers in the nominating committee vote may by petition renew their candidacy before the entire NAACP membership this Christmas, they have nevertheless lost a prestigious edge. Losing were Arthur B. Spingarn, now 88, who once was asked to resign because militants opposed a white man as head of a civil rights organization; Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, the board chairman since 1961; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and a co-leader of the March on Washington; and former judge Hubert T. Delany. Among the winners was Wichita's Chester I. Lewis, a spokesman for the "Young Turks." Others were Daisy Bates, L. Joseph Overton, Marilyn Luper, Loren Miller and John W. Nixon.

TIMES CHANGE

When Victor Daley began working as an interviewer for the U. S. Employment Service in Washington 32 years ago, it was a heavily segregated city with very few Negroes working in high federal positions. But because of the patient persistence of Negroes like Daley, all that changed. He was successful in getting the first Negroes hired as bus drivers and in starting a manpower training program to prepare Negro office workers for federal jobs. On November 30 he retires as deputy director of the Service. "There were no strikes or boycotts," he recalls of his pioneering days, "the only tool I had to use was persuasion, and using it at the right time and place, we got what we did." (*Continued on page 3*)

TERRY

TUESDAY's Capital Staff is headed by Wallace H. Terry II, a former reporter for the Washington Post and currently a staff member on Time Magazine. He was president of the Capitol Press Club for three terms and has covered major national stories—on urban affairs, labor and race relations. A graduate of Brown University, Terry was a delegate to this year's White House Conference on Civil Rights.

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Tuesday

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Memo from Washington *(Continued)*

THE FAMILY

A new Census Bureau study has given new emphasis to the controversial Moynihan Report which traced many racial disadvantages to the "highly unstable" family structure of lower-income urban Negroes. Prepared by University of Texas sociologist Daniel O. Price, the study shows that the number of fatherless Negro families is going up. More Negro women are divorced or separated now than there were in 1960. The increase in divorce and separation rates also is higher in the young age brackets, indicating a pattern of increased family breakdown. The average size of broken families is also rising. Price suggests that the causes are due not only to welfare programs which make it easier for families to get relief when the father has departed but to urbanization and a lack of good jobs for Negro men.

NEW PROBLEMS

The resignation of veteran field secretary Herbert Callender from the national office of the Congress of Racial Equality has sent a new shock wave through the civil rights movement. Recently CORE was slapped with a $22,500 lien for unpaid withholding and social security taxes on salaries for the first six months of 1966. To worsen matters, the "black power" slogan advanced by national director Floyd McKissick was losing CORE its white friends and contributors. But with no money to pay its officers, CORE now is losing its Negro staff. Callender hadn't been paid in weeks, and associate national director Lincoln Lynch hasn't drawn a salary since April. Now there are no whites working at the national office, fewer Negroes.

IT'S LBJ's MOVE

Although the failure of the Senate to pass a fair housing law this year dealt a "tragic blow" to the "teeming racial ghettos" and minorities "fighting on battlefields abroad," the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing insists that LBJ still can save the day. Directors Jack Wood and Edward Rutledge are reminding the White House that Negroes still want the President to extend John F. Kennedy's 1962 housing order to include all federally aided housing, new and existing, and to cover the mortgage-lending activities of federally supervised commercial banks and savings and loan associations. With the stroke of an LBJ pen, 85 per cent of all housing would then be open, compared with only 17 percent now. And all along, that was what Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert Weaver wanted.

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Contrary to the claims of black nationalists and black power advocates, Negroes are not strongly anti-Semitic. In fact, Negroes are more friendly toward Jews than toward other whites, according to the preliminary results of a scientific study being prepared at the University of California Survey Research Center for the Anti-Defamation *(Continued on page 22)*

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of aged cognac brandies in the world.

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PHOTOGRAPHY BY BURT SHAVITZ

A. Philip Randolph

A Man for all Seasons

by Tom Brooks

He took on 3 Presidents of the United States . . . organized labor and the railroad barons . . . and won significant gains each time.

The man tipping "George" on leaving the Pullman car never knew he was contributing to a social revolution. But one cannot blame the complacent traveler when even those directly concerned still don't know the full story.

With an irony that perhaps only a sleeping car porter can appreciate, the story centers on courteous, grave, deep-voiced A. Philip Randolph, whose opponents once called him "a wild-eyed uppity Negro hustler who never made up a Pullman berth in his life."

This hustler—an odd phrase for so austere a man—not only pulled the porters together into a union recognized by the powerful railroads but forced a President to order an end to discriminatory hiring in World War II defense plants, tossed Jim Crow out of the United States Army and launched the March on Washington that changed his country's history. Randolph, in one way or another, was responsible for the only significant gains secured by Negroes from Reconstruction days to the sit-ins.

There have been—and are—many outstanding Negroes who have contributed to the civil rights revolution, but Randolph at 77 is its senior statesman, the dean of them all. Yet he sits in no distant retirement. In one recent week, he spoke at the convention of the United Steelworkers, brought together Harlem parents and teacher union leaders in an effort to resolve a school conflict, consulted with economists about his proposed $100-billion Freedom Budget and flew to Chicago to work on a porters' job-stabilization program.

Randolph, in person, appears somewhat above common concerns. Erudite, steeped in Shakespeare and the Bible, his basso voice resonant with broad 'A's, he would be at home, one thinks, behind ivy-covered walls deep within the groves of Academe. But Randolph's old-fashioned, somewhat seedy office actually overlooks Harlem's teeming main street. He still lives in the same modest five-room apartment in Harlem that he has occupied for 31 years. He owns neither car nor property and rides the bus to work every morning.

To be sure, the union membership is declining, down to 7-8,000 now as against a World War II peak of 14-16,000. But even when the union was more affluent it did not move downtown to seek fancier suites and air-conditioning. It had other, more pressing concerns.

On the job, the porter may have been the invisible man who responded to the call, "George." But in his community he was a figure of some importance. He held a steady job, no small thing in the community of the oppressed, often managed to save a little something and to buy his own home. He was ambitious for his children; the porters put more youngsters through college than any other single group of Negro workers.

Automation and the shift from train to air travel someday soon will eliminate his job. But the sleeping car porter has long since destroyed his faceless persona and made himself a man. He did so not only by organizing a union and lifting himself by his own bootstraps but through his unvarying support of Randolph, "a one man freedom operation." Randolph's causes have had a way of changing the lives of millions. Columnist Murray Kempton said in his book, *Part of Our Time:* "As an individual, [the porter] offered dollar upon dollar to campaigns which could bring him no personal profit because he understood, from his own life, what Randolph meant when he said that 'the Negro must supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifices and endure the suffering to break down his barriers.' "

The porters, especially, gave because Randolph asked and it was a measure of their trust. As one traces his career, one is struck by his constancy of purpose and by his integrity.

Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Florida, where his father was a circuit-riding African Methodist Episcopal minister. The Reverend James W. Randolph tended to the cares of three small rural congregations near Jacksonville, Florida, all of which couldn't support him. "Dad was paid in kind," his son recalls, "shanks of pigs, potatoes, cabbages, that sort of thing." The family also eked out a living running a laundry. Young Philip and his older brother, James, delivered bundles.

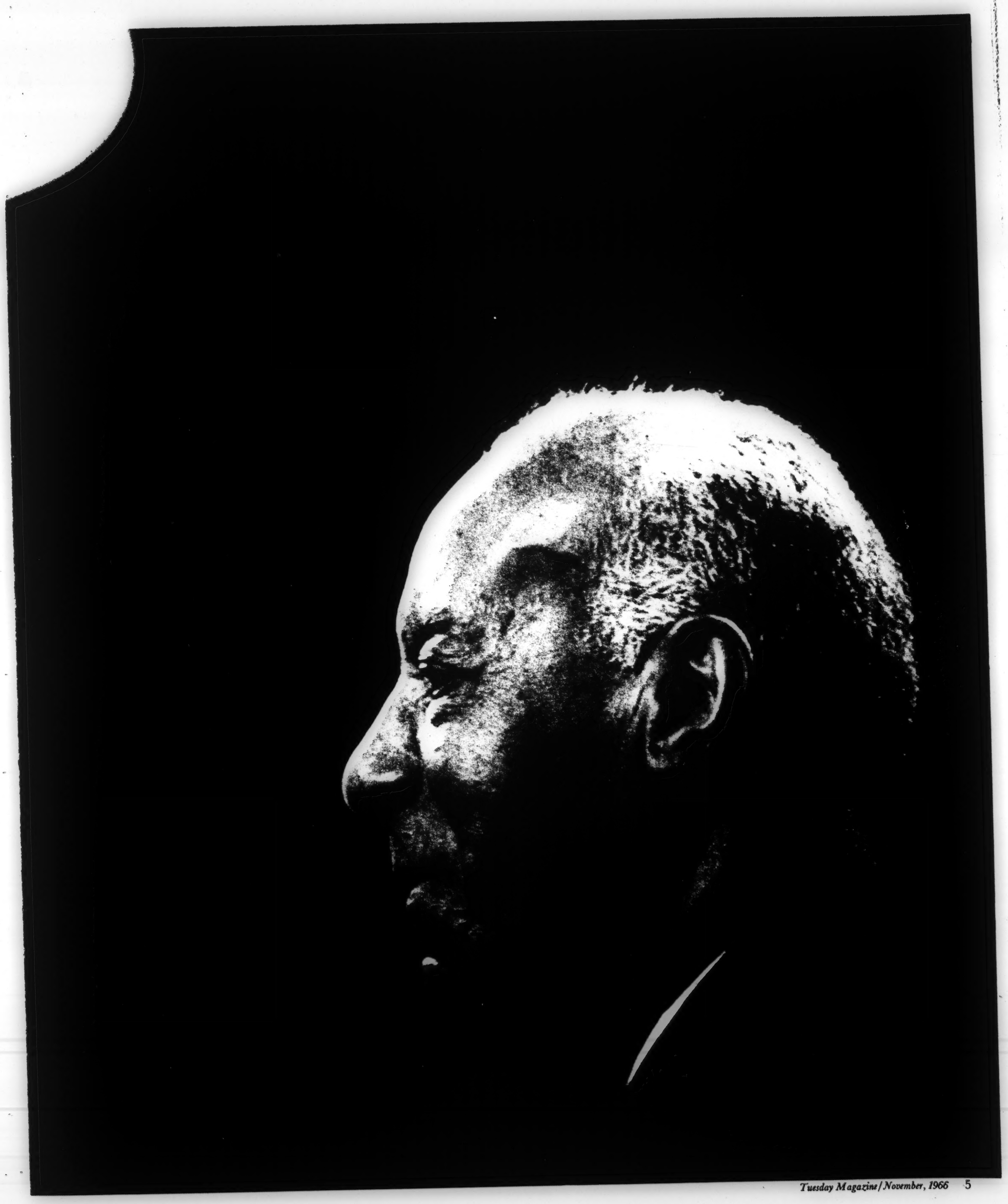
The elder Randolph was apparently a man of iron will. "My home," Randolph told me, "was almost Calvinistic. It was rigidly moralistic and rigidly supervised. I never saw a bottle of whiskey, nobody used profanity and there was no playing on Sunday." Many years later, when Randolph, as a result of his participation in "Ye Friends of Shakespeare," a Harlem off-Broadway theater group, toyed with the idea of going on the stage, he was dissuaded by the stern admonitions of his father who considered the stage a sin only one remove from drink.

"Sometimes," Randolph told me with a slight smile, "when I look back I think my upbringing had some value. There are certain things I can't do now because of the pull to that early training on me."

Self-educated himself, the Reverend Randolph began tutoring his two sons early and intensively. "By the time we got to school," Randolph says, "we had the equivalent of a primary school education." But the two boys learned more than the Bible, a love of words and their pronunciation from their father (Randolph's broad 'A's come from *him*, not from Harvard or the British West Indies). Two lessons in particular were to stick with Randolph to this day.

The first took place when he was very young. He accompanied his father to a nearby sawmill to deliver a bundle of laundry to its white foreman. When they approached, the man exploded profanely, "Take those clothes to my home and get out of here or I'll throw you out."

"I was only a little lad," Randolph recalls, "but I was startled. My father didn't say anything. I knew we needed the money and I wondered how we would get paid. My father's helplessness registered profoundly. I wasn't completely conscious of color yet, but I had a feeling it happened because we were dark and he was white. I kept asking Dad about it for days. He told me not to worry."



But the young boy, really, never ceased worrying.

Yet, the second lesson he learned at his father's house was that his people were not always helpless. "Mother and Dad kept whispering to one another that evening, and there was gloom in the house. Other men came by in twos and threes to talk to my father. I had no idea who was going to be lynched or why, or what a lynching was really. But just hearing the rumors and the talk was frightening. Later the men came by for my father. 'You get the gun,' he told my mother as he left us, 'and sit up with the boys until I get back.' Mother was a good marksman. She took down the shotgun and sat there with it across her lap until daybreak. My brother James and I kept the vigil all night with her. I was only about nine—he was two years older.

"Sometime after dawn, my father returned. He was weary, but the gloom was gone. The men of the town—his friends, members of the church where he preached—had gone to the County Jail, stood all night like sentries in the street and kept the lynch mob from coming. I'll never forget it. It had a tremendous effect on me."

Randolph's schooling also had a great effect on him. Half of the teachers at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, a Methodist school now called the Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona, were white volunteers from New England. They taught the Randolph boys Latin, math and reinforced their father's moral code. Randolph calls Cookman "a glorious chapter in American history." One day, he says, "their story will be told. They suffered isolation and ostracism at the hands of the white South who feared education for the Negro as they fear the ballot today."

Randolph's brother came North, attended City College and became a brilliant mathematician, an accomplished medievalist and a writer of Latin verse. He died suddenly of diphtheria in the early 1930s.

Young Philip, still in his early teens, also came North. A cousin was a janitor in an apartment house at 89th Street and Columbus Avenue and he offered young Randolph a summer job as a hall-boy at $4 a month. (For a number of years, the building bore the scrawl, "P. Randolph swept here." The summer's earnings, however, barely paid his fare so Randolph made a deal with a headwaiter on the Clyde Line to work as a bus boy without pay in return for the trip. He started City College nights and began work at odd jobs.

Restless and intellectually curious, Randolph read widely and deeply, heard Eugene V. Debs speak and joined the Socialist Party in 1911. He began to organize his fellow workers wherever he went, which was easier than one might expect since his employers kept helping him on his way. He had a job as an elevator operator and got fired for organizing; he became a maintenance man, got fired for organizing and then found a job as a waiter on a pleasure boat and got fired for organizing.

While at City College, he met a young Columbia law student, Chandler Owen. The two men decided to open a job bureau in Harlem with an improvised training program on the side for untutored Negroes from the South. They called it, "The Brotherhood." The business did not last very long. Its proximity to the beauty salon of Madame Lilia Walker, however, introduced Randolph to its manager, a tall, honey-colored beauty named Lilian Green. Miss Green was a graduate of Howard University with the same interests in Shakespeare, socialism and the world. They were married in 1913. "For our honeymoon," Mrs. Randolph once said, "we took an open street car to South Ferry. And back."

Mrs. Randolph was a good speaker and once ran for the State legislature on the Socialist ticket. Their relationship was a close one and lasted until her death two years ago. The Randolphs had no children. During the last few years of her life, Mrs. Randolph was ill and her husband would come home each evening, cook supper for the two of them and spend his evenings reading Shakespeare aloud to his wife.

> *The idea of Negroes developing power is certainly sound. But the question is: How do you develop that power?*

The employment bureau also led to Randolph's career as an editor. (He never did finish City College.) Randolph and Owen met leaders of a new union of Negro headwaiters. "They were real aristocrats," Randolph told me. They wanted a magazine and Randolph and Owen were hired to put out *The Hotel Messenger*. But it wasn't long before they found out that the headwaiters were given to exploiting their underlings, the sidewaiters.

"We didn't have any better sense," Randolph recently recalled, "than to write about it in the magazine this same group [of headwaiters] was maintaining. We were fired."

Somehow the men who have at one time or another fired Phil Randolph have always done him and history a favor. He and Owen decided to keep the magazine going by dropping one word from the masthead. They started *The Messenger* in 1915 on a shoestring and played that string out for ten years.

It wasn't long before *The Messenger* was called "the most dangerous of all Negro publications." America was drifting toward a "war to save Democracy." Yet, President Woodrow Wilson's talk of "The New Freedom" meant for the Negro a stiffening of segregation. Jim Crow, a long-time resident of Washington, D. C. was invited into government under Wilson. Negro employees were shunted off into "separate but equal" restrooms and eating places within government bureaus.

W. E. B. DuBois wrote a famous editorial in the NAACP organ, *The Crisis*, calling on Negroes to close ranks and support the war. Randolph, in *The Messenger*, blasted DuBois and the President. "Lynching, Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and out, disenfranchisement of millions of black souls in the South—all these things make your cry of making the world safe for democracy a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and a travesty on common justice."

Randolph's flaming attacks upon the war and the Wilson Administration drew the ire of the federal government. *The Messenger* was banned from the mails; Randolph took to the streets and in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Seattle, and Washington, D. C., held rallies and sold copies of the banned publication. "We were selling 4,000 copies in Seattle," Randolph recalls. "And nobody knew there were any Negroes out there.' "

During the war, shortly after the arrest of Eugene Debs, Randolph was arrested for treason. But a paternalistic judge refused to believe "*these boys*"—at 27 Randolph looked too young for the draft—were anything but victims of some sinister conspiracy. So, he sent them on their way. Later, though the Justice Department pressed for Randolph's prosecution as "the most dangerous Negro in America," Wilson declined to act because he felt it would not be wise.

Although Randolph was reaching Negroes "out there," patriotic fervor and the post-war hysteria against radicals of all kinds and conditions eroded his influence and readership among the masses of Negroes. Marcus Garvey, a Messiah from the West Indies, came to Harlem and moved the people as no one else ever had with his vision of a black empire across the seas. Randolph won a certain eminence as the only Negro of stature to openly attack Garvey in the pages of his magazine and on the streets. "The United States is our home," Randolph said then as he has repeatedly said since. "Our children are here. We have no other country. We have no other home. If there are wrongs in America, Negroes as Americans must help work and fight to correct them. If the problems of race and color are hard in the United States, so be it. Let us not lose heart and run away from them, but gird to solve them."

But it was a lonely eminence in the 1920s as Garveyites paraded through the streets of Harlem. Fewer and fewer people listened to Randolph but among them were a handful of sleeping car porters. They were trying to organize a union and needed a front man, a leader the Pullman Company could not reach. Ashley L. Totten, eventually the secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had just been fired for attending a meeting. Totten, along with Milton Webster, a Chicago Republican wardman who had been fired in 1918, and four others met with Randolph, urging him to head the drive to organize the ten thousand porters.

Randolph agreed to call a meeting. "But it was fatal to call upon any porters to act at the meeting," Randolph recalls. "It might cost them their jobs even to attend. So, I told 'em [Totten, Webster and company] I'll call the meeting to order, give the prayer myself, make the motions, second the motions and carry them. . . ." That was agreeable to the six and the union was born on August 26, 1925.

But it was 12 years before it won recognition from the railroads. Before that, the company tried every trick in the book to get rid of the porters' "Bolshevik, free love advocate" president. But the

porters stuck with Randolph as he did with them. *The Messenger* evolved into the union publication, *The Black Worker*. Porters pawned their watches to pay the union hall rent; Mrs. Randolph's salary as a hairdresser met household bills and not a few of the union's. An intermediary from the railroads offered the Randolphs $10,000 for a European vacation. But Randolph—and the union—hung on. William Green, president of the AFL, helped a little; Roger Baldwin came through with a $10,000 grant from the Garland Fund. And, in 1937, the railroads finally did what they said they never would do: signed a contract with the Brotherhood that quadrupled the income of the porters in a few short years.

For a time, this appeared to be the end of the road for Randolph; a lonely voice crying out in the wilderness that was an AFL convention. The country once again moved toward war. Defense industries began to boom but there was only room for the Negro as janitor within the plants. The Marines did not want him; the Navy would only take him as messboy; the Army offered him a shovel.

As a representative Negro, Randolph had been invited to the White House. He and Walter White, head of the NAACP, filed complaints about the Jim Crow Army with the President. But Franklin D. Roosevelt, ever a political realist, could not be budged.

Some days later, Randolph and Brotherhood vice-president Milton Webster were riding South and discussing the impasse. As they rolled through the Virginia hills, the two men fell silent. After a while, Randolph in his low, deep voice said, "I think we ought to do something. I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue asking for jobs in defense plants and integration of the armed forces. It would shake up Washington."

"But where," asked Webster, "are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

Randolph was quiet for a few moments, then allowed as how he believed he could get them.

"I think," Webster recalled later, "the first place where Brother Randolph and I talked March on Washington was in Savannah, Georgia. The head colored man in town opened up the meeting, introduced me, and ran off the platform to the last seat in the row. He was that scared."

The idea, however, caught on. It wasn't long before the Negro press was talking of a march of a hundred thousand. Randolph set a date of July 1, 1941 for the march. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters contributed $50,000 to the campaign. But the white press ignored the build-up and convincing the White House of the seriousness of Negro intentions became something of a problem.

One day, however, on the stump in Harlem, Randolph recognized a certain feeling, one that he had first had back in 1918, a feeling of surveillance. He was right; federal agents were following him. So, Randolph roamed over Harlem—into bars and restaurants, beauty parlors and halls, stores and theater lobbies. And, as he hoped, the word of the enthusiastic response to his call for a March on Washington got back to the White House.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and New York's Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia were sent to urge Randolph

(Continued on page 25)

"Our chairman is O.K. by me!

"I'd worked for C. J. Mainwaring & Co. in York, N. J., five months the day the elevator stuck—just me and an old fella. Conversation dragged...worse, my cigarettes were about out of taste.

'Have one of mine,' this guy says, and he gives me a Kool. Do I taste that extra coolness! Right then I knew I was sticking with Kool.

"They fixed the elevator just as we ran out of Charlie's Kools. (He said his name was Charlie.) And it was.

"Charles J. Mainwaring."

Come up to Kool Filter Kings

©1966, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation

to call off the march. Mrs. Roosevelt, at one point, expressed concern over facilities for the thousands of Negroes to eat and sleep in the crowded, segregated capital. Randolph reflected a moment and said, "Why, they'll go to the hotels and restaurants, register and order dinner."

Finally, on June 18, Randolph and Walter White were ushered into the President's office. FDR turned on his charm but failed to budge Randolph, who insisted the price of calling off the march was an executive order abolishing discrimination. The President pleaded; offered to act after the march was called off.

Still, Randolph would not be moved. The President agreed to issue an order. It was drafted but Randolph had it sent back for revision: it wasn't tough enough. Then, on June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 establishing a wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Even then Randolph did not call off the march; he postponed it and kept the March on Washington committees around the country alive as watchdogs over the enforcement of the Executive Order. When enforcement flagged, as it eventually did, Randolph organized protest meetings in Chicago, St. Louis and in New York where 25,000 Negroes met in Madison Square Garden. Harlem merchants dimmed their lights for 15 minutes to demonstrate their support. And, thus Randolph kept the FEPC alive during the war.

The Negro worker did not come out of the war free and equal in an open economy. Still, he held down jobs where he had not held them before. National FEPC came to an end but fifteen states adopted laws prohibiting racial discrimination in hiring. A beginning had been made. But more important was the lesson learned. As Bayard Rustin, a long-time Randolph associate and deputy director of the 1963 March on Washington, put it, "Negroes learned we didn't have to beg anymore."

The influx of Negro workers into industry during and following World War II worked important changes within organized labor. In 1940, there were an estimated 210,000 Negroes enrolled in the industrial union of the CIO. Today, there are over 1.5 million in the unions. During the 1940s, there were 26 AFL affiliates whose constitutions barred Negroes from membership. In 1963, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the last union to explicitly exclude Negroes, dropped the Jim Crow clause from its constitution. The 26 national unions and 17 state central bodies have established civil-rights committees similar to that of the AFL-CIO. The resolutions against discrimination once proffered in vain by Randolph have borne some fruit.

When the AFL and the CIO merged in 1955, Randolph became a vice-president of the new organization. As a member of the AFL-CIO executive council, Randolph was instrumental in fashioning the federation's civil-rights stand as well as a force for internal reform. His eminence within the house of labor, however, is no longer so lonely. Many younger Negroes are now rising up through the ranks to positions of leadership—Walter Davis, assistant director of AFL-CIO's civil-rights department and the former executive director of the United Transport Service Employees; George Sabattie, president of the UTSE; Nelson Jack Edwards, a United Auto Workers vice-president; Robert Powell, of the International Hod-Carriers Building & Common Laborers' Union; Thomas Young and Peter Ottiley of Building Service Employees; Cleveland Robinson of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; and Richard Smith of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers to name a few.

In the long run, of even greater importance is the movement of Negroes into the burgeoning industry of the New South. Many of these industries are as yet not organized and wages are below what is paid for comparable jobs in the North. Indeed, the South, partly because of racial tensions, has not been fertile ground for the growth of unionism. Nonetheless, history suggests that workers in the South will someday join unions and when they do Negro workers are likely to play a more important role than they did play in the formation of industrial unions in the early 1940s. The unions will not only gain new members but new leaders and the process started by Randolph of Negro participation in organized labor will continue. So, in this sense, one can see what Randolph means when he says, "Organized labor needs the black worker and the black worker needs organized labor.

Meanwhile, the fight goes on. It was in 1945 that Thomas T. Patterson, a Pullman porter and an officer of the Brotherhood, was traveling to Atlanta on business. The conductor did his best to get him out of his seat and back into the Jim Crow car. In Charlottesville, Virginia, home of Thomas Jefferson, the police were called aboard and they put Patterson in the local jail. Patterson sued the railroad for damages and collected $3,000. He gave it to the March on Washington committee. Three years later, Patterson was ejected from an Atlantic Coast dining car for refusal to sit in the section reserved for Negroes. He again sued and the railroad settled out of court. He gave the money to his union. As a result of such litigation, the partitions which screened Negroes from their fellow diners have fallen and Jim Crow cars are with us no longer, a small change but a part of a growing mosaic.

Randolph, meanwhile, made another trip to Washington, this time at the head of a delegation calling upon President Truman. "Negroes," he told the President, "are sick and tired of being asked to shoulder guns in defense of democracy abroad until they get some at home. They are prepared to resort to civil disobedience and refusal to register for the draft if it means serving in a Jim Crow Army." The peppery President flared up, "I don't like it at all, I wish you hadn't said that." Randolph pressed, "You want to know how Negroes feel, don't you?" President Truman simmered but conceded, "I am interested in the facts."

Randolph presented the facts where it counted —on the street. Young Negroes began refusing to register; several went to jail. He mustered a picket line outside the 1948 Democratic Party convention. The convention adopted a militant civil rights resolution presented by a young maverick from the midwest, Hubert H. Humphrey. A few days later, the President issued Executive Order 9981—abolishing Jim Crow in the armed services. The Korean War killed Jim Crow in the services for good.

Since then the battle for equality has shifted from the services to the schools and back to jobs once again. Younger men—Martin Luther King and James Farmer, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young—took the lead. College students sat-in at lunch counters and began to change the social face of the South. Yet, when civil rights again focused on the need for national legislation, it was A. Philip Randolph who sent out the call to once again March on Washington. He called for a hundred thousand. And, on August 28, 1963, 200,000 Americans, white and black, converged on the capital. It was, said the *New York Times* a day later, "a high water mark in mass decency."

Everyone knows what the Big March accomplished. But for Randolph this proud moment was just another beginning. He has since been instrumental in drawing up a $100-billion Freedom Budget "for the purpose of grappling with the basic problems of not only the black poor but also of the white poor." The federal government, he points out, "is the only agency that can command the resources and secure the cooperation of the major segments of our society in an all out war against poverty."

To do this job, Randolph believes we must revive the civil rights coalition of labor, liberal, church and civil rights groups. For this reason, he opposes Black Power, a notion currently popular with younger militants. "The idea of Negroes developing power," he says, "is certainly sound. But the question is how do you develop that power? In isolation or through coalition?" There is, he feels, a world of difference between the two.

"Black power," he says, "is an unfortunate combination of words. As a concept involving Negro salvation through racial isolation, it is an anachronism impossible of achievement in an age of advancing technology."

Randolph believes that "the great mass of Negroes will not accept the doctrine of black power." But he also recognizes that to revive the civil rights coalition "isn't going to be easy." One may rest assured, however, that Randolph will give it a good try.

As I left the faded office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a group of young people studying around a sturdy table caught my eye. They are, I was told, Harlem high school graduates "catching up" for college under SAVE, a tutorial program sponsored by New York City unions and the Board of Higher Education. I walked down a lacklustre hall with waist-high, nondescript panelling topped by walls painted a pallid turquoise, past the window with "Information" lettered in faded gold and past the bulletin boards covered with old notices and aged news clippings to the elevator and on out into the streets of Harlem. I thought to myself, those "catchups," those college students of tomorrow, are the children of A. Philip Randolph, of his future and ours. ■

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH BIOGRAPHICAL FILE PRINTED MATTER 1967-68

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 25, 1967

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at the Labor Day mass in the Pittsburgh civic arena on Labor Day, September 4, 1967, Bishop John J. Wright, speaking for an interfaith committee of Christian and Jewish clergy, announced that Project Equality will be initiated in the Greater Pittsburgh area for the fiscal year 1968. Standing with Bishop Wright as he made the announcement were Dr. Robert L. Kincheloe, executive director of the Council of Churches of the Pittsburgh area and Dr. Walter Jacob, Rabbi of Rodef Shalom Congregation. Catholic diocesan officials and over a score of Protestant clergy joined members of the Labor Day committee on the platform.

The statement was made in behalf of a committee comprising representatives of 13 religious groups in the Greater Pittsburgh area who have been working out a program for an ecumenical attack on job discrimination against members of minority groups.

Bishop Wright's decision to adopt Project Equality for the Catholic diocese was based on the findings of the Human Relations Commission and approval of the Diocesan Pastoral Council. The plan had been recommended by the Greater Pittsburgh Religion and Race Council and by the social welfare departments of all the religious groups joining in the Labor Day statement.

Bishop Frederick B. Newell of the Methodist Church participated in discussions of the committee and headed the Protestant clergy in the ceremonies surrounding the announcement. Other members of the committee were: Bishop J. Gorden Howard of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Western Pennsylvania Conference; Rev. Dr. Brannon J. Hopson, moderator, Allegheny Union Baptist Association; Rev. Dr. William C. Hankey, president, Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia Synod, Lutheran Church in America; Rev. Dr. Edward A. Cahill of the First Unitarian Church of Pittsburgh; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward V. Rosack of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese; Rev. Dr. Russell C. Eroh, pastor, Penn West Conference, United Church of Christ; Rev. Dr. Oliver W. McCully, executive secretary, the Association of Christian Churches; Rev. Dr. William F. Ruschhaupt, Jr., general presbyter, Pgh. Presbytery; Rev. Charles Foggie, Wesley Center AME Zion Church, also Dean Dixon Rollit, Canon Robert Merry, and Rev. Alex Seabrook, of Pittsburgh Episcopal Diocese for Bishop Pardue.

Bishop Wright Hails A. Philip Randolph

Statement "Project Equality" Labor Day Observance, For Interfaith Committee by Bishop John Wright

20,000 Attend Ceremonies in Pittsburgh, Pa., Sept. 4, 1967

Representatives of most religious traditions in the Greater Pittsburgh area have been meeting for a number of months to work out their common responsibilities to the problem of the employment opportunities of members of minority groups.

We see social progress, the building of the good society, as resting on four cornerstones which, while involving economic, sociological and political elements, are ultimately moral and therefore our direct concern.

These four cornerstones are: first, the right to education in accordance with one's ability and interest; second, the right of access to decent housing under the formula called "open-housing;" third, the right to participate in the benefits of community health and welfare programs; fourth, the right to voice and vote in the affairs of civil society.

Basic to all these, as Labor Day reminds us, is the right of equal opportunity to secure employment proportionate to one's skills, needs and ambitions. We have therefore addressed ourselves to this question in the first of our inter-faith efforts to bear a common witness in the realm of community morality and social justice.

Prominent among programs proposed to implement equal employment opportunity is one called "Project Equality." The purpose of Project Equality is to work toward the elimination of employment discrimination, even unconscious, in organized religion and in the firms which receive the patronage of churches, synagogues and their institutions. It asks the voluntary acceptance by religious agencies of certain requirements which parallel those imposed by law upon Federal agencies and an increasing number of state and municipal communities. It thus adds a dimension of morality and conscience beyond mere legal obligation; for this reason it has been endorsed and implemented by religious groups separately or in ecumenical cooperation.

We have studied this program in its principles and to some degree in its performance elsewhere. We do not pretend that we find it a cure-all for the social problems of minority groups; we cannot claim that it is all, or even most of what is needed to save or strengthen the civil rights of minority group workers. It is, however, one positive approach to a fundamental aspect of the grave problem of social justice which weighs on the conscience of us all.

In the determination to leave nothing untried which can mobilize the forces of conscience behind the effort to promote social justice, we have decided to impose upon ourselves and to sponsor the Project Equality program on an inter-faith basis. We have already invited the national office to come to Pittsburgh to establish their program among us.

We wish to be candid about the initial reservations we all felt in its regard. Each of us in his own religious tradition and all of us together have historic reasons for avoiding economic boycotts or organized discrimination, even in the name of religious or moral motives. We shall not use Project Equality as an economic boycott but as an instrument of self-discipline and of community education.

Our motivation in testing Project Equality as a weapon in the present fight for social justice is entirely positive. It is the motivation which, in other periods of our history, prompted seekers after justice to fight the use of child labor, slave labor or similar morally unacceptable policies in the production of goods which may otherwise have met marketing standards. Once it became a moral imperative in the struggle for social justice to buy from those who did not exploit child labor or use slave labor. Now it is an imperative to give preferential patronage and the support of our organized purchasing power to those who deliberately and conscientiously promote equal opportunity of employment to all who are objectively qualified applicants.

As representatives of religious communities, we shall not seek to police the commitments in conscience which we ask of suppliers to our institutions and organized purchasing programs. Obligations in conscience do not admit of policing and no one of our groups is prepared to set up policing or coercive agencies. Our task is the education and guidance of conscience, not check up on conduct.

Therefore, we are uniting to underwrite and to establish a Project Equality office which will be identified with none of our religious organizations nor with all of us combined as an inter-faith group. Our respective religious headquarters will be the first voluntarily to submit our policies and procedures to the scrutiny of Project Equality. We will be the first to make the pledges in conscience which we shall ask of others. We are confident on the basis of the performance of Project Equality elsewhere that it can do its work of promoting social justice without recourse to procedures offensive to conscience or destructive of good will. On the basis of this confidence we have united in the decision to give Project Equality every opportunity to prove itself in the Greater Pittsburgh Area.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT L. KINCHELOE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF PITTSBURGH AREA

Inter-faith cooperation in the Pittsburgh area took a significant step forward in the Labor Day observance statement. This is jointly issued by the Roman Catholic Diocese, the Jewish religious community and a strong majority of the Protestant communions in an effort to strengthen our religious witness for social justice in the employment arena.

As Executive Director of the Council of Churches of this area I strongly endorse the stand taken in this matter by the several Protestant communions and pledge "Project Equality" the support of the Council.

LIST OF DIGNITARIES SEATED ON PLATFORM WHERE BISHOP WRIGHT CELEBRATED MASS

Most Reverend John B. McDowell, Auxiliary Bishop of Pittsburgh.

Most Reverend Daniel Tji, Bishop of Won Ju, Kangwondo, Korea.

Bishop Frederick B. Newell, Methodist Church.

Bishop J. Gordon Howard, Evangelical United Brethren Church.

Very Reverend Dean A. Dixon Rollit, representing Bishop Austin Pardue of Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh.

Very Reverend Anthony G. Bosco, Chancellor, Diocese of Pittsburgh.

Right Reverend Monsignor Paul J. Simko, Vicar General, Diocese of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Robert L. Kincheloe, Executive Director of the Council of Churches of the Pittsburgh Area.

Dr. Walter Jacob, Rabbi of Rodef Shalom Congregation.

Mr. Regis C. Aiken, Parade Marshal.

Mr. Anthony J. Lutty, Chairman of Labor Day Committee.

ATTENDANCE AT LABOR DAY MASS AND CEREMONIES, PITTSBURGH CIVIC ARENA, 1967

Methodist Church: Bishop Frederick B. Newell; Chaplains: Reverend Allan J. Howes, Reverend Harold T. Porter; Reverends Clarence Baldwin, Paul Easter, William Grove, William Daugherty, William Horner, John Warman, and Winston Trever.

Evangelical United Brethren Church: Bishop J. Gordon Howard.

Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh: Very Reverend A. Dixon Rollit, Dean Canon Robert E. Merry, Reverend Alex Seabrook.

Allegheny Union Baptist Association: Reverend Dr. Brannon J. Hopson, Moderator; the Reverend J. A. Williams and James Cayce.

Western Pennsylvania—West Virginia Synod, Lutheran Church in America: Reverend Dr. William C. Hankey, President; Reverend E. Jerome Alexis.

Byzantine Catholic Diocese: Right Reverend Monsignor Daniel P. Maczkov.

Penn-West Conference, United Church of Christ: Reverend Dr. Russell C. Eroh, Pastor.

The Association of Christian Churches: Reverend Dr. Oliver W. McCully, Executive Secretary.

Rodef Shalom Congregation: Dr. Walter Jacob, Rabbi.

Council of Churches of the Pittsburgh Area: Reverend Dr. Robert L. Kincheloe, Executive Director.

Pittsburgh Presbytery—United Presbyterian Church; Reverend Dr. William F. Ruschhaupt, Jr., General Presbyter.

Wesley Center A.M.E. Zion Church: Reverend Charles H. Foggie.

First Unitarian Church of Pittsburgh: Reverend Dr. Edward A. Cahill.

Annual Labor Day Award to A. Philip Randolph

In presenting A. Philip Randolph the statue of St. Joseph the Worker, Bishop Wright stated: "a singularly appropriate Labor Day observance."

Noting that Mr. Randolph had devoted his life to the battle for working people and the struggle for civil rights, Bishop Wright declared:

"In presenting to him our Labor Day Trophy we salute his historic witness to the dignity of the worker. In linking to this presentation our inter-faith commitment to equal employment opportunity, we deliberately pay tribute to his positive, peaceful fight for civil rights. We are saying our Community-wide thank you to Mr. Randolph for the double witness of his career. We are expressing our united pledge to help preserve the gains of labor and promote the civil rights symbolized together in his person and so closely interrelated in the good society."

Labor Day and Racial Justice

Address by A. Philip Randolph

This Labor Day is marked by a world in crisis, change and revolution.

Pope John XXIII's Encyclical, Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth) reflects the vision of a world order—and a challenge to modern man with the fearful weaponry of the atom bomb with the capability of destroying the modern world.

But the destruction of civilization by atomic warfare is not the only threat to the human race. The need for effective action to relax the growing tensions and to arrest the present trend, which allows the rich nations to become richer and the poor nations to become poorer, is overwhelmingly great and imperative. Without achieving this objective the conflict between the house of "haves" and the house of "have-nots" will be as great a threat to the peace of the world as nuclear weapons of war.

If all men are members of one common human family then all men are brothers; if all men are brothers then all men are equal; if all men are equal then all men are entitled to equal treatment; if all men are entitled to equal treatment, racial discrimination and segregation are morally wrong and should be abolished, and respect for the dignity of the personality of every human being recognized as his sacred right, a right which is God-given and not man-made.

On this Labor Day may all workers and citizens committed to the fight and struggle for civil rights and labor's rights understand that these rights can only be achieved and preserved within the framework of a free, democratic society. They cannot be won, or exist, in a totalitarian society, whether Fascist or Communist of the Peking or Soviet Union vintage.

LIST OF LABOR UNIONS IN LABOR DAY PARADE

Amalgamated Transit Union Division 85 AFL–CIO.

Amalgamated Food Employees Union Local 590 AFL–CIO.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 424 AFL–CIO.

Bartenders Local Union 188 AFL–CIO.

Beer Bottlers Local 144 AFL–CIO.

Building Service Employees Union Local 29 AFL–CIO.

Canning and Pickle Workers Local 325 AFL–CIO.

Carpenters District Council AFL–CIO.

Cement Masons Local 526 AFL–CIO.

Construction, General Laborers Local 1058 AFL–CIO.

Electrical Workers Local 142 AFL–CIO.

Engineers Local 66 AFL–CIO.

Fire Fighters Local No. 1 AFL–CIO.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 237 AFL–CIO.

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 601 AFL–CIO.

Iron Workers Local 3 AFL–CIO.

Iron Workers Local 527 AFL–CIO.

Letter Carriers Branch 84 AFL–CIO.

Moving Picture Machine Operators AFL–CIO.

Laundry, Dry Cleaning Union Local 141 AFL–CIO.

Musical Society Local 60–471 AFL–CIO.

Pittsburgh Federation Teachers Local 400 AFL–CIO.

Typographical Union No. 7 AFL–CIO.

Plasterers and Cement Masons AFL–CIO.

Plumbers Local 27 AFL–CIO.

Post Office Clerks Local 81 AFL–CIO.

Steamfitters Local 449 AFL–CIO.

Transport Workers Local 2009 AFL–CIO.

United Steelworkers of America AFL–CIO, District 15, District 16, District 19, and District 20.

Pittsburgh Municipal Employees Union Local 192–B, BSEIU, AFL–CIO.

Public Events Employees Union Local 188, BSEIU, AFL–CIO.

International Union of Electrical Workers Local No. 5, AFL–CIO.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers & America Pittsburgh District Joint Board AFL–CIO.

Carpet & Linoleum Workers & Associates of U.B.C. & J., AFL–CIO.

Operating Engineers Local 95, AFL–CIO.

United Auto Workers Unions, AFL–CIO.

Federation of Westinghouse Independent Salaried Unions.

Pennsylvania Telephone Workers Local 1944 T.B.E.W., AFL–CIO.

Teamsters Joint Council No. 40.

Teamsters Local Union No. 249.

United Mine Workers.

American Legion Post 707 (All Labor Post).

Police Marching Unit and Drill Team.

Sleeping Car Porters Union.

On this Labor Day let white and black workers resolve that as they have labored, fought, bled and died to make this country free, strong and great, we shall continue to labor, fight and, if necessary, die to keep this country free, strong, just and great for all Americans.

May God give the workers, white and Black, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile the strength, faith, fortitude and dedication to march forward together to the promised land of peace and plenty, racial and social justice.

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Negro Digest

MARCH 1967 A JOHNSON PUBLICATION 35c

THE REAL MEANING OF THE BLACK REVOLUTION

By Lerone Bennett Jr.

Racism at a Great University

THE AGONY and the RAGE

An African Viewpoint

BLACK IDENTITY and BLACK POWER

A Philip Randolph

PORTRAIT OF AN AFRO-AMERICAN RADICAL

A. Philip Randolph

Portrait of an Afro-American Radical

A survey of the long and fruitful life of a tireless battler against bigotry and oppression, a Florida-born orator affectionately known as the "Dean of Negro Leaders"

BY JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

FOR nearly 50 years A. Philip Randolph has been a leader in the fight for full citizenship rights for black Americans. He is today the elder statesman of Afro-American labor leaders. His credentials now read: Father of the historic (1963) March on Washington; President, Negro American Labor Council; lone Negro member of the Executive Council of AFL-CIO; International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

He proposed the first civil rights "March on Washington" in 1940-1941, which resulted in President Roosevelt's famous Executive Order 8802, creating the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. These accomplishments are not unrelated to his earlier years when he was a young radical, with only a small number of followers—and was being called, by some newspapers and police authorities, "The Most Dangerous Negro in the United States."

He was born in 1889 in a rural town near Jacksonville, Florida, at a time when the deep South was perfecting the combination of Negro disfranchisement and violence which would keep white supremacy unbroken for the next 60 years. His father was a respected minister of the militant African Methodist Episcopal Church. This

was young Randolph's first teacher and his first exposure to radical thought. The elder Randolph preached to his son the "subversive" doctrine that race was a distinction without significance—that God himself was neither black nor white—that a man's quality, not his color, was what mattered. His family convinced him that education was the key to whatsoever future success he hoped for.

Young Philip and his brother attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Florida, with tuition money they had earned themselves. After finishing high school he left the South and continued his education.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, in 1914, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello, and Romeo.

But Randolph's widely admired eloquence soon took him from the dramatic stage to the leader's platform. His first experience with the cause of Negro labor came shortly after he left CCNY and took a job with the Fall River Line. In attempting to organize the steamship company's waiters, Randolph was summarily fired.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. Then, in 1917, under the influence of the sociologist Lester Ward, he and Chandler Owen founded The Messenger. Avowing itself "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro Journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, The Messenger spoke out on other issues. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lust Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "the Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated, down the years, by opponents of Negro rights.

In 1925, at the request of Milton Webster, T. T. Paterson, and Ashley Totten, Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the vicissitudes of the Depression, was finally won in 1937, when the BSCP won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, The Messenger became The Black Worker, the official publication of the sleeping car porters.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters came into existence at

a time when American trade unions, including those in the railroad industry, were losing members. Among other reasons for this decrease in membership was "an aggressive labor policy" of a large number of businesses. The Pullman Company was experiencing a decrease in net income which alone was enough to make it more aggressive in its anti-union policies. Although this was an unfavorable period in which to start a labor union, especially in an anti-union stronghold, the porters forged ahead with their organizing activities.

One advantage which the Brotherhood had from its beginning was that its leader was not employed by the Pullman Company, nor had Randolph ever been a porter. The Pullman Company referred to him as an outside agitator and questioned his fitness to lead the porters in their effort to improve their lot. To this question Randolph referred his opponents to a decision of the United States Railroad Labor Board, which sanctioned the right of employees to choose as their representatives persons not employed by the company. Randolph was, at this time, already a keen student of labor economics and philosophy. He had studied at the College of the City of New York and had lectured at the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. He had become interested in labor unions as an instrument of socialism.

The railroads were one of the three largest employers of Negro labor in the nation. Almost two-thirds of the railroads' Negro workers were laborers, and the highest job to which a Negro could reasonably hope to aspire was that of Pullman Car porter. But to Negroes, it was a job to aspire to. Porters travelled, saw the country, served the best white society.

For the travelling public, the sleeping car porter was part of the romance of the railroad. The public didn't know, of course, that the major railroad brotherhoods rigidly excluded Negroes from better jobs, or that porters were forced to provide their own uniforms, and buy the very polish with which they shined the shoes of the slumbering patron. They didn't know that the porter worked a 100-hour week, and earned about nineteen cents an hour, before tips.

Randolph launched into the difficult tasks of organizing members and building public support. He argued the porters' case in The Black Worker now the official organ of the union, and toured the country, speaking to hundreds of audiences.

The Pullman Company, which had only accepted white labor unions after a bitter struggle and a bloody strike, refused to recognize a black one. Instead, union porters began to lose their jobs.

Filipinos and Mexicans were hired to replace them. The company called Randolph a "wild-eyed uppity Negro hustler, who never made up a Pullman berth in his life," and circulated stories that he was an exploiter of his own race and a Communist.

But Randolph was a persuasive organizer. By 1928, the Brotherhood could claim well over half the porters and Pullman maids. Its 73,000 members constituted the largest single block of organized Negro workers in industry. It was a remarkable achievement.

In April 1928, the porters rallied around their new leader in a near-unanimous show of strength and confidence: they voted to strike in order to win recognition of their union.

Randolph didn't want a strike. He was gambling and he lost. The Government's Mediation Board refused to step in; other unions lent no support; and the company prepared to break the strike. Facing the certain prospect of mass firings and the destruction of the union, Randolph called off the strike.

It took the Depression and the social revolution of the New Deal to unionize America. Pullman was forced by law to recognize any unions chosen by its employees, and owing to Randolph's tireless work, the porters once more overwhelmingly chose the Brotherhood. In 1937, 12 years to the day after he had begun, the Pullman Car Company signed its first agreement with A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters. Never before had a white employer signed an agreement with a Negro labor leader.

When the National Negro Congress was organized in the mid-nineteen thirties, A. Philip Randolph became its President. This militant organization was a forerunner of present-day civil rights groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The following is a quote taken from the National Secretary's report on the aims of the organization in The Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, Chicago meeting, February 1936:

"The National Negro Congress convened in the city of Chicago, February 14, 15, and 16, 1936. It was attended by 817 delegates from 585 organizations, spread geographically over 28 states and the District of Columbia. In addition several hundred visitors and official observers from organizations were present. The three general sessions of the Congress held at night were attended by from five to eight thousand persons at each session.

In order to secure the most democratic kind of control of the government of the affairs of the Congress, the National Sponsoring Committee of the Congress provided for election by caucuses of state delegations (one member for every five if more than 500 miles from Chicago and one for every ten if less than 500 miles from Chicago) of state representatives on the Presiding Committee, which had complete control of debate and management of the Congress, and, on the Resolutions Com-

mittee, which deliberated on resolutions submitted to the Congress.

For the purpose of allowing for the maximum interchange of opinion between delegates, sub-sessions of the Congress were held, dividing delegates in the morning into sections on the basis of the particular phase of the Negro problem in which each was interested. In addition the youth sub-sessions was further divided into smaller discussion groups. In this way easily one half of the delegates were able to give voice to their opinions, to make suggestions and to actively influence the proceedings. At general sessions, held in the evening, invited speakers and leading delegates were heard upon important topics; and the legislative measures of the Congress were adopted.

The National Negro Congress was called to meet the increasingly difficult economic and social problems which face the Negro people in America. The need for the establishment through united action of a strong movement against the social and economic repressions being experienced by the Negro made such a Congress imperative.

While major stress at the Congress was laid upon joint action by Negroes themselves, there remained very clearly in the minds of the delegates the need for cooperation with friendly organizations of members of other races to solve the common economic problems facing all. Likewise it was realized that the Negro Congress must exist as a federation of organizations for the purpose of pooling the strength of constituent groups in the attack upon the evils retarding the securing by the Negro of his manhood rights. The Congress was not formed and does not exist to duplicate the work of any existing organization. Rather it exists to add strength and to give support to every progressive and meaningful program in aid of the Negro people in their just demand for equal opportunity and complete social and economic rights.

The Congress had no desire to exclude any group that sincerely worked for the expressed aims of the Congress, and any group that so worked could not be charged with unduly influencing or dominating its activity. And of the constituent groups participating it can be accurately stated that none attempted such domination."

In his keynote address to the delegates, assembled in Chicago on this occasion, Randolph said:

"I greet you in the spirit of the deathless courage of the 18th and 19th century black rebels and martyrs of human justice, in the spirit of Frederick Douglass and Nat Turner, of Gabriel and Denmark Vesey, of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth —those noble rebels who struck out in the dark days of slavery that Negro men and women might be free . . . We have met in times of world-wide storm and stress, of social confusion, economic chaos, political disorder and intellectual uncertainty. Social institutions, from the church to the family, are undergoing change and instability.

Unemployment falls like a deadening pall upon every great power and machine nation . . . Already Fascist Italy is on the march to subjugate the Ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia; while France and Germany are in a state of truce, still at bay . . .

Now what of the American scene? It is no less forbidding and full of contradictions, unsettlement and cross currents in our social, economic and political life . . . Our contemporary history is a witness to the stark fact that black America is a victim of both class and race prejudice and oppression. This Congress is called to attempt to meet the problems of black America, the submerged tenth of the population."

With the advent of the Second World War, Randolph became increasingly concerned about the ex-

clusion of Negroes from jobs in the war industries. While on a southern trip with Milton Webster, an official of the Pullman Porters' Union, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote the dramatic plan in the Afro-American press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and throughout the United States. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up across the country.

Hearing of the proposed March, New York's Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt called Randolph to City Hall and sought to persuade him from executing it. Following this meeting, which failed in its purpose, Randolph was summoned to the White House, where he met with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisors. When Randolph firmly reiterated his refusal to cancel the March unless Negroes were guaranteed equal employment opportunities, Roosevelt, on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802, establishing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The Order issued, the March was called off, and the National Council for a Permanent FEPC was set up with Randolph and Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers as co-chairmen.

It was not long before Randolph was involved in another aspect of the struggle against job discrimination. Railway unions and companies had long been in collusion against the hiring of Negro locomotive firemen, whose difficulties became more acute with the development of diesel engines. At their request, Randolph formed the "provisional Committee" of firemen which initiated legal action resulting in a 1944 Supreme Court decision outlawing anti-Negro union deals with railroads.

In 1948, Randolph won still another Executive Order, this time from President Truman. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Randolph had indicated he would call upon Negroes not to register for military duty. From a Harlem platform, he was called to the White House by the President, who shortly thereafter issued Executive Order 9987, establishing a Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

Meanwhile, Randolph had become a leading figure in the American Federation of Labor, and, when the AFL merged with the CIO, was elected a vice-president of the combined body and a member of its 13-man executive council—the only Negro to hold this position.

Within the labor movement, and its conventions over the years, Randolph pressed the fight against all forms of discrimination and segregation. Largely owing to his

efforts, white-only clauses have been eliminated from the constitutions of all international unions. Randolph recognized, however, that the elimination of constitutional barriers would be only the first step toward the full integration of the Negro into the house of Labor and that continued pressure from Negro workers would be required for further progress. To organize this pressure, he founded the Negro American Labor Council and was elected its first president at its first meeting in Cleveland, November 19, 1959.

While the labor movement has been the focus of Randolph's crusade for racial democracy, his preeminence in the overall Civil Rights struggle had brought him the unofficial title of "Dean of Negro Leaders" and made him much sought after, not only by civil rights activists, but by African leaders as well. In 1957, with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., just emerged into national leadership from the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Randolph led 33,000 Americans in the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington. In 1958 and 1959, he chaired two youth Marches for Integrated Schools involving 10,000 and 30,000 young people, respectively.

In the book *The Day They Marched,* Lerone Bennett, Senior Editor of EBONY Magazine, gives us the following description of the historic March on Washington:

"It was the beginning of something, and the ending of something. It came 100 years and 240 days after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. It came like a force of nature. Like a whirlwind, like a flood, it overwhelmed by its massiveness and finality. A quarter of a million people were in it, and of it: and millions more watched on TV and huddled around radios. There had never been anything quite like it.

"A TV spectacular, a Sunday School picnic, a political convention, an impressive demonstration of Negro unity, 'a visible expression of interracial brotherhood,' and almost unprecedented exhibition of resolve, a new concept of lobbying, a show of strength, an outburst, a call to the national conscience: the mammoth March on Washington was everything they said it was, and more, and it moved men and women as they had never been moved before."

The planning and execution of this massive march was the high-water mark in the long and eventful career of A. Philip Randolph.

By this time, the itinerant preacher's son had been invited to the White House by four U. S. Presidents. Back in 1925, he had accompanied the militant Negro leader W. Monroe Trotter to an interview with Calvin Coolidge, to protest lynching. And on June 23, 1958, he was spokesman for a delegation of Civil Rights leaderers who met with President Eisenhower. Two more Presidential visits—with Kennedy and Johnson—were to follow, but under radically different circumstances.

For late in 1962, in the midst of an upsurging civil rights revolution, A. Philip Randolph called

Negro leaders together to map out plans for a new March on Washington. This time there would be no cancellation, despite political pressures. Randolph had become convinced that a dramatic display of mass action was essential if the nation was to make progress towards full civil rights. Trade unions, liberals, and religious groups lent unprecedented support to the plan, and, on August 28, 1963, more than a quarter million Americans, black and white, descended on the Capitol in a demand for jobs and freedom.

As father and director of the March, the largest demonstration in the history of the country, Randolph had forged an extraordinary unit between the Negro community and its white allies, and in the process renewed his unsought position as "Dean of Negro Leaders."

John Henrik Clarke, author of the "Portrait of an Afro-American Radical," is a New York free lance writer and editor and a veteran partisan in the fight against falsification of the history of black people. An associate editor of Freedomways magazine, he also is an official of HARYOU-ACT, an instructor and lecturer in African and Afro-American history, and editor of the anthology, *American Negro Short Stories.*

American Labor

AUGUST 1968 • 75 CENTS

PARTNERSHIP IN LATIN AMERICA

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

LABOR IN ISRAEL

0024261U01
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SLEEPING CAR PRTS UN
217 W 125TH ST
NEW YORK NY 10027

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Black Labor, a magazine editor turned organizer by accident, whose half century fight for his people has made him a legend in his lifetime

"'Speak the whole word,' my father used to say," recalled A. Philip Randolph as he looked back on his childhood.

In a rich, full life that now totals 79 years, Mr. Black Labor has spoken "the whole word" to the whole world including five Presidents, two of them in face-to-face confrontations that were to change the course of Negro history.

For a non-white child born of impoverished parents in the deep South only a generation after the Civil War, few would have predicted such a meteoric career.

His father, an itinerant preacher, struggled to put bread on the table for his family, supplementing his meager earnings by working as a part-time tailor. "My brother and I used to accompany him when he delivered the suits he had pressed," reminisced Randolph quietly, "or when he sought a pulpit, stating to all and sundry that he had two of the finest sons in the world."

Perhaps it was that very love of family and pride in his race, instilled in the growing boy by a gentle, kindly man who never wavered in his belief that the world, under God, could be made a better place for all . . . perhaps that was the catalyst. Or the drive in the lad, himself. Or both. For Randolph—though he had his father's integrity—was made of sterner stuff.

First steps

Given the best education his family could afford, young "Phil" soon realized that Florida held out little future and less hope for a Negro at the turn of the century. In his early twenties he left home and made his way north to Harlem. There he found a job, attending City College at night, taking courses in economics, anthropology and philosophy. Soon this eager, articulate student caught the eye of his teachers, one of whom was Morris R. Cohen. Of him Randolph recalled: "I would talk to him about Marxism, but he would neither approve nor disapprove. You could never get a definitive answer. He forced us to think and reason things out for ourselves."

One of Randolph's early jobs in New York was the writing of pamphlets for the instruction of southern Negroes, preparing them for the trip North to enter domestic service. The man who ran the business turned out to be unreliable and dishonest. Characteristically, Randolph quit.

He was next hired to help edit a house organ put out by and for hotel waiters. It was here that he formed his life-long friendship with Chandler Owen, who was the other member of the editorial staff of two. When they discovered that it was customary for headwaiters to demand payment from the regular or "side" waiters and to take a percentage on the purchase of uniforms, both he and Owen were outraged and took issue with the practice—in the publication itself. Both men were fired.

A partnership is born

But the writing bug had bitten them. Separately each had contemplated putting out a magazine of his own. Now—with both of them jobless and broke—by the unfathomable logic of youth, each decided that this was the proper time to put the dream to work. A partnership was formed. Though penniless, the self-confidence of Randolph and Owen soon won over a printer who gave them credit, and thus was born *The Messenger.*

In those early days the partners were socialists, pacifists and admirers of Ghandi and Norman Thomas. The year was 1917, and the first masthead boasted that it was "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by and for Negroes."

It vowed to "rise consistently above the cringing demogogy of the times and the cheap peanut politics of the old reactionary Negro leaders." Randolph was all of 28.

No time was wasted on small issues. One of the initial crusades was against the draft and World War I, which the two boldly labeled "the Imperialist Struggle." They challenged President Wilson, demanding to know how his promise "to make the world safe for democracy" could be believed, when Negroes were lynched, Jim Crowed, disenfranchised and segregated here at home?"

Beginnings of fame

The soapbox, street corners and lodge halls became the platforms for the extension of their views. They did pretty well, at least as far as the publicity they received, and Randolph, a superb speaker, began accepting lecture engagements from around the country.

Seemingly the F. B. I. also read *The Messenger's* editorials, possibly with greater interest than did the black readers for whom the message was intended. The Justice Department followed Owen's and Randolph's activity with mounting concern. In Cleveland they were arrested, but released by the judge with a warning. It didn't stop them. They just stepped up their crusade. Randolph saw all the solutions for the Negro in socialism. "You can strike a death blow to lynching by voting for Socialism," he wrote. "Black and white workers, unite."

But Randolph didn't realize that

Randolph the young man fighting in a world that demanded change.

his own people thought differently about socialism. To them—socialism was a white man's word and the enemy was the white man. It was the white man who denied them protection under the law, equality in employment and—union membership. Randolph held to his position that capitalism was the enemy and that the workers had to hasten its death along. All this was, of course, before his association with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which was to come six years later. At this moment of his career, however, he supported Industrial Revolution. "With the collective strength of the masses," he wrote, "a labor party could be formed which would produce socialist reforms."

The controversial nature of *The Messenger* attracted the notice of Negroes everywhere, and as fortune would have it—the Pullman Porters as well.

The Pullman Porters

Since the turn of the century this group of workers hired by the Pullman Company had been aware of their lack of organization. As early as 1909 they had tried a rudimentary form of unionism. It didn't work. Company reprisals were sure and swift. An analysis of the situation in the 1914 wartime report of the Senate Commission on Industrial Relations, concluded that: "The employes of the Pullman Co. are unable to improve their conditions through organization . . . workers known to be members of labor unions are promptly discharged." It was also noted that "a system of espionage caused black workers to be fearful of affiliating with unions of any sort."

Even more revealing was this memo from the Pullman management:

"The Company does *not* recognize that labor organizations have any place or necessity, and refuses to deal with unions of any sort among Pullman employes. *They can work or quit—that is the limit of their rights.*"

There were other limits to their rights as well. Pullman employes were not covered by any of the existing labor legislation. In 1915, the Congressional Commission, in examining this inequity recommended that "an amendment be added to the Newlands Act which would regulate the hours of train employees engaged in the Pullman service."

This recommendation so displeased the white railway employes that, at a time when the nation could least afford to have its transportation disrupted, they forced the enactment of the Adamson Act which excluded Pullman car service employes as railroad workers, even though many trains were totally composed of Pullman cars.

Thus, with the exception of the brief period during World War I when the Government took over the railroads, the Pullman porters received no benefit from Government legislation until the Railway Act of 1926 was amended in 1934.

Looking anew at the situation the porters realized that what was needed was the development of one strong union on a national basis and an organizer who would be beyond the reach of either Pullman retaliation or the temptation of Pullman money.

Coincidentally, among the editorials on labor in *The Messenger*, at the time Randolph had written of the plight of the porters and of their need for a union that "could sit around a table and bargain collectively, with the power of a work stoppage to back them up."

Bowe calls Randolph

On reading this, W. H. Bowe, then one of the leaders of the Porters' unionization activities and now the Brotherhood's International secretary-treasurer asked Randolph to speak on the subject at the Pullman Porter's Social and Athletic Club in New York. In recalling the occasion, Randolph described Bowe as "a solid individual with a keen mind.

W. H. Bowe

"Another of the more able and militant porters," he continued, "was W. H. Des Verney who suggested that we meet in his home. Six were invited, one of them was Ashley Totten, the first secretary-treasurer. It was suggested that I become their first paid organizer, but I proposed that I see how the series of twelve articles I had begun on the porters were accepted . . ."

Randolph was flattered by the offer but stalled for time. On his own admission, he knew nothing of the work of Pullman porters. He chuckled when he added, "I am not sure that I had ever seen a Pullman car then—much less rid-

den in one. . ." Finally, however, he accepted the job.

In that acceptance A. Philip Randolph, who for forty-three years has remained founder-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and has become known as "Mr. Black Labor," set out on the path of accomplishment which was to have many and strange turnings.

Randolph goes to work

Unquestionably he brought tremendous assets to the job. An idealist and crusader, his whole life had been one of insistent drive for equality of opportunity and concern for the down-trodden and oppressed. An indefatigable worker, and devoted adherent of trade unionism, for him, leadership would never be an end in itself. The goals which he furthered took precedence over power, prestige and personal ambition, for which he cared little, and which played no part in his make-up.

His physical attributes were impressive, too. Handsome, tall, erect, with a flair for elegance and a voice that once heard could never be forgotten, he was an imposing figure of a man. Most important—he was incorruptible.

Randolph recalled the first organizing meeting which took place in Harlem in the old Elks Hall. The date was August 25, 1925. "The meeting was well attended, though the atmosphere was tense. We knew there were a number of company spies in the audience, so no one else was asked to play a personal role in the proceedings. . . I rose and gave the invocation, even sang the opening song. When the meeting ended I felt that everything had come off well."

Porters apathetic

On his first countrywide trip as Brotherhood organizer, Randolph found considerable sentiment against unions among the Pullman porters themselves. At best, most were apathetic. Many were afraid. They had seen what Pullman could do to a man who stepped out of line.

The first order of business was to set up a program of education, with conferences, labor institutes and pamphleteering. Randolph knew the strength of the union would depend wholly on its ability to correct some of the more serious grievances and provide the membership with job security.

The Pullman Company rose to the issue. Bitterly opposed to the idea of its black workers forming a union, they instituted a campaign of firing porters who gave Randolph too militant support.

For more than a half-century, in the major railway unions and brotherhoods, a solid system of exclusion based on race had existed. And the issue here—was not organization but color. The Pullman management (which had lived and was living with unions) just could not accept the concept of bargaining with a Negro, for the very act of sitting down with him gave him a kind of equality they were not yet prepared to extend.

Attacks inequities

On numerous occasions Randolph came under violent personal attack. He was subjected to endless harassment and slander but he continued to "speak the whole word".

A master of metaphor, he knew the value of associating union principles with already-existing loyalties, making full use of racial and religious appeals. He identified with the church ("Jesus Christ was a carpenter, and all of his disciples workers.")

References to race and caste were even more useful, for it was the one thing of which all his potential membership had firsthand knowledge. "Brotherhood members are a crucial challenge to the Nordic creed of race superiority. . . The white world does not realize that Negroes have reached the point in their development where we can act deliberately, soberly and dispassionately, adopt a course of action calculated to advance our social and political interests. . .

"Only white men are supposed to organize for power, freedom and justice. . . The Pullman Company and white America are amazed and dumbfounded at your manly, militant, clean, courageous and consistent battle for justice, freedom, and fair play. . ." And more of the same.

Pullman tactics

Various attempts were made to undermine the growing success of the Brotherhood by removing Randolph as its head. Once word was received by him that an enormous sum of money would be available if he would leave the country. In recent years this story was related in a popular magazine under the title "The Negro Who Refused a Million Dollars."

The Brotherhood continued to be subjected to harassments known to other unions, plus many unique to itself. Company reprisals increasingly created an atmosphere of insecurity and fear. There was little money in the treasury.

All efforts to negotiate with the company were rebuffed. Calls were not accepted, letters were not answered, every recourse was countered by greater company resistance. Mediation Board hearings were drawn out by postponements and excuses. When the Board finally concluded that in its opinion the Brotherhood *did* represent the majority of the Pullman Porters, the Pullman Company refused to submit the case to arbitration. The Labor Law of 1926 was vague, and this aspect of it had been made voluntary.

So ended the first round. Brotherhood lawyers tried various other strategies, including the intervention of the Interstate Commerce Commission, through which an attack was made on tipping. (Wrote Heywood Broun, in his support of a wage increase for the porters: "The Pullman Company is a panhandler. Some Federal official should remove the tin can and confiscate the pencils.") Broun made headlines but the company made no moves to talk. With all avenues of approach closed, the Brotherhood executives finally asked for a strike vote (not to be confused with a strike) in the hope that the threat would create what would be considered an emergency.

Meets with Coolidge

During this year and a half struggle with the Commerce Commission, a group of Negro citizens managed to secure a hearing at the White House. President Coolidge met with them and once again Randolph was called upon "to speak the whole word."

Explaining the goals of the Brotherhood and the steps that had

With William Green at a labor meeting in Harlem. Green appeared out of deference to Randolph. It marked the first time the A.F.L. president had ever addressed a meeting in the Negro sector. Randolph is seated at left.

been taken peacefully as provided under the Railway Labor Act to secure union recognition, he pointed out that the next step would be a strike vote, a move which would lead to the Board of Mediation referring the matter to the President as an emergency. The taciturn Coolidge listened quietly, but was noncommittal.

In the weeks that followed the Brotherhood carried out its request for a strike vote and received an overwhelming majority in favor. Even this proved futile, however, for the Mediation Board stated: "It is the judgment of the Board that no emergency exists".

Randolph wrote to a friend in Chicago:

"It is obvious that again the Pullman Company found someone to go to Washington, possibly to the President himself, to intervene on the Company's behalf. True, the Board Members assured me that no carriers could influence their actions. Naturally, they *would say* that. . . ."

Randolph ruefully noted that "the refusal of the Board to intervene was indicative of their assuming the position that a strike had to take place before an emergency could be declared to exist, whereas the law was designed to avert just that sort of situation."

Moment of truth

The Brotherhood now had its back against the wall. Its bluff had been called. It would have to strike or find some face saving reason for calling it off. Pullman Company strike-breaking plans were well underway. Union morale and finances were at their lowest ebb.

In desperation Randolph turned to A.F.L. President William Green. Green's reaction was that postponement was the wiser course, "substituting a campaign of education and public enlightenment regarding the justice of the case and the seriousness of the grievances." Randolph accepted. He had no other choice.

With that capitulation he became the target of bitter attacks, especially from the Communists, who charged a sell-out. Disheartened members, sensing only futility, left the Brotherhood. Randolph's stock had hit bottom.

The year was 1934. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been elected President and had been given exceptional powers to deal with just such emergencies as threatened the Brotherhood.

Randolph went to the A. F. L. Executive Council and persuaded them to ask F. D. R. for an Executive Order stipulating that the Pull-

man Company be brought under the provisions of the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933.

Roosevelt acts

At these hearings Randolph pointed out the lack of power and definitiveness of the Railway Labor Act. He urged that the words "sleeping car porters, maids and dining car employes" be written into the law. Roosevelt agreed.—Now—for the first time—the porters had complete and specific labor coverage.

With this new addendum in its portfolio the Brotherhood's next approach to the Pullman Company was not ignored, but the reply that came through a Negro aide said merely "There is no occasion for a conference with you."

When the face-to-face meeting was finally set for July 29, 1935, all the Brotherhood proposals were rejected. On October 4, negotiations were broken off and the National Board was brought into the case. More stalling followed; almost two years of it.

Efforts were finally resumed with the promise that the dispute would be brought to a conclusion on April 1, 1937.

Finally—victory

Thus—after 12 long years—the Brotherhood received its certification as the legal representative of the Pullman car porters, waiters and maids. No bitterness was in Randolph's voice as he recalled the historic occasion:

. . . . "I shall never forget the day. The Pullman Company representative rose and we shook hands all around. He said 'the fight is over. As a leader of the union you may be sure that we will live up to our part of the contract without unnecessary conflict.'"

For Randolph, it was a magnificent personal triumph. A union, organized and led by Negroes, had made it on its own.

With this triumph came the beginnings of the change in Randolph's political philosophy.

A new Randolph emerges

Until his Brotherhood affiliation, he had strongly supported industrial unionism for Negroes and the structure, purpose, ideals and concepts of the A. F. L. were at sharp variance with all his views. He who had felt that a partnership between labor and capital could never exist, slowly began to perceive that it was the best possible partnership that *could* exist and that the Negro would have to enter the A. F. L. if he were to become a part of the American labor movement.

It didn't come overnight. Nor did he lose his magnificent anger overnight.

In his early days, Randolph once wrote that the A. F. L. was a "machine for the propagation of race discrimination in the country." And he had endeavored to combat that evil within the ranks of organized labor. Yet, as a fighter for labor he used to invite John L. Lewis and Samuel Gompers to contribute editorials to *The Messenger,* in an effort to improve the image of unionism and that of some of its leaders.

William Green wrote in *The Messenger* that "the A. F. L. offers the Negro wage earner the protection and experience of the trade union movement." Randolph bought that part of it, but he wanted equality more.

Crusaded for his race

When invited to attend the A. F. L. convention in 1926 as a visitor, he expressed surprise in a *Messenger* editorial that the delegates had said nothing about the Negro's problems. "American labor needs the refreshing, spiritual idealism of the black American worker. It cannot reach its full flowering without him," he wrote.

Not only was his integrity inescapable but so were the truths he uttered. For Randolph is never a case of either/or. To him the rights of labor and racial justice are inextricably combined. For years he attended conventions where he "spoke the whole word" from the floor. He did so with such forcefulness and regularity that he incurred the wrath of some of its delegates. In 1935 he demanded to know why a Negro worker should be penalized for being black.

Later, as A. F. L. vice president and member of the Executive Council, he demanded the expulsion of a union affiliate due to its failure to eliminate a bias clause from its constitution. Things got sticky. The A. F. L. was in no position at the time for a showdown on the issue. But what was, unhappily, practical politics to one, was racial bias to the other. George Meany then president, and Randolph differed on many points in this area of decision. The latter's drive to expel the powerful Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen for failure to eliminate bias clauses from their constitution was another case at issue. Randolph demanded a six-months' deadline. Meany requested, instead, that the Executive Council keep pressing for the change. At the next Trainmen's convention the offending passage was ordered removed, before the deadline Randolph had set.

Meany and Randolph

Randolph recalled, too, that in 1956 when the AFL-CIO stood firm on civil rights, over 4,000 letters were received from Southerners which said that if the choice was between remaining Southerners or union members, they preferred to be Southerners. Meany's reply was, "If that is their feeling, let them get out."

On another occasion Meany proclaimed that "if we lose a vote in Congress because of our stand on civil rights, that is the price we are prepared to pay."

Whatever their differences—(not of principles but of methods of execution) Randolph spoke warmly of his long-time friend and sometime adversary. "He is a most able and honest man, for whom I hold the highest regard."

Randolph's unending battle against racial injustice led to an historic encounter with President Roosevelt.

Background

It was in the early days of World War II. Defense production was booming, but Negro job applicants continued to be rebuffed when they sought a job. Building contractors begged for construction workers, but 75,000 experienced Negro carpenters, painters, plasterers, cement workers, brick-layers and electricians could not get employment. It had been announced that 250,000 workers would be absorbed in supplying defense needs, but there was little place for Negro workers, regardless of training.

The president of North Ameri-

can Aviation set forth the industry's thinking in a press interview, declaring that "regardless of training, we will not employ Negroes in the North American plant. It is against company policy."

Standard Steel Corporation told the Kansas City Urban League: "We have not had a Negro worker in twenty-five years, and do not plan to start now."

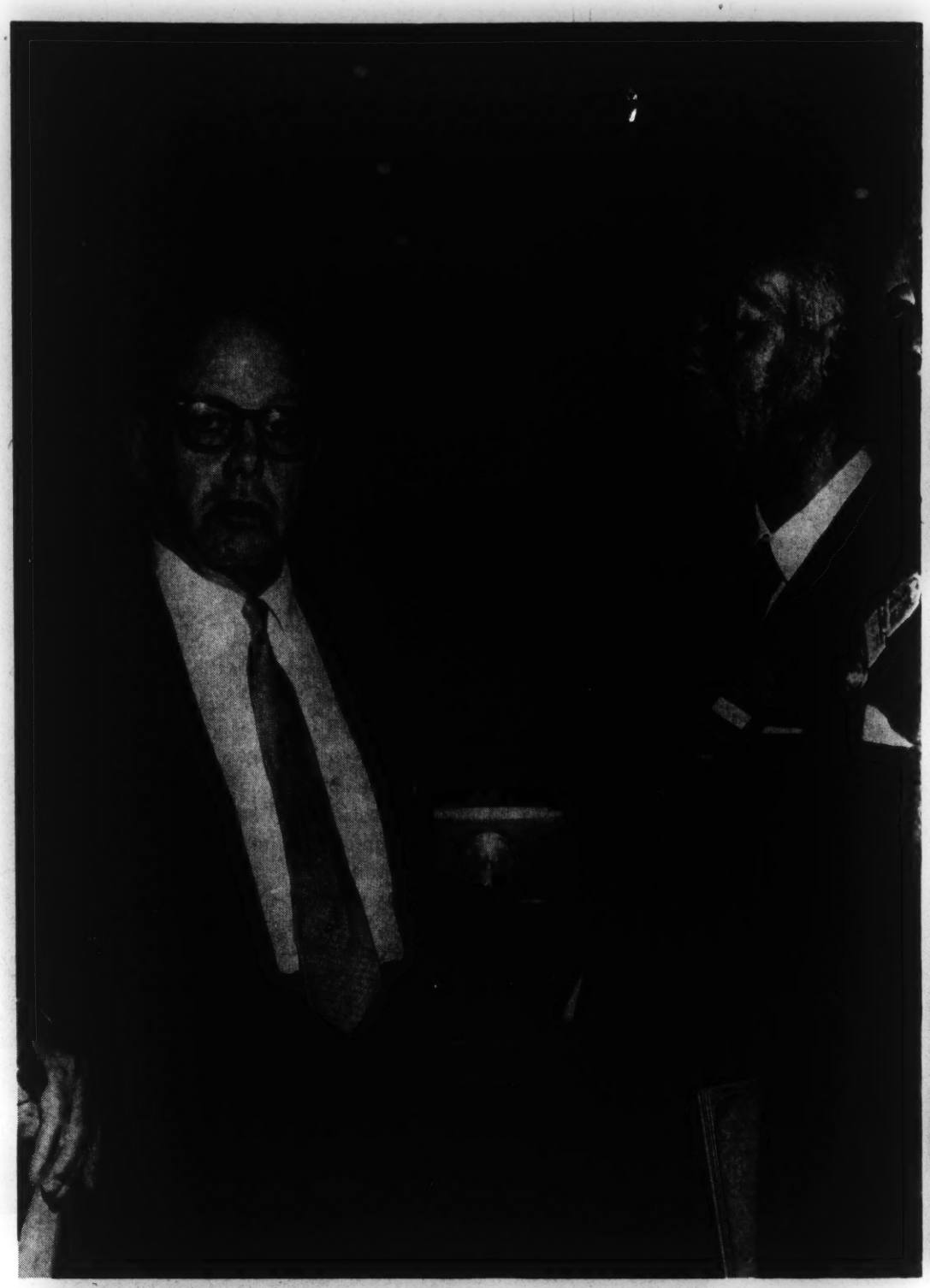
From the June 1942 issue of the Federal Security Agency publication: "Over 500,000 Negroes who should be utilized in war production are now idle because of the discriminatory hiring practices of war industries. Several million other Negroes engaged in unskilled occupations are prevented from making greater contributions."

When Negroes of Seattle, Washington, demanded the elimination of the union color bar at the Boeing Aircraft plant, the district organizer of the International Association of Machinists declared: "Labor has been asked to make many sacrifices in this war and has made them gladly, but this sacrifice (the admission of Negro members) is too great."

In a Newport, Rhode Island, war housing project, where it was required to admit all families of war workers, it was said: "In these critical times it is more important than ever to preserve the principal of white supremacy."

Similarly, the mayor of Shreveport, Louisiana, rejected a Federal grant because of the provision that skilled Negro workers be given a chance to work on its construction. His statement: "Of equal importance with winning the war is the necessity of keeping Negroes out of skilled jobs."

The vested interest in race prejudice was so entrenched that the war against Hitler seemed secondary. Randolph felt that winning democracy for the Negro at home was just as important as making it safe for the rest of the world and that a "new Magna Carta" for Negro labor had to be drawn.



Meany and Randolph haven't seen eye-to-eye at times over the years, but despite their differences each has a warm regard and respect for the other.

Forms committee

In January 1941 a meeting was called at Madison Square Garden. Invited were representatives of Negro organizations, unions, churches, fraternal groups and other agencies. Thirty thousand responded.

Randolph proposed that a committee be formed to organize a "march on Washington" to dramatize the Negro's side of the story. His understanding of the dynamics of Negro protest, told him that the time for action had arrived. Public demonstration, or the threat of it, was—if not the only route to change—at least one of the shortest.

Headed by a committee of national Negro leaders, the idea gained momentum, and has been considered a classic example of logistics in its field. Its main backing came from Negro workers themselves, with their established organizations. It depended less on racial emotionalism and more on the tactics of the orderly trade union. It was the first non-violent movement of its size in American history.

The march on Washington

The date was set for 50,000 Negroes to march down Pennsylvania Avenue. To many officials, such a prospect was devastating. News of the plan soon reached the White House. ALM is fortunate to have had the story from the chief actor in his own words:

". . . A call came in from Mayor LaGuardia, he was a great friend of mine. He asked me to come to City Hall with Walter White. We found Mrs. Roosevelt there when we arrived. She had been sent by the President to talk about the March on Washington."

Quoting the First Lady, the labor leader continued:

"The President (Franklin, she called him) asked me to talk to you about the March on Washington. I suppose I need not tell you that the White House is stirred up about it. There is great fear that some one will be killed or injured if such a march takes place. . ."

Mr. Randolph spoke of the Negro's discontent, and Mrs. Roosevelt agreed that injustices did exist.

"You know I agree with you," she said. "I am ashamed that it is necessary to have a march. I came to bring you the President's feelings on the matter and, I might add, also my own. I hope that you will give it serious consideration. Time is getting short and I think the President will invite you to come to Washington to talk about it."

Randolph and Roosevelt

The call from Washington arrived, and two days later the labor leader was in the Capitol to discuss his plan. With the President were several members of the Cabinet and Mayor LaGuardia.

"How are you, Phil?" asked the President, and launched right into the matter of the proposed march. Randolph noted that the President was a man of "enormous charm. He could make you feel that you really had something when you had not received a thing."

But Randolph was not to be dissuaded by charm alone. Roosevelt continued speaking, and when he paused for breath Randolph said in a soft voice:

"May I say a word, Mr. President?"

"Yes, Phil."

"The Negroes of the nation are concerned about their boys fighting and dying, and that those who do come home cannot find jobs. These are conditions the country must face, and you, alone, can do something about it."

The President's reply was:

"Now, Phil, you know that I cannot permit you to bring a hundred thousand Negroes into wartime Washington to fight for *anything*."

"That is true, Mr. President," replied Randolph, "but you will have to do something specific to stop it."

The President reddened slightly. "What do you want me to do?"

"Issue an Executive Order," replied Randolph.

"Phil, you know if I issue an executive order for you, a precedent will have been set, and I will be called upon to issue one for the Poles, Jews, Irish and all other minorities. I could not give one to you and deny it to the others."

"They are not so widely discriminated against," said Randolph, adding, "If you cannot issue the order, I cannot morally call off the march. I couldn't if I wanted to."

The President gave no sign of losing his patience. "I want you to call off the march," he said quietly, "and I assure you that I *will* do something."

Randolph persisted: "We need the order first."

"I've given you my word," said Roosevelt. Then turning to LaGuardia, Stimson and the others, "I want you to understand that we can have no march on Washington. Work out something. Bring me back something that will prevent it." Partly to Randolph, he added, "As American citizens, come to some conclusion that will protect the government as well as the Negro."

LaGuardia laughed uneasily and said:

"I could have told you that you were not going to change Phil's mind. You see him here, he probably has holes in his shoes. I've tried to get him to join our city administration, but he has refused."

"Get in touch with me tonight," said the President.

Roosevelt issues order

It was only a few days before the scheduled march. Randolph returned to New York and two days later the order was submitted to him. Upon reading it, he felt it did not meet specifications, and told LaGuardia that its provisions had to be broadened to include the Federal Government.

"Do you charge that the Federal Government itself discriminates?" asked the Mayor.

"They are the main ones," Randolph replied, adding that he couldn't accept the order in its present form and that even if he did, his Committee would not do so. LaGuardia said that he would have to call Washington again. He did, and secured approval for the addition.

"I would like to show it to my Committee," said Randolph, but LaGuardia pointed out that there was no time.

"Tell the President that you have agreed to accept the order," he said.

"He told me to get Phil on the radio and have him tell the people that I have signed the Executive Order; that it is no longer necessary to come to Washington to fight for jobs."

March called off

"It was the Mutual Broadcasting System that made its facilities available," said Randolph, who smiled as he recalled that a number of followers did not hear the message and came to Washington as planned anyway.

"I remember that I spoke, also Finley Wilson, head of the Elks. It was the beginning of a whole new concept, and I was pleased to have played a part in it."

Roosevelt's Executive Order challenged the whole pattern of racial discrimination in employment up to that time. A new Emancipation Proclamation, followed by an enforcement agency, affirmed the policy of full participation in the defense program, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

The Fair Employment Practice Act (FEPC), of course, merely scratched the surface. However, following this victory Randolph found himself projected into all phases of the civil rights struggle, constantly pounding away on the social cost of discrimination, and on the need for the complete inclusion of Negroes, both inside and outside of the union movement.

His efforts helped bring to realization the 1944 abolishment of the white primary and the unanimous Supreme Court decision that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen had to represent non-member Negro firemen without discrimination.

Army segregation

During World War II he entered another area of human rights. One of the massive betrayals of the democratic ethic in his view was the discrimination in the U. S. Army. Fate decreed that Randolph should initiate what *Time* magazine termed "the greatest single blow against segregation of the period" —that which existed in the Armed Forces.

From the time of the Civil War through WW II, Negro soldiers had been kept in segregated units and most were confined to rear area service outfits. When General Eisenhower, in a severe emergency, put a group of Negro troops through a quick training course for the first time, and sent them out in unsegregated units, they made a good combat showing and became a strong argument for the postwar integration policy.

The massive inconsistency of discrimination in the Army was grist for the mill of the labor leader. Again placing trust in his power of persuasion and accumulated moral authority, he set out for Washington.

Another president

This time President Truman was in the White House. Randolph told him of the Negro's estrangement, and warned that there would be wholesale civil disobedience if Jim Crow in the military was not ended. At first it was necessary for the Missouri-born President to conceal his anger. However, he calmed down when the respected leader explained that his sole purpose was to acquaint the nation's commander-in-chief with the facts. Randolph's innate dignity and obvious sincerity touched the President, and just before the passive resistance tactic was to go into effect, an executive order was issued which ended all segregation in the military establishment.

School integration

U. S. Presidents came and went, but Mr. Black Labor's trips to the White House continued. In 1958 he was designated as chief spokesman for the four-man delegation to meet with President Eisenhower to enlist the President's aid in a more rapid implementation of the Supreme Court decision on school integration.

According to press reports, Randolph found the President "very pleasant and a man of good will, but with little familiarity with the problems of the Negro, and little inclination to do anything about them."

Randolph's faith in a final victory persisted, and in an effort to speed it up, the Negro American Labor Council was founded with Randolph as its first president. Its purpose is best described in his own words:

"The philosophy, ideals, principles and program . . . stem from the concept that labor leadership is a sacred trust, a great moral responsibility. . . . We will seek Negro trade unionists of every class, craft and industry to join its ranks. It will be pro-Negro, although not antiwhite. It will support pro-labor and pro-civil rights legislation. Recognizing that only within the framework of a democratic society can civil rights and labor's rights exist . . . (we will) unequivocally support and defend freedom and democracy at home and abroad."

When Randolph received an award from the League for Industrial Democracy he reaffirmed his belief that segregation was based on the negation of the brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God. "It degrades, demeans, demoralizes the dignity of the human personality."

Embraced passive resistance

He embraced "the new spirit of passive resistance by the Negro in the South," and he expressed the view that Negroes were "manifesting great wisdom in not resorting to the impotent weapon of violence in retaliation for violence used against them."

Pilgrimages to the White House continued, the most recent being to see President Johnson. On this occasion, with the "Big Six" of the nation's civil rights leaders, the purpose—in the words of L.B.J.—was to "help the U. S. Negro fulfill the rights which, after years of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

Plans to retire

Phil Randolph no longer makes the yearly treks to the A.F.L. conventions to "speak the whole word" against second-class citizenship and dual standards of democracy. Younger fighters are taking his place, for he has always been a molder as well as a leader of men. Throughout his career he has sought out promising young leadership, inspired, encouraged, pushed, often even educated them.

"There is no one who cannot be replaced," he said, and he never allows one to forget his "able associates."

Today, at the age of 79, he is preparing for the 43rd Annual Brotherhood Convention, where he will announce his retirement. The years and declining health have weakened the great physical machine that once could work around the clock.

Place in history

Randolph's battle for the inclusion of his people in the ranks of labor has not been totally won, but through his dedication, victory is at last in sight. The totality of his contributions, however, reach well beyond any race for they bridge all races in the family of man.

One of the most powerful personalities of his era, his accomplishments have won universal admiration and trust. He has lived up to the highest standards of union leadership, but the power and prestige he has brought to his office has enabled him to engage in activities not only of benefit to labor, but to the nation as a whole.

Though he will be replaced, he will not be forgotten. A. Philip Randolph's lifelong work in the cause of social justice and human rights have earned him a niche in history that is all his own. ▲

EL IMPARCIAL

En Estados Unidos

Fulbright Ataca Intervención En Batalla De Cochinos y Vietnam

WASHINGTON, Ago. 18 — (UPI) — Estados Unidos no habría intervenido nunca en la Bahía de los Cochinos, la República Dominicana o Vietnam si el Congreso hubiese sido consultado, declaró hoy el senador William Fulbright.

El legislador demócrata, Presidente de la Comisión de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado, expresó que el único incidente de los últimos años que exigía realmente una acción ejecutiva inmediata y secreta fue la crisis de los cohetes en Cuba, del año 1963.

"En los otros, si se hubiese contado con una demora de pocas semanas para pensar mejor las cosas, tal vez no habríamos intervenido completamente, en cuyo caso estaríamos mejor de lo que estamos ahora", prosiguió el senador.

Fulbright hizo la declaración al comenzar las audiencias de la Comisión, sobre un Proyecto de Resolución para expresar el juicio del Congreso sobre una definición de los compromisos de política internacional del ejecutivo. Hizo notar claramente que no tenía la intención de atacar personalmente al Presidente Lyndon Johnson o la Guerra en Vietnam.

El principal declarante fue Ruhl Bartlett, de la Escuela de derecho y Diplomacia de la Universidad de Tufts.

Bartlett hizo un análisis de la historia del desarrollo de la política internacional y llegó a la conclusión de que hubo una gradual asunción de las facultades constitucionales del Congreso por parte del primer mandatario en un período de muchos años.

Acusan de Antisemitismo A Comité Coordinador Estudiantil

NUEVA YORK, Ago. 18 — (UPI) — Dirigentes judíos y negros condenaron una declaración del Comité Coordinador Estudiantil de no violencia en la que se acusa a Israel de atrocidades contra los árabes.

A Philip Randolph, vicepresidente de la Federación Americana del Trabajo y Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales (AFL-CIO) y presidente de la Hermandad de Empleados de Coches Dormitorios, y Bayard Rustin, Director Ejecutivo del Instituto A. Philip Randolph, dijeron que se sentían "sorprendidos y disgustados" por la declaración del referido Comité, calificándola de antijudía.

Por su parte, Will Maslow, Director Ejecutivo del Congreso Judío-Americano, tildó la declaración de "antisemitismo ofensivo y maligno" y dijo que, "por su actitud racista, el Comité se ha descalificado a sí mismo para que se pueda tomar en serio cualquier alegato en la lucha por la decencia humana".

El cargo, formulado en la "Carta de Noticias" de esta semana, del referido comité, afirma que "bandas de terroristas sionistas" exterminaron mas de 30 aldeas árabes en el proceso de crear el Estado de Israel y en fecha tan reciente como el pasado mes de junio, durante la guerra Arabe-Israelí, "mataron deliberadamente y mutilaron a hombres, mujeres y niños árabes, forzándolos a huir por las calles".

Romney Cree Inefectiva La Intensificación Bombardeos

WASHINGTON, Ago. 18 — (UPI) — El gobernador del estado de Michigan, George Romney declaró que es "una equivocación" pensar que los bombardeos aéreos de estadounidenses obligarán a Vietnam del norte a realizar negociaciones de paz.

Al mismo tiempo, el aspirante a la candidatura presidencial por el Partido Republicano declaró que nunca abogó porque se ponga fin a los bombardeos, sino que cree que el esfuerzo militar contra el régimen comunista de Hanoi ha sido "intensificado desmesuradamente."

Opinó a continuación que las operaciones aéreas sobre Vietnam del Norte provocaron "falsas esperanzas" de alcanzar un acuerdo razonable, de igual manera que la "acumulación de falsas expectativas y esperanzas" fue la causa principal de los recientes motines raciales como los ocurridos en Detroit— su propio estado— hace dos semanas.

Rommey vino a Washington a celebrar una serie de entrevistas con los miembros republicanos del Congreso.

Su comentario acerca de los bombardeos sobrevino cuando se le preguntó si era partidario de que cesasen los ataques aéreos sobre Vietnam del Norte. El gobernador expresó que jamás propuso la cesación sino que señaló que existían falsas esperanzas respecto a lo que se podía conseguir con los bombardeos.

Intentan Primera Circumnavegación del Artico

NUEVA YORK, Ago. 18 — (UPI) — Dos poderosos rompehielos polares del Servicio de Guardacostas de Estados Unidos navegan desde hace un mes por los mares árticos en un histórico intento de realizar la primera circumnavegación del Artico, según se anunció hoy.

El Servicio Guardacostas dijo que el viaje comenzado cerca de Trondheim (Noruega) el 15 de julio se desarrolla exitosamente y se prevén que estará completo para fines de septiembre.

No obstante, se cree que los rompehielos "Edisto" y "East wind" encontrarán condiciones de hielo extremadamente fuertes a lo largo de sus ruta, dijo un portavoz.

La exploración, iniciada durante los meses mas cálidos en las zonas polares heladas tiene un doble propósito, según el referido servicio. Recogerá informes oceanográficos que estarán a la disposición de todo el mundo por medio de los centros informativos de Washington y Moscú y ayudará a determinar el diseño de los rompehielos del futuro.

Se espera que el viaje arrojará gran luz sobre el misterio que rodea el cambio de aguas entre los océanos Pacífico, Atlántico y Artico y que tiene un importante efecto sobre los cambios de clima en el hemisferio septentrional.

(6)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH:
Labor's Grand Old Man

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Labor's Grand Old Man

EXCEPT for an occasional pause, during which he searches his memory to draw parallels of the past with the present, there is nothing to indicate that Asa Philip Randolph is 80 years old. His voice is still a deeply resonant instrument and he speaks with the same aristocratic broad A's that marked him as an anomaly when he galvanized the masses on Harlem street corners in another era. His bearing is erect, the handshake firm, the eyes keen yet kindly. His manner is one of quiet dignity as he sits in the afternoon shadows of his modest Manhattan apartment. And he speaks as one who has helped to shape the destiny of a people.

"We are creatures of history," he declares to his audience of one, "for every historical epoch has its roots in a preceding epoch. The black militants of today are standing upon the shoulders of the 'new Negro radicals' of my day—the '20s, '30s and '40s. We stood upon the shoulders of the civil rights fighters of the Reconstruction era and they stood upon the shoulders of the black abolitionists. These are the interconnections of history and they play their role in the course of development."

Himself an historical figure whose life has spanned every major racial development since the post-Reconstruction period, A. Philip Randolph, champion of the working man, patriarch of the civil rights movement and father of the mass protest march, is quite aware that there are many of a more recent vintage who do not know his name and, if they do, regard him merely as a "leader emeritus" best relegated to silence. These are the arch militants who reject Randolph's policy of racial conciliation. They have dubbed him "Uncle Tom No. 2"—ranking him in dishonor just behind the NAACP's Roy Wilkins. He incurred their wrath back in 1966 when he denounced "black power" as an indefensible slogan and said of its leading advocate, Stokely Carmichael: "He is vigorous, he is brilliant, but I think he is wrong." To them, A. Philip Randolph is old-hat, a voice in the wilderness they care not to heed. But this veteran crusader bears no malice toward his youthful detractors. Instead, he endeavors to reach out to them as a wise and understanding elder.

"I *love* the young black militants," he states with a strength tempered by warmth. "I don't agree with all their methodology, and yet I can understand why they are in this mood

80-year-old 'black militant' recalls his career, offers advice for racial progress

BY PHYL GARLAND

Leading 1963 March on Washington, Randolph (3rd from right) is flanked by NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins (l.) and United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther.

of revolt, of resort to violence, for I was a young black militant myself, the angry young man of my day. As a Socialist, an advocate of trade unionism and the editor of a radical magazine called The Messenger, I, *too*, didn't agree with anything that was supposed to be respectable, that was supposed to be a part of the American ideal and the American system. I believed that the old political, economic and social order had to be changed and changed *immediately!* Therefore I felt the force of the law and the force of public opinion. The postmaster general threw my publication out of the mails. The FBI ransacked my office—broke it up. I was probably the first Negro to go to jail for encouraging Negroes to oppose the draft and I had no peace *any*where. But as time went on, I read more of history and began to be cognizant of the fact that social change is inevitable. There is *nothing* that can hold it back and progress of the Negro is a part of it.

"Whereas, at the present time, the demands of the black militants and black nationalists for immediate change will not bring about immediate change, their condemnation, their general rejection of the social order nevertheless has value in that it shakes the country to the recognition that here is a *grave* social injustice that is being done to a great people, a social injustice which *must* be changed and it must be changed immediately. Now I can understand that this is a great shock to white America. White America never saw anything just like *this*, because my work didn't take on the aspect of utilizing violence as a method of social change. My work was mostly one of organization and propaganda. But as this struggle has taken on the proportions of a revolution, the black man has been recreated as a new individual, a new social force. America will *not* be the same following this revolution and the black man is basically responsible for this change that America will be *forced* to accept."

Thus he speaks with a fervor and true appetite for change exceptional in a man of his years. Perhaps it is the fighter in him that cannot be reduced by age or encroaching infirmity. For A. Philip Randolph has been a fighter, in his cool and cultivated way, for more years than most American blacks have been alive.

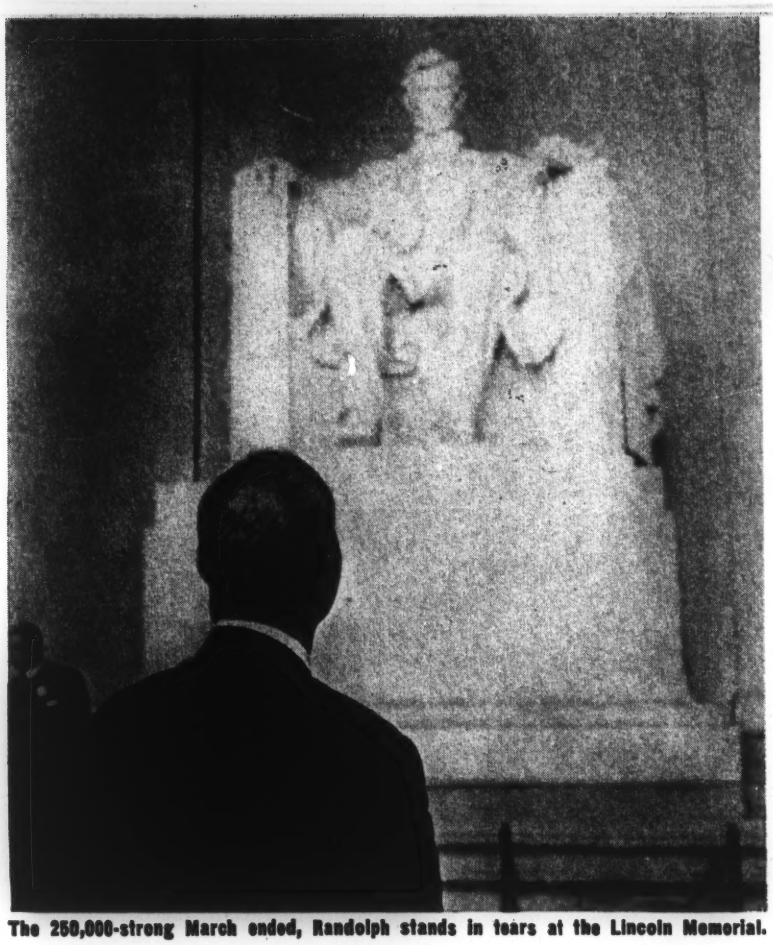
In the dawn of this century and throughout its incubative years when racial oppression seldom was challenged, Randolph attacked the system with a cerebral approach calculated to effect specific results. This was long before dissension became the mode. He did not seek or reap the fringe benefits of notoriety: the glamor and the glory of being a publicly acclaimed iconoclast; the televised press conferences and pictures splashed across the pages of metropolitan dailies. For in those yesteryears, white America did not consider any black man newsworthy unless he committed a crime that might be amplified to sensational proportions. Even obsequious blacks, still clinging to Booker T. Washington's "separate fingers on one hand" philosophy, put him down. Yet Randolph spoke out against capitalistic exploiters of labor and those who would forever deny the black man equitable treatment.

As organizer and later president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he became the prime exponent of a black economic thrust, using his small but influential union to drive a wedge into the discriminatory hierarchy of organized labor. He stood toe-to-toe with five U. S. Presidents and managed to wrest from them two unprecedented executive orders prohibiting discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries and segregation in the armed forces, as well as sweeping civil rights legislation dealing with fair employment and voting rights. He was not afraid to take the unpopular stand, whether denounced by blacks or whites. Frequently he stood alone, or nearly alone, and there was no chorus of "Amens" rising from fellow dissenters who might back him up. It was no small achievement.

Born April 15, 1889, only 14 years after slavery was abolished by constitutional amendment, Randolph first became aware of the power of unity as a boy in his hometown of Crescent City, Fla. He was only nine when his father, a race-conscious AME minister, helped stave off a lynching by bringing other black men to stand vigil with him, surrounding the jail where the victim-to-be was being held. Those were the days when Southern whites regarded lynching as a form of recreation and that was the first time young Randolph had witnessed tangible proof that the black man need not be helpless. He never forgot it.

His father also instilled in him a love of learning, but though much has been made of Randolph's erudition, he has no earned college degree. He is mostly self-taught. After finishing high school in Florida at Cookman Institute (now Bethune-Cookman College), he worked his way North and subsisted on odd jobs while attending City College in New York. It was then that he met Chandler Owen, a young law student at Columbia University. The two budding intellectuals haunted the public libraries, exchanging ideas and dipping deep into the fields of political science, sociology and economics. These were the years when the theories of Karl Marx were being explored in the halls of academe. Though Randolph never became a Communist, he did choose Socialism as his political ideology, believing that black men and, indeed, all men could be free only if they were not subject to economic deprivation.

His first venture with Owen was a small employment bureau which



The 250,000-strong March ended, Randolph stands in tears at the Lincoln Memorial.

they set up in Harlem and operated in conjunction with an informal training program for unskilled Negroes arriving from the South. With some uncanny instinct of where the future might lead, they called their enterprise The Brotherhood. It was through this employment bureau that Owen and Randolph were commissioned to publish an organ called The Hotel Messenger for a fledgling union of Negro head waiters. Almost too earnest for their own good, the two young men used the publication to expose fraudulent practices on the part of the head waiters against their underlings. This marked the end of their relationship with the head waiters in 1917, but it was also the beginning of The Messenger, a journal of opinion that was shocking, for that time, in the boldness of its pronouncements against racism. In one issue the editors noted: "In 1882 Negroes stood in line at a White House reception . . . In 1922 at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, U. S. Marines enforced Jim Crow with bayonets."

Through this publication, Randolph attracted the attention of a few intrepid Pullman porters who had been trying since 1909 to organize a union. In one of the truly nefarious chapters of labor history, the Pullman Company, which leased its cars and services to the railroads, had employed every conceivable method short of outright brutality to defeat the porters' efforts. However, the porters were too discontented to be easily squelched. They were required to work from 300 to 400 hours for a minimum monthly wage of $67.50, with no paid vacations. Anyone who attempted to defy the company was promptly dismissed. Until 1925, these tactics had stalled all organizational efforts and many porters had been forced out of their jobs. But that was the year Ashley L. Totten, the latest porter to be dismissed, struck upon the idea of seeking a leader from the outside who could not be touched by the company. Randolph, who had never worked as a porter, was his man.

In a secret meeting that year with six men, Randolph transacted all the official business himself in order that none of the porters might be implicated. At a later meeting with some 50 porters in a small Harlem hall, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born and Randolph was unanimously elected president. He used The Messenger to imbue the porters with the spirit of unity through trade unionism and three years later the publication was renamed The Black Worker, becoming the union's official organ.

The struggle of the union to gain recognition as the official collective bargaining agent for the porters wore on for 12 years. During that time, more than 800 porters were dismissed for their affiliation with the Brotherhood but such was their confidence in Randolph that they took menial jobs in order to support his work, to keep their union alive. Working closely with Randolph were Totten and a few other veteran porters like Milton Webster who later became an international vice president of the organization. Their courage in a seemingly hopeless plight was such that Randolph later recalled: "These men stuck with me when we didn't even have the price of a cup of coffee or a nickel for a phone call."

Relentlessly, the Pullman Company pressed its fight against the union. This reached a climax when Randolph was offered, through an intermediary, a check for $10,000 if he would forget the whole thing. That was an awe-inspiring sum of money in those Depression days and Randolph was hungry. His refusal to accept that check has become legend, for it demonstrated conclusively that he could not be bought. Finally, in 1935, the company surrendered and the country's first and only black union was recognized, with more than $2 million being granted in wage increases. For the first time, the black worker was able to stand up as a man and bargain for himself. The significance of that victory transcended the small human knot that was the early Brotherhood, for it occurred in an era when the labor movement was regarded as the great proletarian hope for a share in the American dream. In countless grubby, company-owned coal mining towns and in the smoke-dimmed cities where steel was becoming king, laborers looked to their unions for salvation from exploitation. Black workers looked longingly for some indication that they, too, might share that hope. And it had come.

Thus 20 years before Martin Luther King Jr. emerged as a leader in Montgomery, Ala., A. Philip Randolph took his place as a "Black Messiah," a modern-day Moses and an American Gandhi, as well as the "St. Philip of the Pullman Porters." But he did not stop there. He had been paying visits to U. S. Presidents ever since 1925 when he had accompanied W. Monroe Trotter, the fiery founder of the Boston Guardian newspaper, on a visit to the White House to request Calvin Coolidge's support of an anti-lynching law. Coolidge did not budge, and neither did Herbert Hoover, whom Randolph saw 15 years later. In 1940, when it appeared that the United States was about to become involved in World War II, Randolph trudged off to Washington again, this time to visit Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Along with Walter White of the NAACP and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, he implored FDR to do away with Jim Crow in the Armed Forces and to take some action that would enable Negroes to get some of the high-paying jobs in defense industries. The rest is history. Roosevelt refused to act and Randolph threatened to march 100,000 Negroes into Washington as a demonstration of protest.

At no time was there any certainty that even 10,000 Negroes could be mustered to March on Washington, but the strategy worked. Randolph held out with his threat, refusing to call off the march until Roosevelt had issued his famous Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, forbidding discrimination in war industries, government training programs and government industries. Historian Lerone Bennett Jr. has called Randolph's maneuver of that time "one of the most brilliant power plays ever executed by a Negro leader, if not the most brilliant." Others compared him to Frederick Douglass.

As a strategist, Randolph more than once employed daring methods to force the social change he sought. He risked conviction for treason when he urged Negroes to go to jail rather than serve in segregated military units. He provoked President Harry S. Truman to anger with his entreaties, but after more than 30 Negroes had proved their point by going to jail, Truman issued Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, which led to integration of the Armed Forces.

So persistently has Randolph reached out to leave an indelible mark on events of his time that his exploits can not be easily chronicled. In the more than four decades he gave to the labor movement, his was the lone black voice that hammered away at the issue of union discrimination. Last fall he retired from his position as an international vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He founded and led more than one all-black labor organization, including the Negro American Labor Council in the early '60s. But he always returned to the major power structure to pursue his work by agitation from within. If those for whom he fought can remember him in no other way, they must certainly recall the monumental March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom of Aug. 28, 1963, when more than 250,000 blacks and whites converged on the nation's capital for the largest protest demonstration in history. As the director and spiritual father of the march, Randolph

At Carnegie Hall in New York, a 1960 "Salute to A. Philip Randolph" brings together Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Randolph and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The hall was jammed and thousands milled in streets. Center, Randolph is among civil rights leaders meeting with President John F. Kennedy. At right, he receives a Lyndon B. Johnson presidential award.

had his finest hour, as perhaps did this country, for brotherhood became a reality, a living, breathing and assertive act—if only for one momentous day.

"It's not just that he's accomplished things," says Bayard Rustin, a close associate for many years, "but that he's a beautiful human being, inwardly . . . a magnificent man." A mercurial, 59-year-old organizer known as the tactician of the civil rights movement, Rustin serves as executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which he founded in 1965 as a supportive organ for civil rights and educational projects. "Mr. Randolph," as the leader is called even by friends, is Rustin's hero and Rustin openly tells why. "He has never acted selfishly and I, for one, know of the times when he would go for weeks with nothing to eat but beans. Often, when he was working with the union, he would leave New York with only enough money for a one-way train ticket and would have to remain in Chicago until he could raise enough money to come back home."

Rustin points out that Randolph's work with the porters had many significant offshoots that are not generally known. "He had the kind of spirit that inspired those who followed him. They carried themselves with a certain pride and to be a Pullman porter became something prestigious for Negroes who hadn't much choice of occupations. Since they traveled all over the country, the porters formed a sort of educational and informative network, carrying news to Negroes in all sorts of remote areas. When Southerners in many localities refused to allow Negro newspapers to be brought into their communities, the porters were the ones who smuggled them in. Always he encouraged them to make sacrifices in order to educate their children and no one knows how many Negroes who are successful today managed to make it because their fathers were Pullman porters and followed this advice."

Rustin also defines the link between Randolph's earlier activities and the nationwide civil rights movement that gained momentum at mid-century. "Martin Luther King always acknowledged that he was drawn into the movement by someone else," says Rustin. "This was a man named E. D. Nixon, a Pullman porter who was Randolph's man in Alabama. He had absorbed Randolph's thinking for many years and when things began happening in Montgomery, he was the one who stepped in to take a leading part and he was the one who went to Dr. King and convinced him to lead the people."

A pacifist and firebrand radical of 39 years ago, Rustin, who once joined the Young Communist League because, at the time, "They seemed the only people who had civil rights at heart," first began working with Randolph during a March on Washington campaign in the early '40s. He served as youth organizer for the march and later served 28 months on a chain gang as a protest against the war. After his release, he joined Randolph who was working on the Committee to End Discrimination in the Armed Forces. This was where the two reached a parting of the ways. After Truman had issued his executive order dealing with the matter, Randolph had wanted to dissolve the committee. As Rustin points out: "His method always has been to organize Negroes as Negroes for a particular end and to disband those groups once the objective has been attained, going on from there to work with whites." On the contrary, Rustin and his coalition of youth wanted to keep the committee going. The day when the decision was to be made public, Randolph asked Rustin to call a press conference for that afternoon, which he did. But Rustin decided to strike out on his own. He called a press conference for that morning and hotly criticized Randolph. "I was so ashamed that I avoided him for several years," Rustin recalls. "But when I saw him again, he simply asked, 'Bayard, where have you been? I haven't seen you around lately.' He never mentioned that incident."

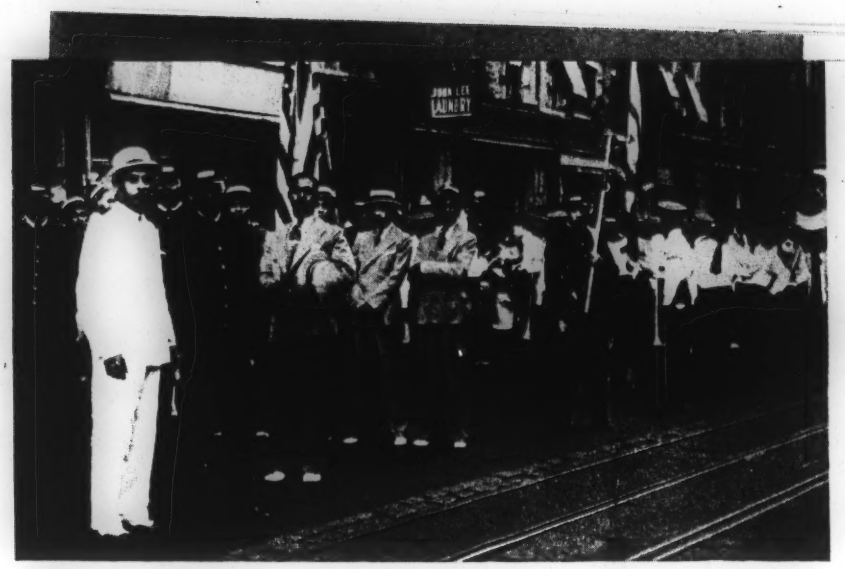
More than once the venerable leader rose to the defense of his disciple. It was only by Randolph's action that Rustin was named organizer for the March on Washington of 1963. This was in contradiction of the wishes of other leaders sponsoring the project. "The others wanted no part of me," Rustin relates, "but Mr. Randolph stood firm in his choice, though the others knew that segregationists might use me as a means of discrediting the march. This did happen and I'll never forget how J. Strom Thurmond got up on the floor of Congress and denounced me as a Communist, a sex pervert and draft dodger. But Mr. Randolph simply said, 'I have full confidence that Mr. Rustin can do the job.'"

To Rustin's thinking, Randolph is an almost saintly man whose total significance has not yet been adequately assessed. "I have heard scandalous stories about almost every leader, but I've never heard anything of that sort about him. People might not always agree with him, but they've never been able to attack him personally." And if he has a personal fault, his colleague contends, it is in his extreme honesty. "He is so honest himself, that he can not conceive of dishonesty in others. I remember during the March on Washington when we had word that some people were selling posters and souvenirs that had nothing to do with the March and were pocketing the money. When I tried to tell him about it he refused to listen and we had to do our best to clear the matter up without his knowledge."

According to Rustin, Randolph's greatest strength has been in his ability to organize people and to set them in motion as a method of demonstrating their dissatisfaction. "He has always understood that it is *all* with the people," Rustin says. "He has always stood with the masses and has upheld the three principles of democracy, integration and nonviolence. Many years ago, he opposed W. E. B. DuBois' idea about concentrating on development of the 'talented tenth' because he did not consider it democratic. He knew Marcus Garvey and respected him, but he stood against his idea of leaving this country and going back to Africa, and he is fighting separatist tendencies now.'

For many years the two men have worked together, the bond between them similar to that of a father and son, though Randolph has maintained at all times the business-like demeanor he carries to all his friendships. "Mr. Randolph is a very reserved, a very contained man," says Rustin, "and there is only one time I can recall that he could not hold back his feelings. This was at the March on Washington in 1963. I remember that after the speeches had been made and the crowds were beginning to depart, he was standing to himself there at the Lincoln Memorial. The glow of the day still lingered, but I could see that he was tired. I went to him and put my arm around his shoulders and said, 'Mr. Randolph, it looks like your dream has come true.' And when I looked up into his eyes, I could see that tears were streaming down his cheeks."

As a tribute to his idol, Rustin has organized an 80th Birthday Celebration to be held in May in New York at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Leaders of labor, government and business have pledged their support of the testimonial which, hopefully, will lead to the setting up of a $250,000 fund to carry on Randolph's work through the institute which bears his name. As an estimate of the esteem in which the man is



At 1936 parade, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters march through Harlem. In 1935 BSCP had gained recognition from the Pullman Corp. Ashley L. Totten, pioneer unionist who brought Randolph to BSCP leadership. At right, Randolph heads pickets protesting Jim Crow in military. His pressures resulted in President Truman's Order of 1948 outlawing segregation in military.

held, it might be noted that no one who was asked to be a sponsor refused. When a request was sent out to former President Lyndon B. Johnson, he sent the following reply:

I am very pleased to accept your invitation to serve as a sponsor of the A. Philip Randolph Birthday Tribute.

Of course, we can do little more than help bring attention to the tremendous contributions of this great and dedicated American. For in the final analysis, Philip Randolph's greatest tribute is his own career.

For half a century he has been an inspired and tireless fighter for the cause of justice. He has never lost faith in the American dream or the American people. And his efforts have been rewarded, as his faith has been justified.

I am proud to be able to help salute him—as a friend and admirer.

IN THE final summing up, the significance of A. Philip Randolph lies in his thought, as well as his life, for he has never ceased to focus his mind on the world around him and to be concerned about it. He remains quite aware of it, though he seldom goes out from the third-floor walk-up Harlem apartment where he has lived for 45 years. His rooms still reflect the homey, flowery taste of the late Mrs. Lucille Randolph, a one-time school teacher who worked many years as manager of a beauty salon so that her husband might continue his work. There is a smiling, white-haired housekeeper to greet the writers and scholars who come to consult him. He speaks to them from out of his vast well of experience and study.

"I do not agree that the civil rights revolution is dead," he stresses. "The major legislation enacted by the Congress dealing with the question of civil rights has yet before it implementation. This means that the forces calculated to achieve civil rights must be continued so that the job will be effectively done. Whereas you may have a piece of legislation on the federal statute books, this does not mean that the country has accepted it and, of course, legislation which is not accepted by the country is ineffective. So the civil rights revolution is still in motion, though its legislative phase has practically been effectuated. Now we have moved into a new phase which involves social justice and economic rights—the right to a job, good housing, effective education and so forth. When you come into the field of social justice, you meet greater resistance than you meet on the civil justice field."

He attributes the difficulties in the area not only to the reluctance of the society as a whole to accept change, but also to the black man's lack of economic power. "Ninety-nine per cent of Negroes (with earned income) live by wages, by selling their labor power in the labor market which is dominated by corporate forces, and the sole concern of corporate forces is the creation of profits. It is to the interest of the corporate forces to keep wages down so that they might be able to expand the market. Now the Negro faces problems here, for many have come into this area with few skills and no collective bargaining power because, as a rule, they are not a part of any organized labor forces. Therefore this phase of the struggle is the most critical phase and it is going to require not only more power by way of collective bargaining, but more economic knowledge, more expertise in mobilizing the forces for assault in the interest of achieving economic justice." This, he believes, will require a coalition of blacks and liberal whites working to eradicate poverty among people of all races, religions and nationalities.

At the very core of this problem, Randolph contends, is the matter of automation and the advancing forces of technology. "The racial and social convulsions which have marked the advent of the civil rights revolution and its present stage have come as a result of a transition which has been taking place in the mode of production of goods and services," he says. Then he traces the history of the Negro who was "an agricultural peasant in the South" through his ejection from the farms by the introduction of farm machinery, following his flight to the urban North where he was not adequately absorbed by the industrial system. As a result, black people's feeling of bitterness, of anger, of having been cheated, was fertile ground for the rise of black nationalism in the earlier part of the century. Wartime job booms brought some relief, only to be followed by the trend toward automation, further restricting economic opportunities and contributing to an intensified wave of unrest. Randolph compares the plight of today's Negro to that of peasants in years preceding the French Revolution.

"When labor-saving devices were introduced throughout Europe," says Randolph, "peasants of the feudalistic economy had no way to live, for they were not trained in the new crafts that industrialization had brought about. Therefore, they had only three things that they could do: one, they had to become trained to serve as artisans in the new capitalistic economy; two, they had to become members of the rising *bourgeoisie* that owned the factories and merchandising machinery or, three, they had to revolt. Well, they hadn't the time to learn the new skills, they had no money with which to enter the *bourgeoisie* so, therefore, they revolted. It is this same pattern of action that Negroes in America are following and have followed since this convulsion began with the mechanization of the farms in the South, the ejection of the Negro by economic forces they could not control. Negroes, too, have had only three choices and not having the means to achieve the first two, they have revolted and rioted all over the nation. This is the basis for the new phase of this revolution. We have the young black militants and black nationalists who are exhibiting a rage and a tactic of strategy in the use of violence which has shocked the nation. But this is inevitable, just as inevitable as the revolt of the peasants during the latter days of feudalism in Europe."

At this point, Randolph adds a note of caution: "This is an historical development and I am greatly concerned about the lack of historical knowledge on the part of some of the black militants, many of whom are brilliant young men. If I were physically stronger, I would like to be able to get groups of them together for the study and analysis of history in relation to the struggle of the Negro today, to probe the economic, political and social forces that are playing an inevitable role in the development of world civilization today. For every revolution has been marked by violence and the entire history of the world has moved from stage to stage not only through education and reorganization, but also through violence. But it must also be understood that following every revolution has come a period of reaction, of extreme oppression, which indicates that extreme violence defeats itself, and *this* is the lesson that revolutionists do not understand."

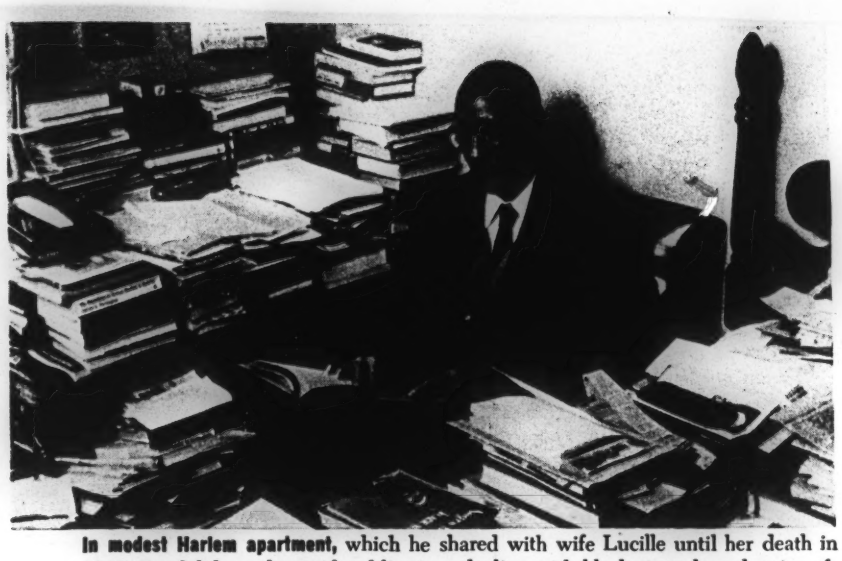
Randolph believes that history will accord the black militants of today their true portion, but he strongly asserts that some way must be found to effect the necessary changes in *this* country and in *this*

During talk, venerable activist Randolph holds attention of youthful militant Stokely Carmichael. Randolph says he understands today's black militants . . . "I was a young black militant myself; the angry young man of my day."

time. He does not consider racial separatism an answer. "I think this is a basic mistake," he says. "Advancing technology and science make separatism impossible anyway, for the trend is for peoples of the world to be forced into closer association, even if they do have their prejudices. The idea of separatism is harkening to the past and it is undesirable even if it could be realized, because the progress of mankind has been based upon contact and association, upon social, intellectual and cultural contact." He does not believe that the blacks of America might do very well in a separate state or states, and he sees no workable solution in a mass movement to Africa. "Africans have need of only two things," he says. "Those are capital and technological knowledge. We don't have those things here, so what do we have to offer the Africans? This is the same thing I told Garvey back in the '20s."

Randolph even opposes the idea of separatism in the new courses in Afro-American studies that are being demanded and granted to black college students throughout the nation. He explains: "I can applaud the idea of developing racial identity and being proud of the glorious cultural heritage of our African

Meeting of unionists brings together Randolph and Albert Shanker, head of N. Y. teachers union. At center is Bayard Rustin, a Randolph disciple who is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute he founded in 1965.



In modest Harlem apartment, which he shared with wife Lucille until her death in 1963, Randolph works amid publications dealing with black struggle and union affairs. Recently, he has waged successful campaign against craft union discrimination.

life. They ought to be proud of that. But while I believe that these colleges and universities ought to have these courses in African and Negro studies, I think that they should be integrated. The white students need knowledge of the Negro just as Negroes do and it is calamitous, regrettable for whites to grow up in this country ignorant and unaware of what we have given the world."

Randolph does not believe that total destruction of the social order as it exists in America today will result in the setting up of a new social order that will be markedly different and more beneficial for blacks. His reason: "The forces of advancing technology are not limited by national boundaries and they are sweeping the world. I've been all over the world and I've seen all sorts of people and I have observed that though they might live differently, they do not behave differently in their reactions to various forces. Today they are reaching out in the direction of technology and we must realize that the world of tomorrow will be different from the world of today. Somehow we must find a way to become a part of this phenomenon that is sweeping the world and changing the world. The youngsters of today must direct their attention not only to the matter of racial identity and racial realization through African studies, but they must make certain they are not left behind in the scientific and technological revolution, because if they are, they will be in a hopeless state. There will be absolutely no way in the world whereby they can become an effective force. If the young Negro cannot become a part of this advancing technology, his whole revolution will have been in vain."

And where does A. Philip Randolph see a possible solution to the seemingly insoluble problems that beset the America of today? Basically, he believes that it lies in black and liberal white forces continuing to apply pressure at all points within the society, thereby forcing the adoption of sweeping measures that will reduce the causes of unrest. He singles out one man for his thrust in this direction, though things did not work out as they might have.

"I am inclined to give President Lyndon B. Johnson great credit for the fact that he really has done more to advance the cause of the Negro than any other President we've ever had," Randolph says. "Who would have put Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court and a Negro in the Cabinet? These were revolutionary political measures that helped to give the Negro a sense of identity and reality. However, they did not solve his economic problems and this is a major matter."

As his own solution to these economic problems, Randolph and others working through the institute bearing his name propose a "Freedom Budget for All Americans" that can be called nothing short of revolutionary. Drawing upon the mental resources of a formidable group of public figures and scholars, it is designed to show how all could have decent housing, modern health services, an adequate income and full educational opportunity. One of the measures it recommends is that of the negative income which Randolph explains in this way: "It would mean that every individual would receive a basic income, not in the form of welfare, but as a part of the national economic budget. Every attempt would be made to provide him with a job, but even if he were not working, he'd still be assured of an income. The economic logic of this is that the income you give an individual, whether he works for it or not, will be used to purchase

goods and services. As he does this, more goods and services must be produced and, therefore, employment is increased. This leads to a more stable economy, for a truly stable economy can only exist when every individual is involved as a consumer." This was only one of the recommendations that grew out of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Randolph served as honorary chairman of the conference and promised that movement leaders would meet with economists and social scientists for the purpose of drawing up the "Freedom Budget." He followed through on his promise but today admits: "There has been an obvious lack of interest on the part of the government in facing this problem realistically."

Yet Randolph has refused to relinquish his undying belief in the potential of the democratic system as it exists in modern America. Nearly three years ago when he introduced the "Freedom Budget" before an integrated audience at Salem Methodist Church in New York City, he said: "These forces have not come together to demand help for the Negro. Rather, we meet on a common ground of determination that in this, the richest and most productive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty can and must be abolished—not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!" Bridging racial barriers, he asserted: "The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society. The tragedy is that groups only one generation removed from poverty themselves, haunted by the memory of scarcity and fearful of slipping back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder. And the tragedy is that not only the poor, the nearly poor, and the once poor, but all Americans are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance."

The "Freedom Budget" called for a total national expenditure of $185 billion spread out over a ten-year period. This Randolph did not believe to be too high a price, for as he stated that October day in 1966: "The question is not whether we have the means. Before 1975 we will have a $1 trillion economy. The question is whether we have the *will*. Ten years from now, will two-fifths of our nation still live in poverty and deprivation? This is, above all, a moral question. And upon the answer hangs not only the fate of the Negro—weighted down by centuries of exploitation, degradation and malice—but the fate of the nation."

Though he uttered those words nearly three years ago and no answer has come forth from America in the interim, A. Philip Randolph believes to this day that progress is inevitable and the black man will come into his own on this continent. Only chapters of history yet to be inscribed upon the slate of time will reveal whether or not his faith in this country was truly justified.

Old traveler who has trudged throughout U.S. and around world in quest of racial justice, leaves home on still another trip. Says Randolph: "America will *not* be the same following this (current) revolution, and the black man is basically responsible for this change that America will be *forced* to accept. There is nothing that can hold it back, and progress of the Negro is part of it."

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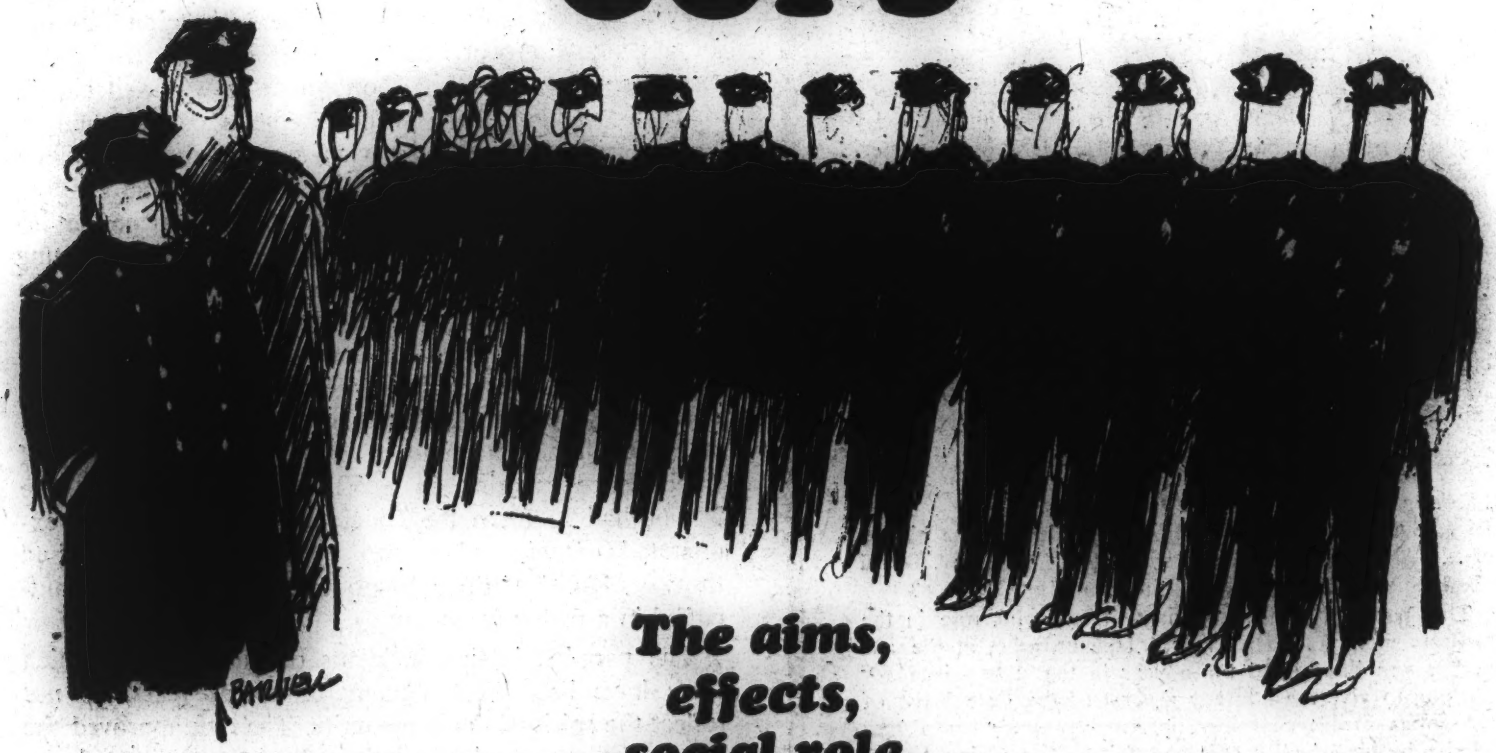

The aims, effects, social role and self-image of America's only fully armed minority. Nine inquiries into the institutions, traditions and practices of the contemporary police force.

The 80th Year of A. Philip Randolph

The Saga Of An Incorruptible Negro Activist

BY ERNEST CALLOWAY

The real human essence of this saga begins on a warm August evening in New York's Harlem during the summer of 1925. On that evening Seventh Avenue was crowded with strollers and the night had much promise. The bright lights of the famous old Lafayette theater at 131st street were drawing large crowds while several Negro "greats" and "near-greats" in show business were gathered around the traditional good luck charm — the "Tree of Hope" near the corner.

It was the "Roaring Twenties" of speakeasies, Calvin Coolidge, bathtub gin, bobbed hair, the Charleston and good-time Mayor Jimmie Walker. And up-town it was the glittering, fun-loving, excitement-packed Harlem of dancer Bill Robinson, the incomparable Florence Mills, Ethel Waters, blues-singer Bessie Smith, Fats Waller, Noble Sissle, Fletcher Henderson, young Duke Ellington, and a young refugee trumpet player from King Oliver's band in Chicago — Louis Armstrong.

It was the literary new renaissance Harlem of Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Rudolph Fisher and Alain Locke. It was the black nationalist "Back to Africa" Harlem of Marcus Garvey, and the *"we can't catch Jack Dempsey"* Harlem of the army of supporters of heavy-weight Harry Wills.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Saga of Hope

But our saga is not of these things on that warm August 25th evening in Harlem in 1925. Far from the excitement of Seventh and Lenox avenues a group of men were meeting in a Harlem recreation hall, and they were pressed with the serious business of organizing a union in the search for a decent living. They worked for the Pullman Company, the largest employer of Negro labor in the U.S. They were Pullman porters and had been suffering under a system of company paternalism and ill-treatment for many years. They were determined in their desire to fight back, and out of this need the

minister willing to put a price tag on the gospel of the "Big Lie." The company compounded these acts of out-right purchase of Negro "spokesmanship" and community subversion by firing every porter suspected of being a leader of the emerging Union.

A. Philip Randolph

The porters countered the Company's reign of terror and subversion by moving outside their ranks to induce a 35-year old radical, socialist and crusading journalist to assume the leadership of the fledgling Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was felt that they must have leadership that could not be reached by the Company either through economic terror or financial subversion.

That measure of supreme confidence was placed in Asa Philip Randolph, socialist, crusader, agitator, union organizer, war resister, and co-editor with Chandler Owen of (according to the Lusk Committee) "the most dangerous of all Negro publications," the Messenger Magazine.

jobs. He was a studious and searching young man, and early he began concerning himself with the plight of the black American. He rejected the extremes of the cringing Uncle Tomism so prevalent among Negro leaders as well as the hollow chest-beating of the early black nationalists. He moved towards socialism a a means of eliminating exploitation and other abuses of capitalism, and early began demanding unconditional social, political and economic equality for the great mass of dispossessed Negroes. In those early days — some 50 years ago — he wrote:

"We do not accept the doctrine of old reactionary Negroes that the Negro is satisfied to be himself. We desire as much contact and intercourse — social, economic and political — as is possible between the races. This is not because of our belief in the inferiority or superiority of either race, but because of our recognition that the principle of social equality is the only sure guarantee of social progress."

The Militant Editor

ering as the black voice of challenge against the old worn-out discriminatory policies of American industry, and in doing so he introduced a new social concept in American industrial life — fair employment. It began in 1941 when defense industries were booming and Negroes remained on the side-lines of low-wage, marginal American industries. At a Madison Square Garden meeting in New York, Randolph proposed a massive *"March on Washington"* to call national attention to the rampant discrimination against Negro workers in fashioning the sinews of war against Hitlerism. The MOW movement gained momentum across America with devastating affect upon official Washington and the White House. Randolph's account of the discussions with White House emmissaries (Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia) and the final White House agreement with President Roosevelt, who wanted the March called off is one of the more interesting foot-notes on race relations during the War years.

Roosevelt agreed upon the stubborn insistence of Randolph that as a price for calling of the March the President would issue Executive Order 8802 barring racial discrimination in all employment in defense industries. The Proclamation was the fore-runner of a new national and state legislative vehicle — fair employment practices.

Jim Crow in Army

In 1947 a new issue and a new U.S. President. The issue was racial discrimination in the armed forces and the President was Harry S. Truman. Unlike Roosevelt, the master of charm, Truman could not conceal his anger with Randolph, but eventually the Pullman porter leader, in his suggestion of possible massive civil disobedience against segregation in the armed forces, got through to the President. He finally issued an executive order prohibiting Jim Crow in the military forces.

In the mid Fifties new young voices began to emerge in the freedom movement, and the most notable of these were out of the south, and the challenging voice of Martin Luther King. Randolph and King were kindred souls but out of different time periods in the black thrust for freedom. Both were masters at exerting mass social pressure at the points of high resistance, and both had the social boldness to tackle the larger problems of a dispossessed race.

300,000 March On Washington

In 1963 Randolph finally got his living, breathing March On Washington. The old warrior, now 75, once again moved out to do battle against the forces of racism and exploitation. And on August 28, 1963 some 300,000 Americans — black and white — gathered at Washington Monument to march to the Lincoln Memorial in support of new civil rights under the slogan of "Jobs And Freedom." In many ways this greatest of all demonstrations of unity was as much a living tribute to the indestructible, incorruptible Phil Randolph as it was a hope for the future. In any way both were one and the same.

Phil Randolph is now in the twilight years of a fruitful, meaningful life. As a consistent fighter for freedom and dignity for the most despised in the American social order, there are many lessons to learn from the life of this magnificent human being. Integrity, awareness, understanding, selflessness, moral stamina are only few of the whole lesson plans from the life of Asa Philip Randolph.

LEGISLATIVE CORNER

Teamster representatives and lobbyists have been conferring with legislators about getting the following

professional driver getting more of a break to retain license after traffic violation in order not to lose his live-

a group of men were meeting in a Harlem recreation hall, and they were pressed with the serious business of organizing a union in the search for a decent living. They worked for the Pullman Company, the largest employer of Negro labor in the U.S. They were Pullman porters and had been suffering under a system of company paternalism and ill-treatment for many years. They were determined in their desire to fight back, and out of this need the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born in that Harlem recreation hall on a warm August evening in 1925.

The powerful Pullman Company, which had served as the rallying point of "open-shoppism" down through the years, at first ignored this effort on the part of a handful of Negro porters. As an employer of Negro labor they felt that it would be easy to divide and conquer the effort. However, when the porters refused to fight among themselves, the Company decided to move in and break up the Union. Their strategy was simple and direct: they used the power of money to buy Negro "leaders" in every major community, every Negro newspaper willing to sell its editorial soul, and every Negro felt that they must have leadership that could not be reached by the Company either through economic terror or financial subversion.

That measure of supreme confidence was placed in Asa Philip Randolph, socialist, crusader, agitator, union organizer, war resister, and co-editor with Chandler Owen of (according to the Lusk Committee) "the most dangerous of all Negro publications," the Messenger Magazine.

And so began the monumental struggle on the part of a group of depressed black workers to achieve a new measure of dignity against one of the most powerful corporate bodies in the United States at the time. And also began the fruitful human journey of the most socially aware and incorruptible black leader in American life.

The Formative Years

A. Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889 at Crescent City, Florida, the son of a minister. As a youth he worked as a grocery clerk, railroad section hand and other odd jobs. When he finished high school in Jacksonville, he wandered northward to New York where he took courses at City College and held a variety of

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The Militant Editor

Randolph married in 1915, and in 1917 when America entered World War I, he and Chandler Owen launched the Messenger Magazine. It was a socialist magazine that militantly agitated against Jim Crowism, war and racial inequality. In 1918 he was arrested in Cleveland by the same federal agent who had arrested socialist leader Eugene Victor Debs, and on the same charge of obstructing the draft. Debs, the prime target of the Department of Justice received ten years in federal prison. Randolph was released after a few days in Cleveland's city jail, and he continued his attack upon the war.

When Randolph assumed leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters it was the beginning of a long, tedious 12-year economic struggle to achieve recognition of the union and the right to bargain collectively with the Company. Nothing came easy to the porters and they had to fight against great odds every single inch of the way. In 1928 the porters' union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and Randolph enlarged the crusade for racial justice in the house of labor.

Conquest of Pullman Power

Randolph and the Pullman Porters gave American labor an object lesson in social tenacity, and it was only the integrity and spiritual idealism of the man that carried them through the obstacle courses, set-backs, defeats, rumor-mongering in the black community and every "legalism" available to the Pullman Company. But in August of 1937 — after 12 full years of struggle — the great Pullman Company finally capitulated and signed its first union agreement with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was a victory of faith and a victory for self-respect.

But Randolph did not stop with the Sleeping Car Porters. He had emerged as the lonely voice in the House of Labor against racial discrimination in U.S. unions. AFL conventions were rare without the deep, articulate voice of Randolph castigating member unions for their Jim Crow practices.

New Industrial Concept

But it took World War II to bring Phil Randolph to full national flow-

ter of charm, Truman could not conceal his anger with Randolph, but eventually the Pullman porter leader, in his suggestion of possible massive

standing, selflessness, moral stamina are only few of the whole lesson plans from the life of Asa Philip Randolph.

LEGISLATIVE CORNER

Teamster representatives and lobbyists have been conferring with legislators about getting the following bills passed. The three House bills have passed the House and are now in the Senate. Action on these bills should be taken up with Senators.

HOUSE BILL NO. 247: There has never been a minimum wage law established in the State of Missouri. This bill will affect some 250,000 people alone if it passes. Section (2) of this bill states, "Except as may be otherwise provided pursuant to this act, every employer shall pay to each of his employees wages at a rate of not less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per hour during the first year after the effective date of this act, one dollar and forty cents per hour during the second year and one dollar and fifty cents per hour thereafter," with the exception of individuals and jobs specifically outlined in the bill.

HOUSE BILL NO. 418: This bill prohibits the employer from firing employees solely upon garnishment of wages, if not served a garnishment more than twice within a twelve month period. To date in the State of Missouri there has been no protection for the employee from this.

SENATE BILL NO. 5: This bill is now in the House. It deals with a professional driver getting more of a break to retain license after traffic violation in order not to lose his livelihood. Section 1, 3. (2) reads in part, "the court shall grant such limited driving privilege as the circumstances of the case shall justify or, at the discretion of the court, that a suspension or revocation would cause an undue hardship to the individual in his particular circumstances . . ."

HOUSE BILL NO. 19: This bill takes up Workmens Compensation. It is now in the Senate. The bill waives the one-week waiting period for workmens compensation after unemployment during which benefits are payable for five consecutive weeks.

Teamster members would especially like to recognize Alderman James E. Geisler who introduced the "No Cash" Beer Sales Bill and carried it on the floor of the Board of Alderman.

For further action and passage on all bills above, please write, call or talk with your Senator to urge the immediate passage.

DRIVE, the political action arm of Teamsters Joint Council 13, has endorsed these bills and encourage all Teamster members to do all they can to make certain they are passed.

688 Bus. Reps. Attend Workshop In Wisconsin

Four Teamster Local 688 Business Representatives attended a 5-day workshop on Job Evaluation and Related Collective Bargaining Problems, including Time and Motion Study at the School for Workers, University Extension, The University of Wisconsin recently.

Attending the Central Conference of Teamsters Industrial Workshop were Local 688 Business Representatives Murray Hines, Otto Sanders, Paul Akers and Kenneth Carroll.

Some 25 Teamster agents from all over the country participated in the workshop. The classes averaged 12 persons per class.

Most of the agents are already servicing industrial shops and have a background in this area, it was reported. Therefore, some of the things they will be faced with in the future relating to this fast changing area were dealt with at the conference.

Writing of Job Descriptions, In-The Field-Training and Job Study were other topics discussed and studied at the workshop.

The Central Conference of Teamsters sponsored the 5-day workshop.

Labor Push

NEW YORK (PAI)—If you wonder about the good old days, columnist Sylvia Porter has come up with some fascinating figures.

In the last 50 years, since 1919, food prices have gone up 68 percent. At the same time average hourly wages—thanks to organized labor—Have risen 542 percent.

THE UNITED Teacher
The United Federation of Teachers • Local 2/American Federation of Teachers • AFL-CIO

Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

—A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

United Press International/courtesy Randolph Institute

Homage to A. Philip Randolph on his 80th birthday

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and International President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

Mr. Randolph, son of a traveling minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889. He attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914, to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined.

In 1917, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded "The Messenger". Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Black journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Black rights, "The Messenger" spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by a Congressional committee as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the ups-and-downs of the depression, was finally won in 1937 when the Brotherhood won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, "The Messenger" became "The Black Worker", official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

With the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became more and more worried about the exclusion of Blacks from jobs in the war industries. On a Southern trip with Milton Webster of the Brotherhood, he conceived the idea of a massive Black march on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Black press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up across the country.

Because of the intense pressures Mr. Randolph inspired, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an Executive Order, in 1941, calling for "fair employment practices" in war industries, thus opening up new jobs to Blacks, who had formerly been limited to porter jobs in the corridors and bathrooms of the factories.

In another national victory a short time later, in 1948, Mr. Randolph squeezed out another Executive Order, this time from President Harry S Truman, which started the end of discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.

His efforts on behalf of the little man, during more than a half century of persuading, pushing, and pressuring, have won for Mr. Randolph the esteem and respect of all who are struggling for themselves and their children.

A. Philip Randolph is a man who does not fit easily into any one category. . . .

Is he a labor leader?

Is he a fighter for civil rights?

Is he a dedicated Socialist?

He is all of these men, and more.

Certainly, Mr. Randolph will not sit still for the old, tired ways.

He defies the bigots.

He rejects the fashionable.

He prods our consciences.

This is the man we salute . . . a man of many parts, any one of which would have sufficed for you or me.

To the Student and to the Teacher:

This supplement was written for use in the classroom.

In this man, who marked his 80th birthday on April 15, 1969, we see reflected the history of our times.

From his words and from his deeds, we can all learn a lot more about ourselves, where we have been, as well as where we have the chance to go, if we so choose.

Order additional copies of this four-page Supplement at 5¢ each (all money goes to the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee) from The United Teacher, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Civil Rights Leader

The words and deeds of A. Philip Randolph show us the unyielding strength of his life-long struggle for full human rights for the Blacks and all the disinherited of the nation.

In his cry for freedom and justice, Mr. Randolph is echoing the fury of all the enslaved. They are fighting for their freedom, with the kind of desperate strength that only deep wounds can call forth.

With none of his words, however, does Mr. Randolph turn aside the help of others.

But these comrades-in-arms must share the vision that has led Mr. Randolph through his long years of search for equal human rights.

From the day of his arrival in Harlem in 1911, Mr. Randolph had been in the thick of the struggle for freedom for Black Americans. The civil rights revolution which began in the 1950's was a result of his efforts and the work of men like himself.

Even when he had become an "elder statesman," his passion for justice remained as youthful and vigorous as ever. He still planned and organized such activities as the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill, the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration and the 1963 March on Washington.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 are all the fruits of the seed he and his co-workers sowed many years before.

A. Philip Randolph has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights.

At the same time, he did not let himself be led astray by the impractical economic promises of a man like Marcus Garvey, who called for a "return to Africa" back in the 1920's.

As a man living in the bread-and-butter world, Mr. Randolph knew that a good weekly pay check had to be won first. Then, after the children were fed; a better fight could be waged for dignity and self-pride.

With this always in mind, Mr. Randolph traveled throughout the nation just before World War II, in 1940 and 1941. His mission was to unite Blacks against the discrimination which shut them out of well-paying jobs in the factories.

Although many whites, and even Blacks, knocked his efforts in the beginning, his message caught fire. All over the United States, committees of Blacks were forming to "March on Washington" in protest.

Influential people tried to turn Mr. Randolph away from his goal, but he remained strong and steadfast.

Finally, recognizing that Mr. Randolph could not be swayed, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an order, six months before Pearl Harbor, in June, 1941, which called for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs. Here was the beginning of "fair employment practices." This, the first "March on Washington," never had to be held. The most powerful leader in the world, the President of the United States, had yielded to the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

From this start have come all of the many laws trying to guarantee a fair and equal chance to all Blacks looking for jobs.

About seven years later, in July of 1948, Mr. Randolph again moved to fight discrimination. This time, it was against segregation and Jim Crow in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Once more, the power of his persuasion and the justice of his complaints swayed another President of the United States, Harry S Truman. President Truman signed an order commanding that there would be an end to this kind of discrimination not only in the armed forces, but also in federal civil service jobs.

In 1963, another high point in Mr. Randolph's struggle for equality for oppressed people was reached when he headed the famous "March on Washington," in which more than 250,000 Americans joined together under the slogan of "Jobs and Freedom."

Still relentlessly pressing for full economic freedom, Mr. Randolph then presented, in 1966, the Freedom Budget to the nation. This called for the spending of $185 billion over ten years by the U.S. government to fight against poverty.

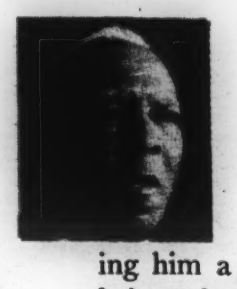
United Press International Photo

On August 28, 1963, A. Philip Randolph led 250,000 people in a "March on Washington" for jobs and freedom. Here, he is shown before the Lincoln Memorial.

United Press International/courtesy Randolph Institute

Shortly before the opening of the 1948 Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, pickets, led by A. Philip Randolph (left), appeared outside the convention hall, demanding equal rights for Blacks and an end to Jim Crow in the armed services.

Labor Leader



"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor." So spoke A. Philip Randolph from the convention floor of the AFL-CIO. And so believed A. Philip Randolph all his life long.

It was this belief that sustained his spirit through the long, long, bitter years when he was the voice crying in the wilderness.

It was this belief that enabled him to go on with the uphill fight for racial equality and opportunity for all Americans.

The story of Randolph the labor leader is the story of many beginnings, a tale of many defeats and many victories. Even in defeat he sowed the seed that afterwards blossomed and bore fruit—for Black workers and white workers alike.

By the early 1920's, Mr. Randolph could look back upon "a career of glorious failures," as one writer put it. He had run for Assembly twice and Comptroller once and lost each time.

As far as organizing Blacks went, he had been at it from his first days in Harlem, but had little to show for his efforts.

He began to come into his own when a group of Pullman porters came to him for help. The porters wanted the right to bargain for better wages and improvements in working conditions. They wanted a chance to run their own affairs.

After a number of secret meetings, the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was announced at Elks Hall, on August 25, 1925.

But it was going to be a long and tough fight to get the powerful Pullman Company to sit down and bargain with the workers. It took all of 12 years.

The odds against the newly-born union were huge. The company used all of its strength in attacking Mr. Randolph, calling him a Bolshevik and accusing him of being a hustler out for a fast buck. Pullman fired union members. It tried to put fear into the men by threatening them with tougher assignments, fewer assignments, or no work at all.

The law also failed the Brotherhood. Mediation failed, so did arbitration. And when the men prepared for a strike as a last resort, the company recruited strikebreakers and private police.

At the last moment, the strike was called off. The leadership of the union decided that the Brotherhood was simply not strong enough to win at that time.

Now began the struggle to keep the organization together—without funds, without much support from the outside, and in the midst of a depression.

Mr. Randolph would travel to Chicago on Brotherhood business and have only a one-way train ticket in his pocket. But somehow he survived and his message with him.

Wherever he went, Mr. Randolph had one important sermon for the porters. They were Black men who were being called upon to prove that "Black men are able to measure up." And the men never forgot that message and in the end it won for them.

By 1935, not only had the Brotherhood survived, but it had won an election supervised by the National Mediation Board. The same year, the American Federation of Labor reversed its previous position and voted to grant an international charter to the Brotherhood. It took two more years of negotiations but finally the Pullman Company signed a contract.

This was more than a victory for better wages and working conditions. As one scholar wrote: "A small band of brothers —Black—had stood together and won against a corporation that had said it would never sit down and negotiate with porters."

In 1936, A. Philip Randolph was drafted for presidency of a new organization called the National Negro Congress. The NNC was made up of a number of groups which planned to build a Black mass movement by working with and through trade unions.

Although the NNC was successful in a number of organizing drives led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), when Mr. Randolph realized it had come under Communist control, he quit. He was attacked by the Communists as a traitor because he refused to support a stand against aid to the enemies of Hitler at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact. But when the Germans turned around and invaded Russia, he was again attacked by the Communists, this time for refusing to help the war effort on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Throughout the hard years of struggle to obtain dignity and decent treatment for porters, Mr. Randolph never forgot that there were other workers who also needed help.

As one observer wrote: "He became a familiar and lonely figure on the floor of AFL-CIO conventions," in his role as champion of the underdog.

He was to be the conscience of organized labor in seeking to get the trade union movement to set its own house in order and to remove the last remnants of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO.

He spoke up strongly and without fear or favor about the need to right the wrongs of segregation and discrimination inflicted upon Black Americans. He called for all organized labor to join in the Black man's struggle for freedom and in that way "rise to its full moral stature."

He spoke for all other dispossessed, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites alike.

He helped to draft "the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO." This resolution put organized labor in "a front line role in the civil rights revolution."

A. Philip Randolph's chosen home is the labor movement—which he believes is the real home of all working men. Since 1955 he has been a member of the AFL-CIO's Executive Board, and in 1959 he helped to found the Negro American Labor Council.

The NALC's job is to present Black workers' demands to the labor movement and to do what Mr. Randolph has always tried to do—keep the Black people and organized labor together and working for common goals. This is far from an easy task because unions are part of society—which is still racist—and men tend to cling to their prejudices.

A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, is also a dreamer of dreams. He has tried to put flesh and bones on his dreams by working for a labor movement that would be free of all prejudice and which would play a key role in changing society for the better.

It is that dream that has made A. Philip Randolph one of the giants of the American labor movement.

Photos by Brown Brothers

Leading a labor parade in Harlem in the 1920's was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Notice the old trolley tracks.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founded in 1925, stuck together despite tremendous pressures against the union. Above, their banner is proudly displayed at a meeting in the 1930's.

Socialist

At the heart of A. Philip Randolph's vision as a socialist is his belief that a decent and well-paying job is the first step towards social and political freedom.

Therefore, while he supported the needs of Blacks as Blacks, Mr. Randolph also maintained that those who are poor, or earn little money—whether they are Black or white—have basic interests in common, and that they should join together.

As a socialist, Mr. Randolph believes that workers and their labor unions are the key forces in any political effort to redistribute society's wealth more justly. Mr. Randolph has continuously advised Black people to develop political alliances with other groups—labor, liberal and civil rights groups—to fight for common aims.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned those principles that have given his outlook qualities of depth and honor. He is a firm believer in both integration and nonviolence.

As an integrationist he opposed the "Back-to-Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's, as he has opposed the separatist beliefs of the "Black Power" advocates of today. At the same time, Mr. Randolph has rejected violence as a tactic of struggle, on both moral and practical grounds.

A. Philip Randolph has not seen the problem of Black people in America as the problem of one isolated group. He views the condition of American Blacks as the symptom of a larger social illness, an illness which is caused by an unfair distribution of power, wealth, and resources.

For the socialist ideals on which his political wisdom is built, Mr. Randolph looked to the giants of American socialism —Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas.

The agent for spreading Mr. Randolph's socialism was a magazine called the *Messenger,* founded in 1917, "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by Negroes." He co-edited the magazine with Chandler Owen, a fellow socialist who came to be Mr. Randolph's closest friend. Though both men were well aware that many unions and many socialists discriminated, they continued in their conviction that only through the organization of the workers into unions could society be changed.

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen outlined the purpose of their socialist publication in an early editorial, saying:

"The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognize no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a Black man . . . they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits.

"The combination of Black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, Black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will prove that unions are not based upon race lines, but upon class lines. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class conscious, intelligent, militant group."

Though Mr. Randolph was an integrationist, he believed that organizations which had come into existence to wage the Black and working class struggle ought to be headed by the leaders from those groups. He disagreed with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader W. E. B. DuBois' claim that a "talented tenth" of the race would pave the way for its entry into society.

The gap between Mr. Randolph and Mr. DuBois widened when, during World War I, Mr. DuBois called on Blacks to "close ranks," put aside their grievances, and support the war. Mr. Randolph was definitely opposed to the war. He believed that the American idea of "making the world safe for democracy" was outright falsity and "a tremendous offense to the intelligence of the Blacks because at that time the Blacks were being lynched and denied the right to vote, in the South, especially, and were the victims of segregation and discrimination all over the nation."

The *Messenger* repeatedly stressed the anti-war stand of its editors and, as a result, the U.S. Justice Department kept a close watch on Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen. Finally, they were jailed in Cleveland on charges of treason. They managed to get out under the custody of Seymour Stedman, a socialist lawyer, and they promptly continued their public protest against the war. World War I ended just one day before Mr. Randolph was scheduled to leave for war himself as a new draftee.

As a socialist associated with radical, left-wing causes, Mr. Randolph was subject to pressures from other radical groups, including the Communists. When a split struck the Socialist Party in 1919, over the question of whether or not to support the Bolsheviks in their leadership of the Russian Revolution, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen stayed with the non-Communist faction of the party.

When the Communists began to concern themselves with the issue of Blacks in the labor movement, Mr. Randolph had already begun his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Communists were so jealous of Mr. Randolph's effort, they took pains to prevent mentioning him in their publications.

A. Philip Randolph's position, whether an attitude toward labor unions, an anti-war stand, or a political position with an aim of economic change, has consistently reflected his socialist ideas. He has always believed in a movement based on the workers as the main force, and has always been committed to the idea that a democratic redistribution of wealth is the first step toward greater freedom for all people—Black as well as white.

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United Press International Photo

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EDITOR

JUSTICE, OFFICIAL PUBLICATION
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
1710 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y., COLUMBUS 5-7000

Launch Drive for $2 U. S. Minimum Wage

Pres. Louis Stulberg conferred with top labor leaders in Washington, D.C. on May 5 as the AFL-CIO launched an "intensive effort" to get a $2 an hour minimum wage.

With the labor leaders at the announcement of the drive were Senator Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) and Representative John H. Dent (D-Pa.), who sponsored legislation which would raise the minimum wage to $2 an hour for most workers immediately and by February 1, 1972 for those workers who first came under protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1966. Also, it would extend such coverage to an additional 13 million workers.

Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, hailed the proposed legislation and promised labor's full support in the fight to get it passed. "A decent job at a decent wage level is the answer to poverty and that we intend to achieve in America," he said.

Williams said he expected to face the same arguments that every wage-hour bill has faced since 1938, but added "we know we're on solid ground." Dent said that the only way to make employment an attractive alternative to welfare is to raise the minimum wage.

Oher proposed amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act offered by Williams and Dent would:

Eliminate the present $1.30 cutoff for farm workers so that they also will progress to the $2 level.

—Extend coverage to employes of small retail and service establishments, domestic workers and all public employes. These

—Bring all workers under the overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

—Close the loopholes which denied full hours or wage coverage to agricultural processing workers, seasonal recreation establishment employes, logging workers, taxi drivers, rail, pipeline and air carrier employes, transit workers and numerous other groups of workers.

—Tighten child labor provisions and raise the minimum age for hazardous farm work to 18.

—Repeal the provision which permits tips to be offset against the minimum wage.

—Allow the Secretary of Labor, as well as aggrieved employes, to bring suit to collect unpaid minimum wages or overtime compensation.

Also attending the meeting were Evelyn Dubrow, ILGWU legislative representative; Jacob S. Potofsky, president, and Esther Peterson, legislative director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; William Pollack, president of the Textile Workers Union of America; Robert L. Diefenbach, secretary-treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees; I.W. Abel, Steelworkers' president.

PAY RAISERS: Among participants at session in Washington last week for launching of AFL-CIO drive for $2 an hour minimum wage were, from left, Pres. Louis Stulberg, Congressman John H. Dent (D-Pa.), ILGWU Legislative Representative Evelyn Dubrow, Senator Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) and Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director.

RANDOLPH TRIBUTE: Labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph (center), founder and, until last year, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, receives a book of letters from Amer-

WASHINGTON LETTER

Increased Capital Export Threat to American Jobs

WASHINGTON (PAI)—The export of American capital—something that labor has long insisted must be kept under control in the interest of American jobs—will double this year as compared with last year.

Preliminary estimates of U.S. companies indicate that direct investment abroad will increase from $1.5 billion in 1968 to more than $3 billion this year, according to the Department of Commerce. The 1968 figures are based

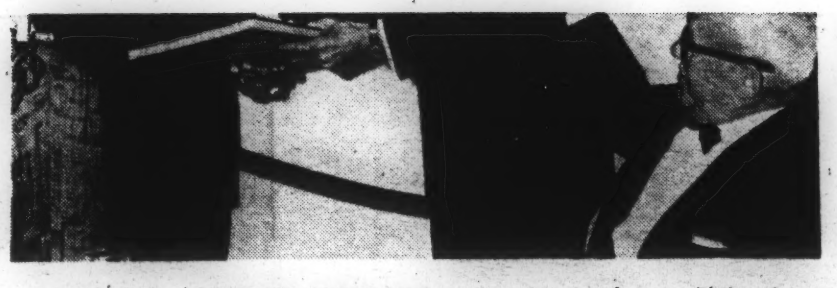
wage.

Oher proposed amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act offered by Williams and Dent would:

Eliminate the present $1.30 cutoff for farm workers so that they also will progress to the $2 level.

—Extend coverage to employes of small retail and service establishments, domestic workers and all public employes. These newly-covered workers would start with a wage guarantee of $1.45 an hour as of February 1, 1970, move up to $1.60 one year later, and reach $2 on February 1, 1972.

—Raise the minimum wage for workers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands by a sum equal to the increase for mainland workers, and eliminate review committees for presently covered workers.



RANDOLPH TRIBUTE: Labor and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph (center), founder and, until last year, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, receives a book of letters from American and World leaders at a dinner marking his 80th birthday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Making the presentation is Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, while AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany adds a congratulatory pat.

Leaders of Labor, Rights Honor Randolph on 80th

Leaders of the trade union and civil rights movements turned out 1,500 strong last week to give A. Philip Randolph an 80th birthday present—rededication to his goals and determination to carry on the work to which he has dedicated his life.

The entire scope of the labor movement was represented, along with the religious faiths, Negro organizations, government leaders and many others. They crowded the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to pay tribute to Randolph and add to the coffers of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund to finance

(Continued on Page 11)

New York City AFL-CIO Backs Wagner in Primary

For the first time in its 100-year history, the New York Central Labor Council last week made its first endorsement in a primary election contest, and overwhelmingly voted to back former Mayor Robert F. Wagner in the June 17 Democratic mayoralty race.

The labor body's action was announced May 16 by Pres. Harry Van Arasdale, who said that 400 delegates attending the session the night before had approved "overwhelmingly" a decision of the council's executive committee to support Wagner for the Democratic nomination.

Van Arsdale pledged an intensive campaign in support of Wagner's bid. He said the Central Labor Council, representing some 1.2 million unionists, would do "whatever is necessary to get our story across."

Wagner, who served three terms from 1953 to 1965, welcomed the endorsement. He called it "a significant step in my campaign to become mayor again and a vote of confidence in my ability to bring the city together again in the very critical area of labor relations."

A strong emphasis in Wagner's campaign is the relative labor peace which prevailed in New York City during his term and the subsequent breakdown in labor relations in the past four years under Mayor Lindsay.

JUSTICE

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AFL-CIO Backs Nixon On 'Safeguard' ABM

While it does not intend to take active part in debate over the Nixon proposals for the "Safeguard" anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system, the AFL-CIO will support whatever plan finally is determined by the President in conjunction with Congress, scientists and military experts.

The Executive Council, at its meeting in Washington last week, expressed the view that the Nixon ABM policy of defense of the country's cities "embodies a sound doctrine of national defense for our country." It called attention to its own support of the general goal of a strong national defense while also underscoring the "urgency of acting to meet the pressing social and economic problems facing the country."

Increased Capital Export Threat to American Jobs

WASHINGTON (PAI)—The export of American capital—something that labor has long insisted must be kept under control in the interest of American jobs—will double this year as compared with last year.

Preliminary estimates of U.S. companies indicate that direct investment abroad will increase from $1.5 billion in 1968 to more than $3 billion this year, according to the Department of Commerce. The 1969 figures are based on a survey of major companies which accounted for almost 90 percent of investment in recent years.

Last year's direct private investment abroad dropped sharply as a result of restrictive regulations imposed by the Johnson Administration. These restrictions have been modified by the Nixon Administration which has set a target ceiling of $3.35 billion, a figure that is now expected to be reached by year's end.

Publication of the Commerce Department survey has sharply highlighted testimony by the AFL-CIO before the House Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy on May 1. This was critical of the Nixon Administration's weakening of the regulation on foreign investment and a concurrent resolution before Congress which would drop regulation entirely.

AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller, accompanied by Nathaniel Goldfinger, the federation's research director, told the subcommittee that "the American people, as a whole, and their well-being, deserve top-priority consideration — not merely private investors in foreign countries."

Controls Needed

"The export of U.S. capital and its effect on international trade should be thoroughly investigated and appropriate supervision and necessary controls should be instituted by government authorities," Biemiller said, citing a statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

"Until the balance of payments problem improves, there should be direct restrictions on U.S. investment in developed countries."

Biemiller noted that foreign direct investment of U.S. business has soared from $11.8 billion in 1950 to $64 billion in 1968, partly by direct investment and partly by profits reinvested abroad. Direct U.S. private investment went from $621 million in 1950 to $3.6 billion in 1966 and then dropped in 1968 due to government regulations.

Biemiller said that the AFL-CIO regarded the action of the Nixon Administration in weakening these regulations as "misguided" and that to drop the regulations altogether would have even worse results.

He said that not only were American jobs being exported, but that American technology was being exported, enabling U.S. advanced technology to be used in cheap labor countries with highly adverse effects on jobs and competition in America.

He pointed to the spreading practice of multi-national corporations of manufacturing parts in cheap-labor countries and then incorporating those parts in highly-priced products in the American and other markets.

"Carrying multi-nationalism to its logical extreme," Biemiller warned, "a corporation will concentrate its production in the area where the costs are lowest and build up its sales where the market is most lucrative."

CUTTERS COLUMN

Zimmerman Enlists Dress Aid For Cutters' War on Cut-Ups

Last year, more than $70,000 in liquidated damages was paid by firms for sending work to "cut-up" contractors, Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board, told members of Local 10's executive board at their meeting on April 24. His presence at the meeting was prompted by an invitation extended to him by Local 10 Manager Abe Dolgen, as part of an effort to broaden cooperation between the cutters and other segments of the union.

The dress union leader declared that cut-up shops, which only cut piece goods and perform no sewing or other operations, are non-union shops, and that dealing with them is a violation of the union contract. He noted that union employers, found dealing with cut-up shops, were not merely required to cease and desist from this practice, but were advised to seek help from Local 10 in obtaining additional cutting facilities if this was needed.

Touching on some of the problems confronting the union, Zimmerman mentioned changes in styling resulting from the growth of suburban living, with more emphasis on sportswear rather than dresses, and also the high overhead costs of doing business in the city.

He praised the officers of Local 10 for their "excellent cooperation" with the Dress Joint Board and he particularly welcomed

LOCAL 10 MEMBERS

REGULAR MEETING

Monday, May 26

Right After Work

MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street and 8th Avenue

turn, thanked his guest for his interesting and spirited remarks.

English Classes

Responding to the need of its growing number of Spanish-speaking members, Local 10, on May 5, inaugurated a class to assist them in improving their use and understanding of English. About 30 members came to the opening session after working hours, evidencing their keen interest in the class which met at the ILGWU General Office building in the second floor studio fully equipped with school-type chair-tables and blackboard. Miss

Adolph Held

Adolph Held Dead; ILG Health Official

Adolph Held, a leading light in labor and humanitarian causes in the U.S. and abroad for more than six decades, died at the Workmen's Circle home in New York on May 14. He would have been 84 on May 16.

Throughout these many years, his activity-packed life was shared with virtually every meaningful organization and cause dedicated to human betterment—including the ILGWU, with which he served as first director of its Welfare and Health Benefits Department from its inception in 1945 until his return to the Jewish Daily Forward as general manager in 1962.

Though Held was associated with countless causes during his lifetime, it was the Forward—a labor daily newspaper—which always had "first call" on his allegiance and energies. Graduating from City College of New York in 1906, Held two years later was "tapped" by famed Forward Editor Abraham Cahan to become the paper's city editor; from 1912 to 1917 he served as the publication's general manager—a post to which he returned in 1962 and remained until his retirement at the end of 1967.

From 1917 to 1919, Held was a Socialist member of the New York City Board of Aldermen. Shortly after, he became European director of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) with headquarters in Warsaw, to aid victims of the war. It is estimated that in the 1920s he helped some 300,000 persons from East Europe immigrate to America.

Among the many leading positions Held occupied through the decades was president of the Amalgamated Bank from 1926 to 1945; a founder and presi-

Show Lowering of Tariffs Won't Benefit Consumers

ILGWU Research Director Lazare Teper and Howard D. Samuel, a vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, issued a joint statement refuting a department store executive's claim that removal of tariff restrictions on imported garments would benefit consumers.

Teper and Samuel issued their statement in response to a speech by Charles Y. Lazarus, an executive of Federated Department Stores and head of the American Retail Federation, who said that consumers would necessarily benefit from price reductions if there were to be a complete elimination of tariffs. In seeking to support his contention, Lazarus compared the prices of several imported items with their domestic equivalents.

The union spokesman noted that when some customs duties

as being unavailable or having limited availability in the United States are, in fact, produced by many domestic firms in abundant quantity. This fact, they contend, further increases "the credibility gap created by Mr. Lazarus."

The Teper-Samuel statement was inserted into the Congressional Record by Representative John Dent (D.-Pa.), who called it a "document well worth reading by any student of our apparel trade policies."

"Are imports really helping the consumers or do some retail

Touching on some of the problems confronting the union, Zimmerman mentioned changes in styling resulting from the growth of suburban living, with more emphasis on sportswear rather than dresses, and also the high overhead costs of doing business in the city.

He praised the officers of Local 10 for their "excellent cooperation" with the Dress Joint Board and he particularly welcomed "the approach spirit and attitude" of Manager Dolgen. The latter in

Randolph

(Continued from Page 2)

voter education and registration projects in black communities.

Reject Violence

And at the conclusion they heard Randolph eloquently outline these principles:

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of non-violence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration."

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, reviewing Randolph's accomplishments and the gains in the trade union movement in the battle against discrimination, declared there is "no room for complacency."

Randolph, he pointed out, in founding the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in face of all-out opposition of the Pullman Co. laid down the basic principle that black workers must be organized and become part of organized labor.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, following the AFL-CIO president, noted that Meany has worked closely with Randolph and has worked effectively in the civil rights movement and that the AFL-CIO has been the bulwark of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, served as toastmaster.

growing number of Spanish-speaking members, Local 10, on May 5, inaugurated a class to assist them in improving their use and understanding of English. About 30 members came to the opening session after working hours, evidencing their keen interest in the class which met at the ILGWU General Office building in the second floor studio fully equipped with school-type chair-tables and blackboard. Miss Phyllis Gold, who teaches in the public schools, is the teacher. Present as an observer was Jose Diaz of Puerto Rico, an exchange teacher who majored in English.

Before the class got under way, Manager Dolgen, in his brief remarks, emphasized the importance of language as a means of communication in the shop, and noted that inadequate language comprehension impeded the process of being upgraded in the trade.

He said it was never too late to learn, and told the members present not to be embarrassed for, if they did not know English well, he did not know Spanish—and wished he did! He concluded by saying that additional classes would be set up if required.

Business Agent Marvin Glick, who in charge of arrangements for the class, was also present, as well as Miguel Ramos, who was recently designated a member of the local's executive board.

The class will meet on Mondays and Thursdays from 6:45 P.M. to 7:45 P.M. This service is open to all members.

ecutive of Federated Department Stores and head of the American Retail Federation, who said that consumers would necessarily benefit from price reductions if there were to be a complete elimination of tariffs. In seeking to support his contention, Lazarus compared the prices of several imported items with their domestic equivalents.

The union spokesman noted that when some customs duties were lowered in 1968, and when the British pound was devalued, making it cheaper to import goods from that country, "no evidence exists that the consumers were offered better buys on such imports in the retail stores —prices were not cut back by the retailers."

The ones who really profit on lower import prices, they stated, are the retailers, whose markup on both domestic and imported goods has been steadily increasing.

They also termed the descriptions of items used by Lazarus for comparison "ambiguous and incomplete" and said that "the indefiniteness of merchandise descriptions throws into question the validity of the comparisons made." They said that the descriptions used by Lazarus failed to include style or quality or any of the other factors which affect its price.

Produced in U.S.

They also note that some of the items described by Lazarus

quantity. This fact, they contend, further increases "the credibility gap created by Mr. Lazarus."

The Teper-Samuel statement was inserted into the Congressional Record by Representative John Dent (D.-Pa.), who called it a "document well worth reading by any student of our apparel trade policies."

"Are imports really helping the consumers or do some retail stores merely want cheap imports to sell to consumers at high prices?" the Congressman asked. "The only ones who really benefit from imports," he said, "are the importers and the profiteering groups that bring products into this country, or produce them overseas and then sell them to this country at cut-rate prices."

Dent added that because the garment industry provides a major source of employment to Americans in the low-income bracket, it was especially important to protect the industry against the imports, often manufactured under sweatshop conditions, which threaten the livelihood of American workers.

"Imported apparel is much too frequently a product of substandard wages and exploitation of home workers," Dent said. He noted that there were many factors to be considered concerning imports, not merely their sometimes lower prices but also the interrelated welfare of Americans, "consumers and producers alike."

Shortly after, he became European director of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) with headquarters in Warsaw, to aid victims of the war. It is estimated that in the 1920s he helped some 300,000 persons from East Europe immigrate to America.

Among the many leading positions Held occupied through the decades was president of the Amalgamated Bank from 1926 to 1945; a founder and president of the Jewish Labor Committee for some 30 years; a leader of the Committee on Material Claims, which negotiated reparations from Germany for victims of Nazism after World War II; president of the Golden Ring Council of Senior Citizens, which has been seeking social security improvements, and was especially active in the fight for medicare. Other groups that claimed his devotion were ORT and the Joint Distribution Committee.

Hundreds of his colleagues and friends came to pay their last respects at services held in Roosevelt Auditorium on May 16. Conducting the services was Daniel Ifshin, who succeeded Held as Forward general manager in 1968.

Eulogizers included ILGWU Vice Pres. Henoch Mendelsund, general manager of the Cloak Joint Board, who represented Pres. Stulberg.

Among the many messages received was one from AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
in cooperation with
CITY CENTER for MUSIC and DRAMA
Presents
2 SHOWS
FOR ILGWU RETIRED MEMBERS
ON THE PROGRAM:
NEW YORK CITY OPERA
NEW YORK CITY BALLET
MUSIC THEATRE of LINCOLN CENTER

NEW YORK STATE THEATER
Lincoln Center Plaza
Columbus Ave. at 63rd St., N. Y. C.
1st SHOW:
TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1969—1 P. M.
FOR RETIREES OF ALL DRESSMAKERS LOCALS
SPEAKER: LOUIS STULBERG, President, ILGWU
2nd SHOW:
THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1969—1 P. M.
FOR RETIREES OF ALL CLOAKMAKERS AND MISCELLANEOUS LOCALS
SPEAKER: DAVID DUBINSKY, Admin., ILGWU Retiree Service Dept.

Doors open 12:15; close 1 P.M. All seats reserved. Special rates for ILGWU retirees — 25c to 75c (regular prices $2 to $6). Tickets must be purchased in advance at ILGWU locals and joint board.

Mourn Northeast Staffer Maloney

Hugh S. Maloney, Northeast Department health and welfare supervisor, died suddenly on April 21. He was 58.

Maloney had been a staffer for 27 years, with a brief interval in the Army during World War II. A graduate of Wayne State University in Detroit, he joined the Cotton Trades Department in 1942. He later served as Scranton District assistant manager and Hazleton District manager.

Maloney is survived by his wife, Anne, a nurse in the ILGWU Wilkes Barre Health Center, two daughters, a sister and three grandchildren.

Supreme Court and Welfare Laws

In outlawing residence requirements for welfare recipients, the Supreme Court probably did more for lawyers than for the poor. The majority opinion, written by Justice Brennan, sets forth constitutional theories that civil rights organizations will be eager to exploit. Chief Justice Warren remarks in his dissent: "The court's decision reveals only the top of the iceberg. Lurking beneath are the multitude of situations in which States have imposed residence requirements including eligibility to vote, to engage in certain professions or occupations or to attend a State-supported university. Although the court takes pains to avoid acknowledging the ramifications of its decision, its implications cannot be ignored."

The immediate impact of the decision on welfare laws is hard to estimate. Even the parties who challenged the residency requirements admitted that they had little effect on decisions by the poor to migrate from one State to another. Unless the decision results in an unexpected change in the rate of migration from low-welfare to high-welfare States, the court's action should not itself significantly increase the momentum toward Federalization of the welfare laws. The fundamental welfare problems have not been touched by the court's decision.

It is clear from Justice Brennan's opinion that the majority deliberately sidestepped the basic issues. The first of these is whether subsistence allowances for the poor are a matter of constitutional right. If they are, does the right run against the Federal government or the States, or both? Will the courts supervise the legislatures in determining the amount allotted to welfare assistance? What remedies can the courts invoke against defaulting legislatures?

Instead of facing at least some of these issues, the majority of the court rested its decision on two grounds. All citizens have the right to travel freely throughout the country; residence requirements deter the poor from traveling from one State to another; and there is no compelling State interest—certainly not protection of the public purse—to justify this deterrence. Secondly, the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbids States to engage in invidious discrimination among their residents. No reasonable argument—budgetary planning, sincerity of residence, prevention of fraud, or encouragement of early entry into the labor force—justifies a State in giving assistance only to the poor who are long-term residents.

Limited as the majority's decision is, it marks a welcome step in recognition of the constitutional rights of the poor. No genuine progress in the solution of our enormous poverty problems can be made until economic assistance to the poor is recognized for what it is: a debt of the nation. Feeding, clothing, housing, healing and educating the poor is not a charity. In addition to our obligation of alleviating human misery, we must recognize that the entire nation suffers from the poverty of many of our fellow citizens. What we give to the poor, we give not only to them but to ourselves.

In the cases that will be coming before the Supreme Court in the next few years, the justices should affirm fearlessly that the right to live decently is even more fundamental than the right to travel.

To A. Philip Randolph

"He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change, and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason." To how many American leaders of advanced age could this tribute be unequivocally given? The person is, of course, A. Philip Randolph, who celebrated his 80th birthday April 15. The tribute was voiced by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. We associate ourselves enthusiastically with Mr. Rustin's sentiments and expression.

A. Philip Randolph has been repeatedly hailed as "the foremost Negro labor leader in history" or even "the greatest leader of his race since Frederick Douglass." At a moment when eulogies are in order, no one will begrudge such praise. But even in more prosaic times, no one will cavil at such expressions as being preposterous. For Mr. Randolph's singleness of purpose, his effectiveness combined with dignity, his patient yet unswerving persistence over so many decades will be hard to match. Other leaders may have been more flamboyant, rhetorical, fervid; Mr. Randolph's way has often been quieter, though always one of courage and undeviating, uncompromising purpose.

To separatists of an earlier generation he stalwartly replied: "The United States is our home. Our children

are here. We have no other country. We have no other home. If there are wrongs in America, Negroes as Americans must help work and fight to correct them. Let us not lose heart and run away from problems, but gird to solve them." No one could accuse him of Uncle Tom-ism as he stood up to Presidents of the United States and captains of industry for the rights of those Americans who happened to be black.

We were happy to read Bayard Rustin's tribute in the April 14 issue of *The Nation* and the challenge posed to Mr. Randolph's followers "to build, through means that are democratic and nonviolent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other." We were proud, too, to note in our own April 16, 1949, issue, among the list of distinguished Americans who became our first "America Associates" the name of A. Philip Randolph. We wish him many more years of service to the most important cause in American life.

Voluntarism and the Urban Crisis

In his April 14 message to Congress on domestic legislation, President Nixon decried promises unfulfilled and hopes falsely raised. The American people, he said, have seen "too much substitution of the easy slogan for the hard performance."

A generalization of that kind, simply because it is so sweeping, is bound to contain a measure of truth. Even political partisans can admit that much. What is important now, however, as the Administration readies its domestic programs, is not regret for past errors but a resolve to avoid repeating them. To elected officials, sloganizing is an occupational hazard. Nothing comes more naturally to them than presenting programs as neceessary, attractive and rich in future benefits. After all, nobody sponsors dull measures that hold out as much chance of failure as of success.

In view of the contrast being drawn between bumbling Federal bureaucracy and efficient private enterprise, this seems an appropriate time to sound a warning. With immediate reference to the urban crisis, which includes racial and poverty problems and a lot more besides, the popular word now is "voluntarism." People are being led to think that things will improve much more rapidly if private groups—corporations, unions, church agencies, foundations—take over much of Washington's role in the urban crusade. Sometimes the idea is expanded to include local governments, which, presumably, are free from the bureaucratic rigidities that handicap Federal agencies.

Before going overboard on this proposition, one should remember that voluntarism is not something new in the United States. In fact, until the New Deal, the organized relief of poverty and distress was exclusively the function of local governments and private agencies. Federal tax laws encourage philanthropy. Even in the present emergency, the Johnson Administration tried from the start to involve private groups and local agencies in the poverty war. Whether the specific goal was education, housing or job training, private groups, including churches as well as businesses and labor unions, were not merely invited to participate but in many cases were recompensed for doing so. Conceptually, the war on poverty was a co-operative venture, and there has never been anything in the law authorizing it that prevented private groups from doing all that their civic spirit inspired them to undertake. But just as the government needs them, so they need the government.

That was the tenor of Msgr. Aloysius J. Welsh's remarks when he reported recently on the work of the Bishops' Task Force on Urban Problems. As executive secretary of the fledging agency, he was openly apprehensive about the Nixon Administration's emphasis on voluntary groups. To reporters he expressed the hope that this did not imply "less involvement by the government, but rather a more specific commitment in partnership with voluntary groups, such as church-related organizations."

Making much the same point, John D. Harper, President of the Aluminum Company of America, no doubt spoke for all voluntary groups when he told a business audience several months ago: "The task before us is staggering in its size and in its implications. It is too big for business. It is too big for government. It is not too big, however, for business and government working together with other segments of our society in a common effort, with a common purpose and with common programs."

Voluntarism is an appealing concept, a sound concept, and it has been tested by experience. To permit it to become a slogan, with overtones of sudden and marvelous results, would be a disaster. The plain fact is that unless the Federal government continues to use its vast resources to help the cities, the urban crisis will never be resolved. To imply anything else is to risk more promises unfulfilled, more hopes falsely raised.

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ARCHITECTS' RENEWAL COMMITTEE in HARLEM, INC.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PROPOSAL FOR
RANDOLPH'S SQUARE NEIGHBORHOOD PARK

APPLICATION FOR TITLE VII DEMONSTRATION GRANT

BINDER NUMBER 5

MAY 30, 1970

1. Background of Proposal

A.R.C.H. investigated the recreational and open space needs in Central Harlem in the summer of 1968. The preliminary survey indicated a dire need for open spaces. At present only 49.0 acres or 9.4% of the land is used as park land. The need for housing and other basic survival facilities have resulted in a neglect of open space needs by municipal, state and federal agencies. The survey revealed six possibilities for major neighborhood parks in Central Harlem as an initial step in an effort to address the problems in the area. We have chosen Randolph's Square as the first demonstration area because of its location, potential for development, and because 116th Street is the second most active street in Harlem and would therefore serve a maximum number of people.

In a highly congested area, such as Harlem, the critical missing element is vacant land. How to find the land without jeopardizing other much needed facilities is the crucial problem. We looked to the streets for the solution. Approximately 41.9% of the land in Central Harlem is used for streets. A more reasonable percentage in good planning terms would be 20-30%. If we reduce the number of streets to 30% of the land, we would gain 11.9% of the land area, or 106 acres of land for open space uses.

All age groups suffer from the lack of open spaces in Central Harlem. Young children ranging from ages 3-5 seldom go to a park. There are few neighborhood

parks or play spaces in the center of Harlem except for the streets and sidewalks, and parents are afraid to send their small children out of doors. Children usually make generous use of doorways and stoops of buildings. Doorways and stoops pose a serious danger however for young children because they are exposed to drugs and deviant behavior at a very early and vulnerable age. School age children, ages 6-12, have an opportunity to play at school although their playground is usually an asphalt street that has been closed during school hours, and when school is over the streets are reopened for vehicular traffic. This age group is then pushed back to the sidewalk for after school and weekend play, thereby making the sidewalks even more congested. Teenagers have a wider choice. They can go to Mount Morris Park and Central Park, but the utilization rate of these facilities by Harlem teenagers is fairly minimal. They are still very far away in terms of distance. The programs which are offered in the parks seldom meet the interests of the teen group. Elderly people are captives to their rooms and apartment. They can seldom find places to meet their peers outside of church and the markets which they venture out to once or twice a week. Therefore, they feel more trapped and lonely than any other age group, and have few resources to do anything about their state. The adult male and female population are clearly the more mobile in the neighborhood but opportunity to find places that are designed to bring people together in their community and to make safe places for their children to play are totally missing.

2. PROPOSED PROJECT

We propose to develop what is now referred to as Randolph's Square into a permanent open space for the residents of 116th Street and 117th Street between Eighth and Lenox Avenues. An adventure-vest pocket neighborhood park could meet the needs of all age groups in the neighborhood. (See, attached map and potential uses).

PLANNING and DESIGN PROCESS:

The planning and designing of this park will be done jointly with the residents in the area for which it is to serve. We will consult and work with each age group in the neighborhood regarding uses and design. This will entail a community organization effort on our part, but we feel that this is essential if the park is to be meaningful to the residents in the neighborhood. We project that there will be intensive use of the space. This will guard against dead space which we believe is often the cause of vandalism and crime. The task will be that of keeping the various uses separated so that an elderly person who wants to sun will not be disturbed by an eight year old playing ball. But we feel that the area is large enough to accommodate several divergent uses.

Our role as designers would be to present to the community the full range of potential activities available to them so that together we can decide upon the most acceptable program. By involving all age groups from the beginning we hope to be able to develop activity programs that will provide complementary activities for young and old alike in close proximity. This will involve careful organization of activities in reference to the

aspect of open space design revolves around all sectors of the community recognizing a definite place for them and a responsibility to organize and design programs for their benefit in these areas.

In order to accomplish this, we plan to meet with representatives of each age group and find out from them what activities interest the individual age groups, what activities interest combined age groups, and what activities present conflicts between age groups. Our responsibility in the beginning will be to make sure each group is aware of the full range of possible activities by illustrating diagramatically possible arrangements of activities in the park. We hope to be able to present ideas in such a way as to enable participating groups to change and add to our suggestions and actually become involved in the preliminary designing and programming of the park.

Once we have reached decision concerning the amount and type of activities desired, it will be our responsibility to present a physical design that will meet the community's program. This will involve presenting alternative solution to the entire community for their approval.

We will work very closely with the Parks, Recreational and Cultural Affairs Administration (PRCAA) in finding resources to develop and maintain this park. We will explore ideas regarding community sponsorship and management. This may prove successful in terms of upkeep and supervision of the park. We will also attempt to obviate unnecessary bureaucratic procedures to expedite the development of this park and to encourage the development of future projects of this nature. PRCAA has committed itself to the development of more neighborhood parks. We feel that they can best fulfill this commitment by working closely with community groups and local administrative bodies to expedite the process of approval and authorization of community initiated programs.

TRAFFIC:

The intersection of 116th Street, Seventh Avenue and St. Nicholas is one of the most dangerous in the city. 116th Street is the major cross-town (east-west) artery between 110th Street and 125th Street. This artery carries buses, trucks and cars. Seventh Avenue is one of the major north-south through Streets and it carries a hugh volume of traffic. St. Nicholas Avenue is a north-south route also, but is not essential for vehicular movement because all the vehicles that use St. Nicholas Avenue now can be diverted to Seventh Avenue and Eighth Avenue, a block away. We propose a permanent closing of St. Nicholas Avenue between 118th and 116th Street. Already St. Nicholas is closed between 118th Street and 117th Street during school hours when it is used as a play street by a school in that block. Also, 117th Street should be closed between 7th Avenue and St. Nicholas Avenue. This street is a minor east-west artery and the cross-town traffic can be diverted to 116th Street or 119th Street. These closings would eliminate the congestion and would also lower the accident rate at the intersection of the three streets. Pedestrian and vehicular flow would improve as a result of this development.

This kind of action and treatment would enable us to develop an adventure-vest pocket neighborhood park which addresses itself to many needs of the community. What we need is capital for design and development of this area so that it becomes an asset for the residents of the area. We propose that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) under the Open Space Land Program grant the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem capital funds to plan, design and build a neighborhood park on the designated site.

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES:

The basic age group categories being considered in this project are children, including a pre-school age group (3-5), and a school age group (6-12), teenagers (13-19), adults and senior citizens. The proposed park area is located in close enough proximity to an existing day care center to take advantage of their facilities in planning for the youngest age group.

Activities for the pre-school age group could include; swinging, see-saw, hopscotch, sand play, water play, tricycling and sliding. Some of these activities could be provided in the existing play area adjacent to the Day Care Center which is fenced in and easily supervised. Some of the activities such as sand play, water play and sliding could be mixed with the school age group to give each group an opportunity to use these facilities.

Activities for the school age group could include; volley ball, stick-ball, dodgeball, bicycling, climbing, badminton, tether ball, roller skating, frisbee, etc. These activities could be provided on St. Nicholas Avenue, between 118th and 117th Street, which is already closed as a play street on school days. This area is closest to the existing elementary school on the corner of St. Nicholas and 118th Street, which would be convenient in terms of general supervision, and noise separation.

Activities for teenagers could include; dancing, outdoor movies, public meetings, fairs, carnivals, poster-making, painting, sculpture, young peoples theater, gymnastics, etc.

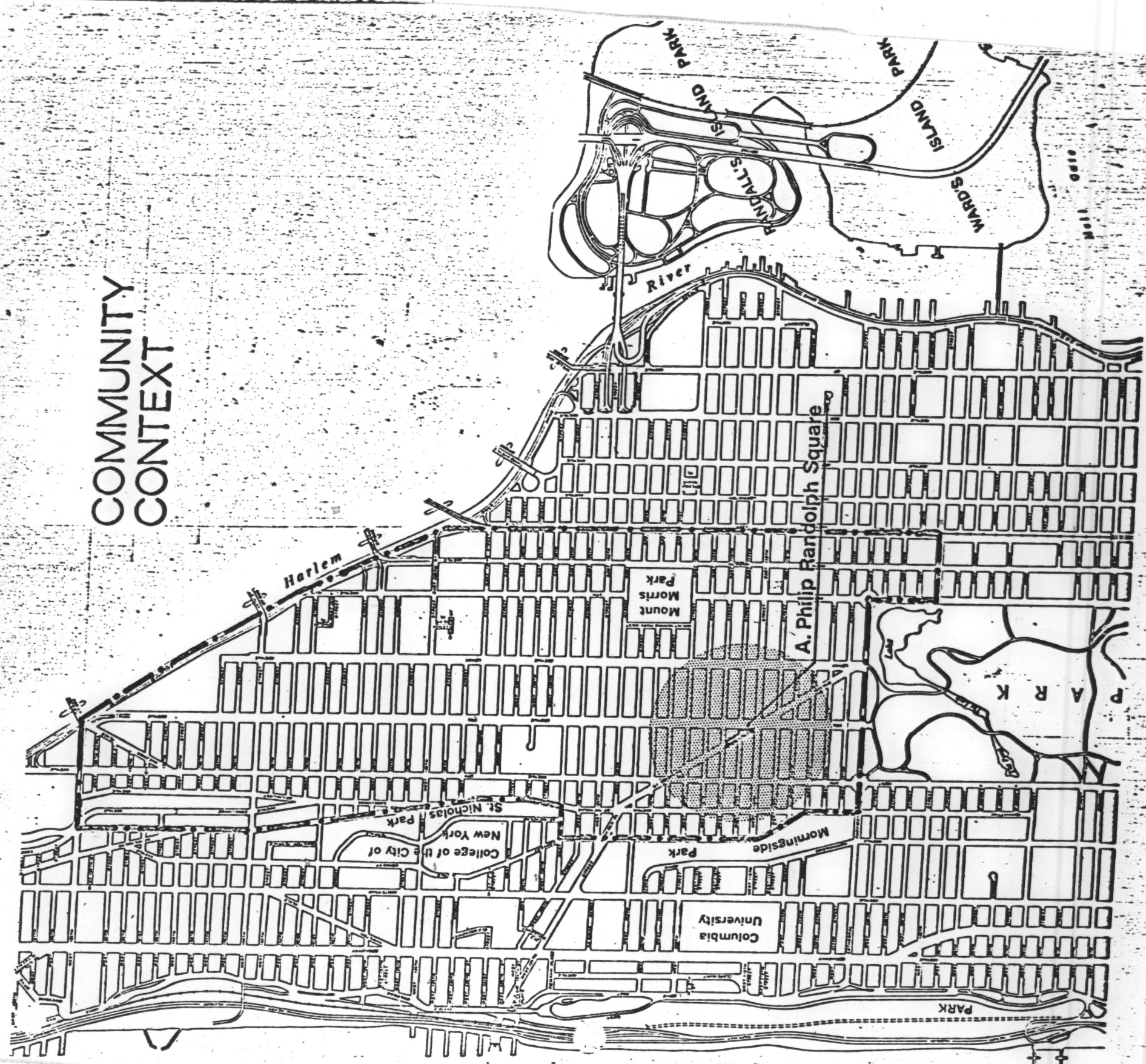
Adult and senior citizen activities could include; sitting, reading, checkers, chess, cards, snacks, arts and crafts, organizing and super-

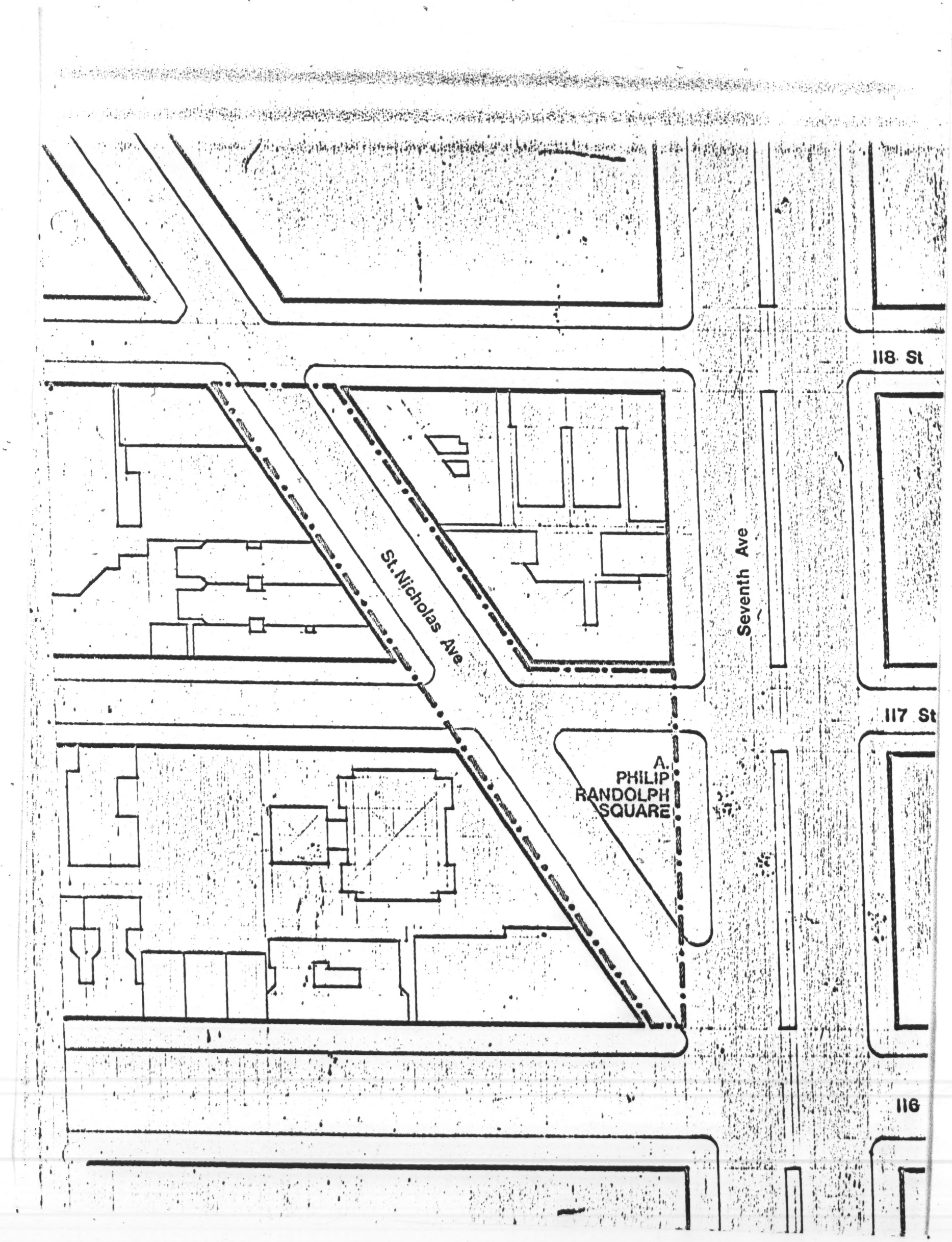
poetry reading, block parties, dances, shuffleboard, etc. Adult and teenage activities could be conducted in close proximity providing ample opportunity for interchange between the age groups.

Relationship to Comprehensive Planning in Harlem

A survey of possible open space and street park sites in the Harlem-East Harlem area has shown seven possible sites including A. Philip Randolph Square as ideal locations for community open space programs. The planning study calls for a reduction of land area in Harlem used for streets to make street space available for open space. The report also notes a lack of adequate open space for public meetings, talks, theater groups, concerts, etc. In our proposal for developing permanent open space around Randolph Square we hope to address these general needs and also provide a pattern for future open space programs in the Harlem community and in other communities as well.

COMMUNITY CONTEXT

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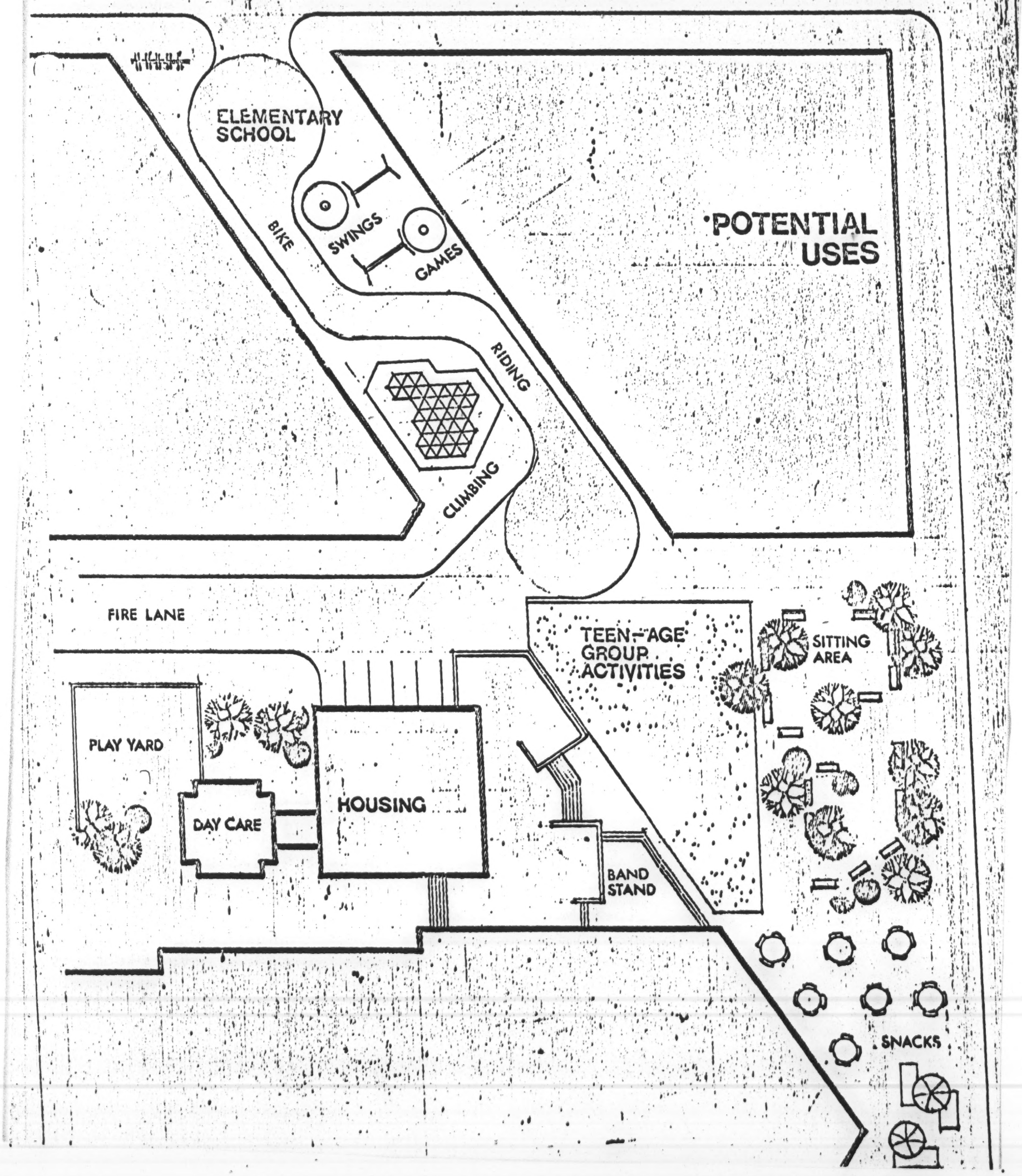
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
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FIRE LANE
TEEN-AGE GROUP ACTIVITIES
SITTING AREA
PLAY YARD
DAY CARE
HOUSING
BAND STAND
SNACKS

DEVELOPMENT OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH SQUARE

Meeting:	21 July
Time:	2: P.M.
Place	A.R.C.H. 221-3 West 116th Street 666-9130

Can Turn Streets Into Park

WASHINGTON, D.C. — How do you turn a hot, crowded city street into a park?

The Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem Inc. has received a $192,704 demonstration grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to demonstrate how a trafficked street may be permanently closed to create a park.

Senator Charles E. Goodell, in announcing the grant, praised the project as one that would improve the quality of urban life by providing additional recreation area while alleviating the hazards of traffic and noise pollution within a neighborhood.

The grant will also be spent to document any problems encountered in transforming a street into a park, such as insurance, police and fire protection, traffic control and design limitations.

Arthur Symes is executive director of the committee which has its office at A. Phillip Randolph Square, 221-3 W. 116th St., New York City.

Amsterdam News - July 4, 1970

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1970 10

A Harlem Park Needs Some Help

By ERNEST JOHNSTON Jr.

The A. Philip Randolph Park Assn. in Harlem is looking for $192,704 to redevelop a park at 116th St. and 7th Av.

Already, the Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH) has secured that amount from the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), but in order to qualify for it, the money must be matched.

The plea for money was made during a luncheon at Well sRestaurant, 2249 7th Av.

The park, which is now the A. Philip Randolph Sq., was named five years ago for the president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The park will provide multi-activities for youngsters, teenagers and senior citizens and will be enlarged with traffic around the perimeter sealed off.

"The program will demonstrate the feasibility of turning streets into recreational spaces as a step towards providing more open space to Harlem residents," said Arthur Symes, executive director of ARCH.

"HUD was interested in the program because they wanted to see how a project of this type would be a success across the country and how streets could be closed permanently for recreation.

"The program is also designed to show how youngsters and senior citizens can mix together in various activities. We have clearly said that we can prove this can be done," he said.

The one-acre area will have a bicycle path, various playing equipment as well as cultural activities and non-exhaustive games for senior citizens.

"We have been trying to find a remedy in the area of recreation for people in lower Harlem for six years. There is a tremendous need for open activities here in Harlem," Symes said.

"If the people downtown in Washington Sq. can manage to get traffic out of that park, then there is no reason this group can't do the same," said Thomas P. F. Hoving, head of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

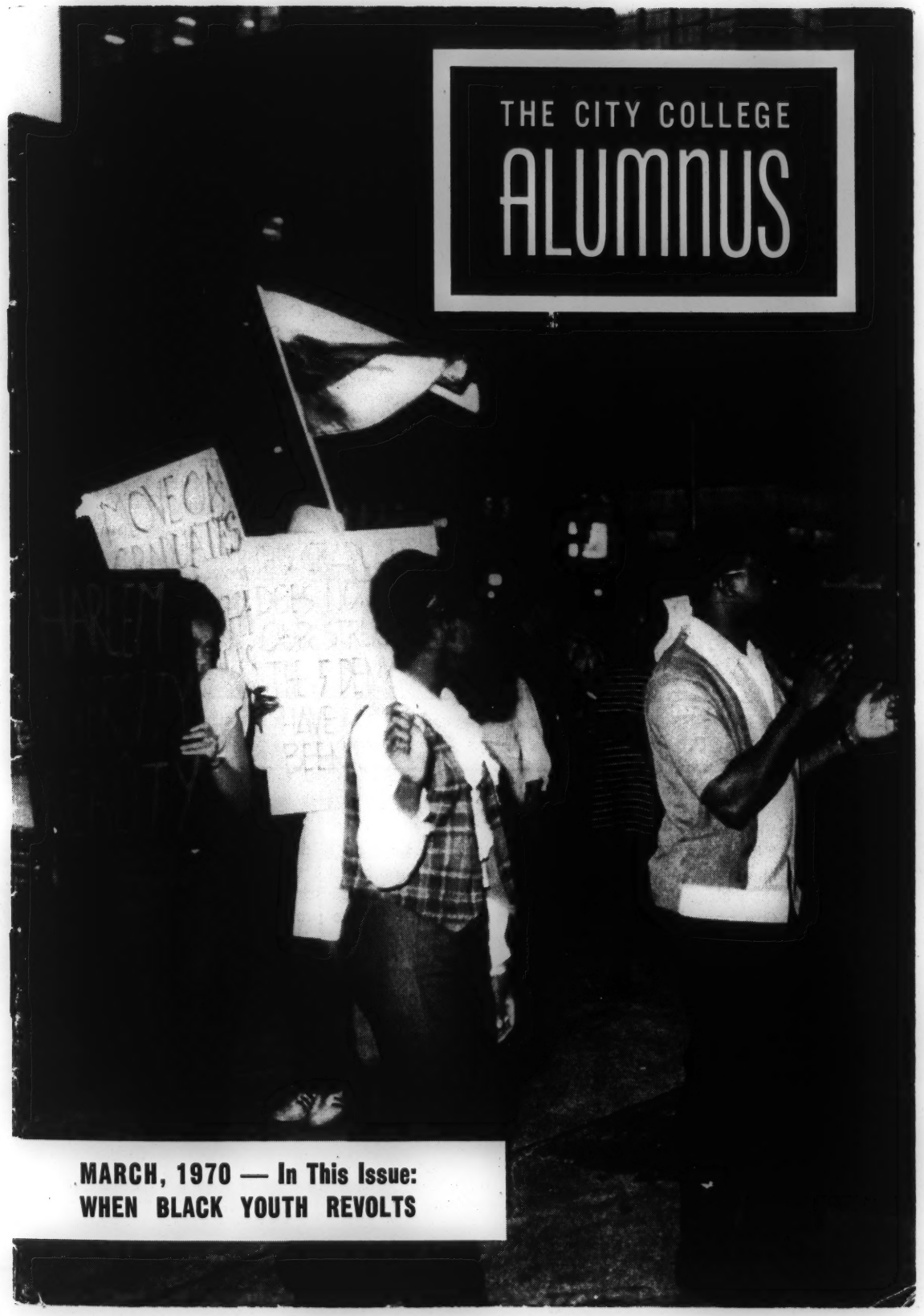
"The Washington Sq. people had to go out and get city money, but this Harlem group already has federal money.

"It all depends on priorities and what section of town you live in," Hoving said.

Randolph, who was unable to attend the luncheon, said through a spokesman, Howard Bennett, that the idea of redeveloping the park was a wonderful one and "I think lower Harlem should have a new face."

"I think also there will be a decrease of drug addicts and alcoholics once the park is redeveloped because there will be proper lighting. Where there is proper lighting there is less crime," said Assemblyman Hulan Jack (D-Manhattan).

THE CITY COLLEGE ALUMNUS



MARCH, 1970 — In This Issue:
WHEN BLACK YOUTH REVOLTS

Elder Statesman of Civil Rights

At 80, A. Philip Randolph '19 looks back on a half century of battling for the advancement of black people through full integration into American society

by Ernest Boynton '70

Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

— A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH '19 is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). He is also the elder statesman of the civil rights movement in the United States.

" 'Speak the whole word,' my father used to say," Mr. Randolph recalled recently as he looked back on his childhood.

In a rich, full life that now totals 80 years, Mr. Black Labor has spoken "the whole word" to the whole world including five American Presidents, two of them in face-to-face confrontations that were to change the course of black American history.

Mr. Randolph, son of a three-church circuit minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida, April 15, 1889. His father struggled to put bread on the table for his family, supplementing his meager church earnings by working as a tailor in Jacksonville, Florida. "My brother and I used to accompany him when he delivered the suits he had cleaned and pressed," reminisced Mr. Randolph quietly, "or when he sought a pulpit, stating to all and sundry that he had two of the finest sons in the world."

Perhaps it was that very love of family and pride in his race, instilled in the growing boy by a gentle, kindly man who never wavered in his belief that the world, under God, could be made a better place for all . . . perhaps that was the catalyst. Or the drive in the lad, himself. Or both.

Given the best education his family

could afford, young Mr. Randolph soon realized that Florida held out little future and less hope for a Negro at the turn of the century. In his early twenties he left home and made his way north to Harlem, after finishing high school in Florida at Cookman Institue (now Bethune-Cookman College). After arriving in New York City he subsisted on odd jobs while attending City College in the evenings, taking courses in economics, anthropology and philosophy. Mr. Randolph's brother, a mathematics major at the College, died before his graduation.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

While much has been made of Mr. Randolph's erudition, he has no earned college degree. He is mostly self-taught. In 1965, however, he was one of five alumni to receive the College's annual Townsend Harris Medal for "distinguished postgraduate achievement."

While at the College the articulate student caught the eye of his teachers, one of whom was the outstanding philosopher Morris R. Cohen '00. Of him Mr. Randolph recalled: "I would talk to him about a specific, but he would neither approve nor disapprove. You could never get a definitive answer. He forced us to think and reason things out for ourselves."

It was while attending The College that Mr. Randolph met Chandler Owen, a young law student at Columbia University. In 1917 the two budding intellectuals founded *The Messenger.* Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this Socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in black journalism.

In addition to militantly championing black rights, *The Messenger* spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by a Congressional committee as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America" — a

Like the subject of his profile, author Ernest Boynton '70 is largely a product of the College's evening session where he was active on undergraduate publications. A senior staff writer for the United Methodist Board of Missions, he has established himself as one of the best informed journalists on the black movement's implications for the religious community. He is also an editor of the Associated Negro Press and writes a weekly column appearing in more than 20 black weekly newspapers.

charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the ups-and-downs of the depression, was finally won in 1937 when the Brotherhood won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, *The Messenger* became "The Black Worker," official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

With the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly worried about the exclusion of blacks from jobs in the war industries. On a southern trip with Milton Webster of the Brotherhood, he conceived the idea of a massive black march on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the black press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up across the country.

Because of the intense pressures Mr. Randolph inspired, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an Executive Order in 1941 calling for "fair employment practices" in war industries, thus opening up new jobs to blacks, who had formerly been limited to porter jobs in the corridors and bathrooms of the factories.

In another national victory a short time later, in 1948, Mr. Randolph squeezed out another Executive Order, this time from President Harry S. Truman, which started the end of discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.

His efforts on behalf of the little man, during more than a half century of persuading, pushing, and pressuring, reached the hallmark of success when he successfully led the August 28, 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans." The "Freedom Budget" called for a total national expenditure of $185 billion spread out over a ten-year period. This Mr. Randolph did not believe to be too high a price, for as he stated at the conference: "The question is not whether we have the means. Before 1975 we will have a $1 trillion economy. The question is whether we have the *will*. Ten years from now, will two-fifths of our nation still live in poverty and deprivation? This is, above all, a moral question. And upon the answer hangs not only the fate of the black—weighted down by centuries of exploitation, degradation and malice—but the fate of the nation."

Though he uttered those words three years ago, and is disappointed that no answer has come forth from America in the interim, he believes to this day that progress is inevitable, and the black man will come into his own on this continent.

MR. RANDOLPH feels that history has reached the point where the "age of rule by the white man is coming to a close." This, he said, "the white man is being forced to realize. The black man must appreciate this, for he now has a great role to play." This

Mr. Randolph feels confidently can be done by the Negro — "if he isn't shunted off into fruitless areas of endeavor."

Mr. Randolph believes that only history can judge whether the black militants of today have helped or hurt the black cause, but he strongly asserts that some acceptable way must be found to effect the necessary changes in this country and in this time. He does not consider racial separatism an answer. "I think this is a basic mistake," he says. "Advancing technology and science make separatism impossible anyway, for the trend is for peoples of the world to be forced into closer association, even if they do have their prejudices. The idea of separatism is harkening to the past and it is undesirable even if it could be realized, because the progress of mankind has been based upon contact and association, upon social, intellectual and cultural contact." He does not believe that the blacks of America could do very well in a separate state or states, and he sees no workable solution in a mass movement to Africa. "Africans have need of only two things," he says. "Those are capital and technological knowledge. We don't have those things here, so what do we have to offer the Africans?"

Mr. Randolph even opposes the idea of separatism in the new courses in Afro-American studies that are being demanded and granted to black college students across the nation. He explains: "I can applaud the idea of developing racial identity and being proud of the glorious cultural heritage of our African life. They ought to be proud of that. But while I believe that

A. Philip Randolph '19

these colleges and universities ought to have these courses in African and Negro studies, I think that they should be integrated. The white students need knowledge of the Negro just as Negroes do, and it is calamitous, regrettable for whites to grow up in this country ignorant and unaware of what we have given the world."

While Mr. Randolph is delighted to see blacks going into colleges and universities in larger numbers, he strongly feels that it is "scholastically unsound" for colleges to lower the academic standards for blacks. He is not convinced that "Negro students are not able to meet academic standards." He argues that setting up two standards, one for whites and one for blacks, "is a reflection on the Negro

students' capacity to handle what is expected of whites." Over the years, he observed, "we've developed some outstanding black scholars."

Mr. Randolph argues that the policy of judging black students separately from whites "won't work. It's a policy that will set Negro advancement back. I hope there will be some reconsideration on the part of the black community in pushing for a lowering of admission standards."

Mr. Randolph's battle for the inclusion of black people in the ranks of labor and for a more rapid implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation led to the formation of the Negro American Labor Council. Its purpose is best described in his own words:

"The philosophy, ideals, principles and program . . . stem from the concept that labor leadership is a sacred trust, a great moral responsibility. . . . We will seek Negro trade unionists of every class, craft and industry to join its ranks. It will be pro-Negro, although not antiwhite. It will support pro-labor and pro-civil rights legislation. Recognizing that only within the framework of a democratic society can civil rights and labor's rights exist . . . [we will]unequivocally support and defend freedom and democracy at home and abroad."

When Mr. Randolph received an award from the League for Industrial Democracy he reaffirmed his belief that segragation was based on the negation of the brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God. "It degrades, demeans, demoralizes the dignity of the human personality."

Today, at 80, he has since retired from many of his positions. The years and declining health have weakened the man many called Mr. Black Labor, who once could work around the clock. The recipient of the nation's highest citizen's award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, spends much of his time in his modestly-furnished apartment in a mid-Manhattan union-built housing development. One of the most powerful personalities of his era, his accomplishments have won universal admiration and trust.

Honoring an Engineer

Frederick W. Eversley, Jr., '42T president of the Trans Urban Construction Company, has been chosen "Engineer of the Year" by the New York Chapter of Chi Epsilon, the civil engineering society. Mr. Eversley is a member of the Urban League of Greater New York, the Coalition Venture Capital Corporation and the National Business Men's Council. His company is one of the most successful black-owned contracting firms in New York City.

African Art

Daniel P. Biebuyck, H. Rodney Sharp Professor of Anthropology at the University of Delaware, delivered an illustrated lecture on "The Meaning of African Art" on December 17th in the College's Finley Center. His presentation dealt with the ritual use of signs and symbols in African tribal art. The lecture was sponsored by the department of art.

The Press Versus American Education

A college administrator writes a hard-hitting and sometimes bitter critique of the mass communications media and their handling of the news from academia

by George C. Keller

OPEN YOUR newspaper. Open *any* newspaper. Try to find some news about education. I don't mean college sports news or crime news from the campus (dope, sex, rioting). I mean *education* news—information about who is pouring what into whose mind and soul, why, where, and at what cost. I'd lay a sizable bet, say fifty cents, that you won't find any. The American press simply doesn't cover education. Education is perhaps the biggest untold story in American journalism.

Consider the following. American education has exploded in the past 15 or so years. As recently as 1947, less than half of our young people completed high school, and only one out of seven high school graduates went to college. In 1967, three quarters of all young people finished high school and five out of ten graduates went on to college. Between 1957 and 1967 alone the college population more than doubled, from 3 million to 6.4 million. A wholly new kind of institution came into existence, and multiplied like rabbits: the community college. Almost every sizable community in the nation built a new school or added to its old one. More school and college capacity was created in the 10 years between 1957 and 1967 than was built in the previous 300 years!

Last year, 1969, about 59 million Americans—nearly 30 percent of our entire population—were full-time students. This number is greater than the total population of England. We have a higher percentage of *Negroes* going on to college—11 percent—than the so-called advanced nations of France,

Mr. Keller is special assistant to the Chancellor of the State University of New York. A former teacher of history and political science, he served as assistant dean of students at Columbia and editor of Columbia College Today, the alumni magazine.

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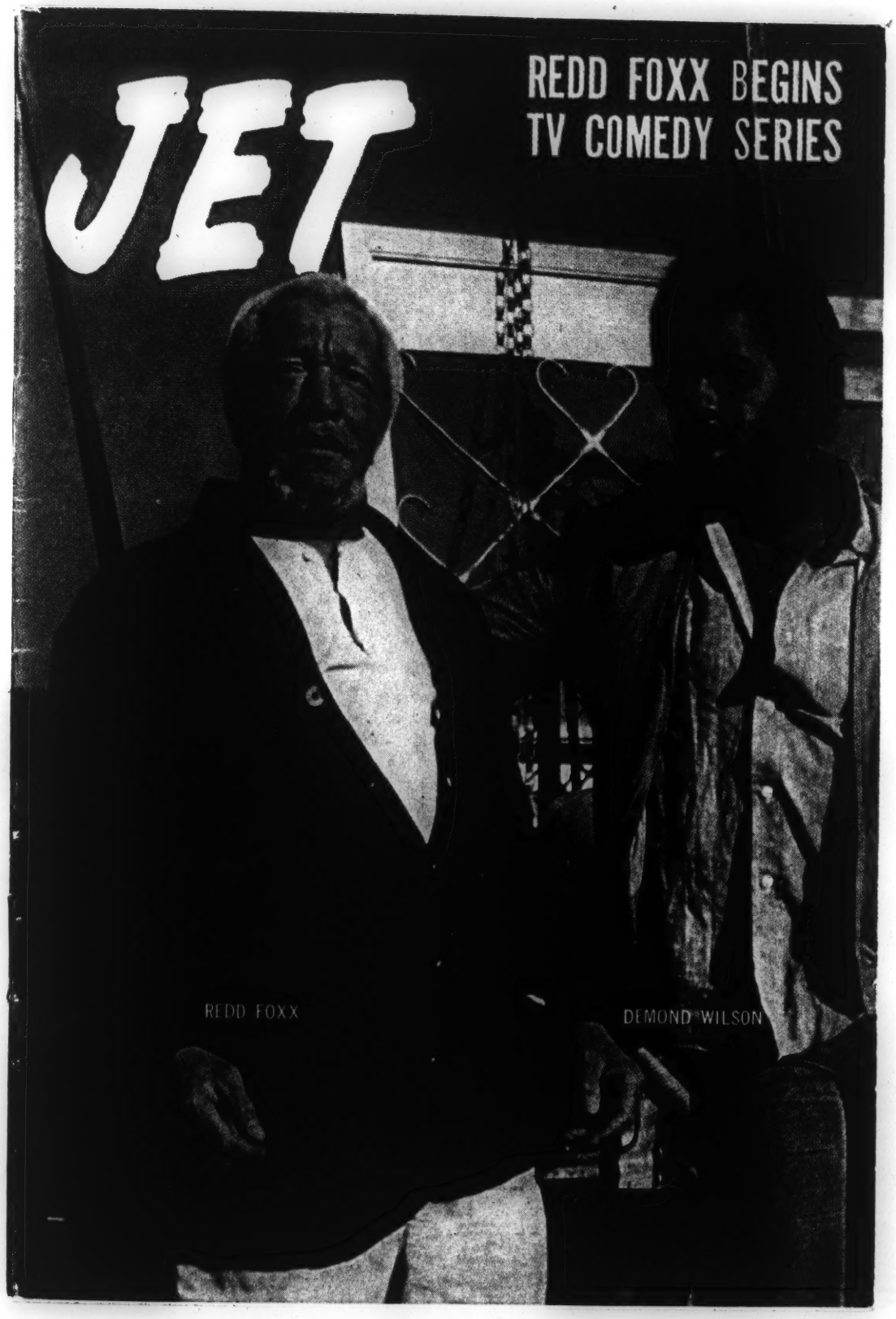
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AFL-CIO News

Vol. XVII | Issued weekly at 815 Sixteenth St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 $2 a year | Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. | Saturday, April 22, 1972 | No. 16

Forced Arbitration Bill Hit As Anti-Union Masquerade

From Administration to Congress:

Labor Asks Shift In Economic Reins

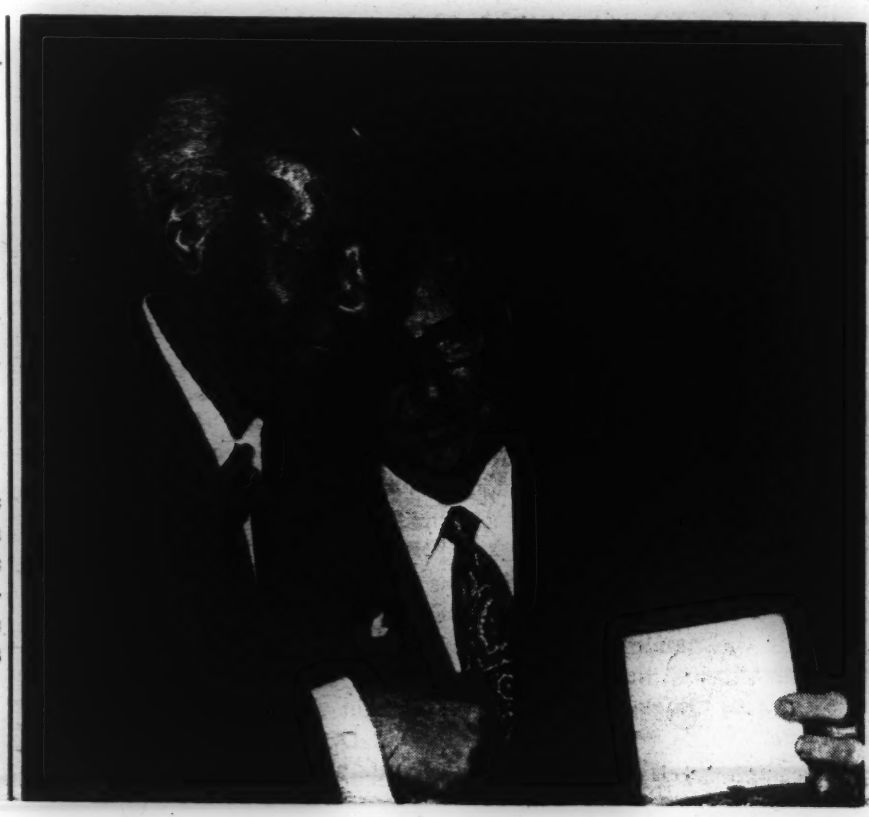
AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany called on Congress to take over the guidance of the nation's economy from an Administration that "has proven its incompetence."

"The American people need a change," Meany told the congressional Joint Economic Committee.

Price controls have been "a farce and a sham" and prices have been rising just as fast as they did before the so-called controls. "The big difference is now, because of wage controls, many workers will be less able to pay the tab."

In the interest of fairness, Meany stressed, "there must be substantial revision of the Eco-

Meat Cutters To Appeal Pay Rollback



Meany Vows All-Out Fight On Measure

By David L. Perlman

Labor considers the right to strike essential to collective bargaining and will fight compulsory arbitration legislation "with all the strength at our command," AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany told Congress.

Meany ripped into the Nixon Administration's bill to bar "crippling" strikes in transportation industries as "an anti-labor measure masquerading as public interest legislation."

Testifying before a Senate Labor

Meat Cutters To Appeal Pay Rollback

Baltimore—The Meat Cutters vowed to appeal a federal court ruling granting a government rollback of negotiated wage increases for 77 union members employed by the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. in this area.

"We feel we were singled out," said Meat Cutters Vice Pres. Leon B. Schachter as he voiced the union's indignation at the decision of U.S. District Judge C. Stanley Blair.

"The union will appeal the case," Schachter said. "The union will go all the way to bring about justice—even if only 77 persons are involved."

The A & P management had admitted previously in a public statement that it had directed the government's attention to the 16-month contract it signed with the union last November.

The suit was filed in federal court by the Justice Dept., and U.S. Atty.

(Continued on Page 3)

and a sham" and prices have been rising just as fast as they did before the so-called controls. "The big difference is now, because of wage controls, many workers will be less able to pay the tab."

In the interest of fairness, Meany stressed, "there must be substantial revision of the Economic Stabilization Act. And, as we have said time and again, there must be an excess profits tax as an integral part of a fair and effective stabilization effort."

Meany prodded Congress also to enact "measures to move the economy to full employment without delay."

The Administration may be indifferent, he said, but "Congress cannot lose sight of the fact that unemployment continues at an unacceptable plateau of close to 6 percent."

Meany followed the chairmen of the Price Commission and the Pay Board to the witness table, and his testimony was sharply critical of both programs.

Before submitting his formal statement for the record, Meany joined with Committee Chairman William Proxmire (D-Wis.) in a spirited, free-wheeling dialogue.

Proxmire, as has been his custom in these hearings, opened with a

(Continued on Page 2)

MURRAY-GREEN AWARD is presented to AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph by James A. Suffridge, chairman of the federation's Community Services Committee. Randolph, president emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, is the first labor leader ever honored with the federation's highest award for public service.

Murray-Green Prize:

Randolph Receives Top Labor Award

By John R. Oravec

Labor honored one of its own great Americans with the presentation of the Murray-Green Award to A. Philip Randolph, veteran union leader and civil rights fighter.

Randolph, chief founder of the Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the AFL-CIO since 1955, received the federation's highest honor at the closing session of the 16th National Conference on Community Services.

He joined the ranks of such other noted recipients as Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Jonas Salk, Gen. Omar Bradley and Harry S Truman. The award, which carries a $5,000 grant, was established by the AFL-CIO to salute persons who have inspired others to work for the common good. It is a memorial to Philip Murray and William Green who headed the CIO and the AFL respectively at the time of their deaths.

Randolph received a standing ovation from the more than 800 banquet guests as the award was presented by James A. Suffridge, vice president emeritus of the federation and chairman of its Community Services Committee.

In his acceptance speech, Randolph reviewed the long and still continuing struggle of the nation's black people for social justice and the role of the labor movement in lending its strength to the struggle.

Because leadership will not come from the White House, he said, organized labor must carry on the fight.

"Organized labor also gives strength to the human spirit," he ob-

(Continued on Page 2)

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany told Congress.

Meany ripped into the Nixon Administration's bill to bar "crippling" strikes in transportation industries as "an anti-labor measure masquerading as public interest legislation."

Testifying before a Senate Labor subcommittee and answering wide-ranging questions from senators, Meany stressed the "vital difference" between voluntary and compulsory arbitration.

"That difference should be discernible to any free man," he declared.

Both the Administration bill and a similar measure sponsored by Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) would permit the President to halt a major strike against railroads, airlines, maritime, longshore or trucking firms by requiring unions and employers to submit a "final offer" and an "alternative final offer" to an arbitration panel.

The panel would choose one of the offers without change or modification.

Meany termed this "incredibly frivolous" substitute for collective bargaining "the latest example of this Administration's penchant for government by gimmick."

Two former directors of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service, Meany noted, had testified in detail "just how foolish, and how

(Continued on Page 8)

House Votes Backpay For Blue-Collar Units

The House voted approval of retroactive pay raises for 214,000 hourly paid, blue-collar employes of the federal government.

The legislation, which now goes to the Senate, had the backing of both unions and the Administration. It wipes out the last remnants of Pres. Nixon's unsuccessful effort to defer all government pay raises for six months to set an anti-inflation "example" to the rest of the nation.

Congress rejected Nixon's attempt to delay a scheduled raise for salaried white-collar employes, and they received their increase last January.

Shortly after that, Nixon cancelled an order he had issued holding up area wage surveys for the government's 600,000 blue-collar workers. But the damage had already been done to about one-third of the workers, whose pay raises came from two weeks to three months later than would normally have been the case.

The bill, which cleared the House by voice vote without opposition, is intended to make amends to this group.

It makes all wage adjustments retroactive to their normal effective date—overturning a ruling by the comptroller general that the increases could be made retroactive only if the wage survey had been scheduled before Aug. 15, 1971.

Abel Warns of Parallels To Pre-Depression Era

Pres. I. W. Abel of the AFL-CIO Industrial Dept. likened the economic conditions brought about by the policies of the Nixon Administration to those that led to the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Abel, who is president of the Steelworkers, met with representatives of the news media following a two-day meeting of the IUD executive committee.

"We detect trends toward a repetition of the economic conditions of the 1920s, and the possibility that these trends may lead, as the earlier ones did, to severe economic dislocation," Abel told the news conference.

"The similarity between economic conditions and the economic policy of our national Administration today and those prior to the Great Depression are alarmingly close."

He cited as an example of this similarity the steep rise in corporate profits, aided "by government poli-

(Continued on Page 8)

Weak Controls Hit by Labor's Price Monitors

The Price Commission heard once again what union members think about the Administration's so-called price controls—this time from a group of six AFL-CIO price watchers from across the nation who labeled the program a "farce."

The price watchers, accompanied by AFL-CIO Community Services Director Leo Perlis, whose department supervises the price watch, recited consumer complaints ranging from the impossibility of reading complicated base price lists to the high cost of peanut butter.

Harold Cullum of Kansas City, a member of the Retail Clerks, said lists of base prices which large retail stores are required to keep for customer inspection are so complicated as to be meaningless.

He said he had trouble figuring out the lists.

"If an experienced groceryman can't understand this thing without great difficulty, how can a layman?" he asked.

Mrs. Violet L. Waggoner of Denver cited such instances as a jump in the price of coffee from 90 cents to 95 cents a pound and the advertising of a dishwashing product at 10 cents off its normal price, even though the price remained unchanged.

"I am a mother of seven children. Imagine my horror when I found peanut butter had come from 57 to 69 cents."

Mrs. Waggoner said she had been unable to ascertain whether the prices were legal because of the complex "off-again, on-again" rules on price increases.

Price Commission Chairman

AFL-CIO PRICE WATCHER Mrs. Violet L. Waggoner of Denver shows boxes and jars of grocery items to the Price Commission to underscore how price controls have failed. Appearing with her were AFL-CIO Community Services Director Leo Perlis, center, Charles Johnson, a Tacoma, Wash., Steelworker, right, and four other AFL-CIO price watchers.

Murray-Green Award Presented to Randolph

(Continued from Page 1)

served, "and this is something the White House cannot deal with."

Randolph stressed that the coming presidential election will have overriding significance for the labor-civil rights alliance. "If we don't make the right decision," he warned, the progress of workers and Negroes will be set back for years to come.

But if the nation moves in the right direction in the elections, "we can see great things ahead," he predicted.

Randolph urged the labor movement further to accept responsibility

munity at large, but we never tried to sweep it under the rug. . . .

"It's been a long, hard road but we see progress. Phil has seen many setbacks. A lesser man would have been discouraged. But he never gave up. . . . He never let go of the principles and ideals of equity and human decency that have inspired and motivated him during his entire lifetime."

One of the highlights of the banquet was a reading by Actor Todd Duncan from a collection of Randolph statements and writings.

(Excerpts, Page 5.)

From Administration to Congress:

Meany Asks Shift In Economic Reins

(Continued from Page 1)

sharp needle instead of the customary polite welcome to the witness.

"You drove a hard bargain before you agreed to serve on the Pay Board," he told Meany. "You insisted that it be tripartite. Many disagreed with you on that . . . the tripartite feature was not the Administration's idea or Congress' idea. It was your idea. And when you walked off the board, you killed it. You strangled your own baby."

Meany vigorously denied having fathered a Pay Board whose so-called "public" members were recruited from business and government. That wasn't his idea of a tripartite board, Meany stressed.

He spoke of his five years service on the War Labor Board, whose public members operated "with no government interference" and whose labor members went along with decisions they didn't like on occasion because the system of reaching the decisions was fair.

He contrasted this with the Pay Board's virtually automatic lineup of 10-5 against labor, of labor's representatives left cooling their heels while the business and so-called public members reached decisions in private caucuses.

And he reminded the senators and congressmen that the same union leaders who joined in the unanimous AFL-CIO Executive Council decision to withdraw from the Pay Board continue to serve

Price Commission seems to decontrol more than they control."

"Bring prices down," Meany demanded, and the pressure for wage increases will be reduced.

"The average consumer and worker, particularly those at the lower rungs of the economic ladder, are bearing the brunt of this mess," Meany charged in his formal statement.

Price controls are riddled with exceptions and the Price Commission is unable to provide effective enforcement for "whatever degree of price controls remain on the books."

The Price Commission's rules "create a field day for accountants and lawyers" but are incomprehensible to anyone else, Meany complained.

Meanwhile, with productivity going up and wages held down, "profits have begun to soar" with the lion's share going to "the big banks, corporations and conglomerate giants."

Earlier, Proxmire had harsh words for the stabilization program when Pay Board Chairman George H. Boldt and Price Commission Chairman Jackson Grayson testified.

Proxmire termed Boldt unqualified for the post, charged that the Pay Board had adopted a policy of "planned and premeditated delay" in approving negotiated increases and termed it "pathetic" that the board has held only five public hearings.

Boldt countered that the board

Mrs. Waggoner said she had been unable to ascertain whether the prices were legal because of the complex "off-again, on-again" rules on price increases.

Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson asked the price watchers if they would be willing to accept food rationing as a method of clamping effective controls on all prices.

Perlis replied that anything was preferable to the present system.

"If you have to have a bureauacracy" to run an elaborate price control program, "then, by God, have a bureauacracy," Perlis told the commission.

NMU Members Okay Law Changes

New York—Members of the National Maritime Union have ratified a series of constitutional amendments by wide margins, the Honest Ballot Association announced.

Among the changes were reduction in the number of national vice presidents from six to three and establishment of a five-year term of office instead of the present four-year term. Dropped from the constitution was a requirement that candidates for national office must have served at least one term in a lower-level union post.

But if the nation moves in the right direction in the elections, "we can see great things ahead," he predicted.

Randolph urged the labor movement further to accept responsibility for giving direction to the forces of change.

"We cannot achieve goals with ideas alone," he said, "we must have force also—and that is how great movements are built."

Federation Pres. George Meany recapped Randolph's struggle to improve conditions of the economically and socially oppressed.

"Phil Randolph started many years ago with a set of ideals and principles determined to make life better for many of those at the bottom of the economic ladder," Meany noted.

"It was a lonesome fight for many years. A fight for civil rights. The fight for justice. . . .

"And while Phil Randolph is a great humanitarian, a great civil rights leader, he always has been a great labor leader—a trade unionist.

"He has courageously fought discrimination within the trade union movement itself," Meany pointed out. "We have never made any bones about the fact there was discrimination in the trade union movement—not to the extent, perhaps, that it existed in the com-

lifetime."

One of the highlights of the banquet was a reading by Actor Todd Duncan from a collection of Randolph statements and writings. **(Excerpts, Page 5.)**

Randolph, who turned 83 on Apr. 15, was also presented a massive birthday cake by the Bakery & Confectionery Workers at the award banquet.

No-Fare Buses Urged to Ease Crisis in Cities

Free bus service can help overcome some of the biggest problems of America's cities and metropolitan areas, Transit Union Pres. John M. Elliott told Dept. of Transportation officials.

Elliott urged the government agency to provide matching federal funds for a large-scale tryout of a no-fare transit system—lasting at least two years.

"Such an experiment would demonstrate to our entire nation the feasibility of a permanent system of no-fare operation as a convenient, efficient and effective alternative to the automobile," he said.

Elliott warned that the alternative is a continuation of the cycle of higher fares leading to decreased patronage, cutbacks in service—and city streets clogged and polluted by heavy auto traffic.

In a number of areas, he testified, this has led to the total abandonment of public transportation.

The entire community benefits from transit services, Elliott noted, but virtually the entire cost is born by the users—those who can least afford it.

Under a no-fare system, he said, greater patronage will lead to more frequent service, abolition of the fare-collecting and money-handling functions will reduce operating costs as well as speeding rides, and an equitable tax system would spread the cost of subsidizing transit service among the entire population.

And he reminded the senators and congressmen that the same union leaders who joined in the unanimous AFL-CIO Executive Council decision to withdraw from the Pay Board continue to serve on the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission, whose public members are free of control and where there is both genuine cooperation and effective results.

As for labor being worse off outside of the Pay Board, Meany said he couldn't see how it could be "any worse for us."

Sure, he agreed, labor's walkout gives the Administration a chance to make unions the scapegoat. But that's not a new development. The Administration has been trying to make labor the scapegoat for its economic failures all along, he observed.

The thrust of Meany's testimony was, however, the need to control prices. Failure to control food prices, he said, was nonsensical. Decontrol of 85 percent of retail estabishments and nearly all rents made a farce of controls. "The

a policy of "planned and premeditated delay" in approving negotiated increases and termed it "pathetic" that the board has held only five public hearings.

Boldt countered that the board has been "diligent" and said it was "outrageous" that anyone would charge that it had prejudged cases in favor of big business.

Grayson defended the Price Commission's record against Proxmire's charge that the control program has been a "pathetic failure." He acknowledged problems but said he would not want the commission to move into control of food prices except "as a last resort."

One witness before the Joint Economic Committee took a strong leave-things-as-they-are attitude to the Nixon Administration's wage-price controls program.

The president of the National Association of Manufacturers, W. P. Gullander, testified that any major shakeup of the controls system would be "a grave blow to confidence within the business world."

Romney's Pay-Cut Candle Flickered Out Long Ago

George Romney is collecting his full $60,000-a-year paycheck as Secretary of Housing & Urban Development. The sacrificial candle he lit nearly two years ago has flickered out.

Romney made one-day newspaper headlines when he announced that he was returning 25 percent of his salary to the Treasury "as my personal contribution to the battle against cost-push inflation."

He called on others to follow his example, declaring: "I believe we need to light candles of leadership, example and sacrifice."

But no one, it turned out, reached to take the match from his hand. And Romney's office confirmed to the AFL-CIO News that he has since rescinded his unilateral pay cut and is back at full Cabinet pay.

George Baldanzi Dead, Textile Union President

New York—George Baldanzi, president of the United Textile Workers since 1958, died Apr. 16 of an apparent heart attack at his home in Hawthorne, N.J. He was 65.

After working in Pennsylvania coal mines as a teenager, Baldanzi came to Paterson, N.J., to work in the textile mills. He helped organize the Dyers Federation and became its first president in 1933.

The Dyers affiliated with the CIO's Textile Workers Organizing Committee that was formed in 1937 and became a part of the Textile Workers Union of America which was founded in 1939.

Baldanzi was elected executive vice president at the TWUA's first convention in 1939 and was reelected to that office at subsequent conventions, serving until 1952.

He left the TWUA to join the UTW as director of organization. Baldanzi was on leave from the union in 1953-55 to serve as a regional director of the Teamsters. After returning to the UTW he was elected president in 1958 and re-

elected to three additional four-year terms.

In a message of condolence to UTW members and officers, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland cited Baldanzi's "long and dedicated service to his fellow workers, his complete belief in trade unionism and his humanitarianism."

Baldanzi is survived by his wife, Lena, one son and a grandson. Services were held in Hawthorne, Apr. 19.

A new UTW president will be elected at the union's 18th quadrennial convention which opens Apr. 24 in Miami.

A. Philip Randolph's Solid and Lasting Achievements

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAIT. By Jervis Anderson. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Available from A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010. 1973. 386 pages, illustrated. $10.

By GEORGE MEANY

HERE, at last, is a biography of Phil Randolph. And it is a wonderful book. Anyone who cares about the struggle for racial and economic justice must be grateful for its publication; and anyone who has known and worked with Phil Randolph, as I have for over 30 years, must delight in the way his personality and character emerge from these pages true-to-life—and yet, the man being what he is, a little bigger than life.

For Phil Randolph has been a historic figure. His life spans the multiple upheavals through which Americans have passed in the 20th century on the road to justice. Needless to say, we have not gone the whole distance, but we are a lot further along the road because of Phil Randolph's determination, eloquence and towering integrity.

The author, Jervis Anderson, is a talented young writer who was born in Jamaica and is on the staff of **The New Yorker** magazine, which serialized a portion of the book before publication. He has written a portrait that is absorbing, sensitive, balanced and well-researched. I think it's impressive that one so young and, therefore, removed from the subject, can reach so far back into the past and reconstruct it so movingly.

Anderson takes us back to Randolph's youth in Jacksonville, Florida, where he was born in 1889, the son of a circuit-riding minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and where he lived until 1911, when he arrived in Harlem at the end of the first modern wave of black migration to the North.

He traces Randolph's founding and editorship of the Messenger—the "only radical Negro magazine in America"—which flourished in the late teens and early 1920s; his stand against Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement and against W. E. B. Du Bois' elitist concept of "The Talented Tenth"; his bitter 10-year struggle to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters against the ruthless opposition of the Pullman Company; his fight against Communist infiltration of the National Negro Congress in the late 1930s; his 1941 March on Washington Movement, which brought about President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 banning discriminatin in defense industries and government; his successful campaign to win President Truman's Executive Order 9981 outlawing segregation in the armed services; his continuing battles against racial discrimination and segregation within the labor movement itself; and his triumphant 1963 March on Washington, which brought nearly a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital in a massive, peaceful demonstration for "jobs and freedom."

I am glad that Anderson emphasizes Phil Randolph's role as a union man, because some of those who profess to admire him do not have much use for the labor movement which was his base. They prefer to see him cut up into little compartments, his role as a labor leader having nothing to do with his role as a freedom fighter. Indeed, Randolph's championing of the organized labor movement is looked on by such people as an aberration or a sidelight, if acknowledged at all.

Take, for example, the former columnist, Murray Kempton, whom Anderson quotes as saying "It is hard to make anyone who has never met him believe that A. Philip Randolph must be the greatest man who has lived in the U.S. in this century. But it is harder yet to make anyone who has ever known him believe anything else."

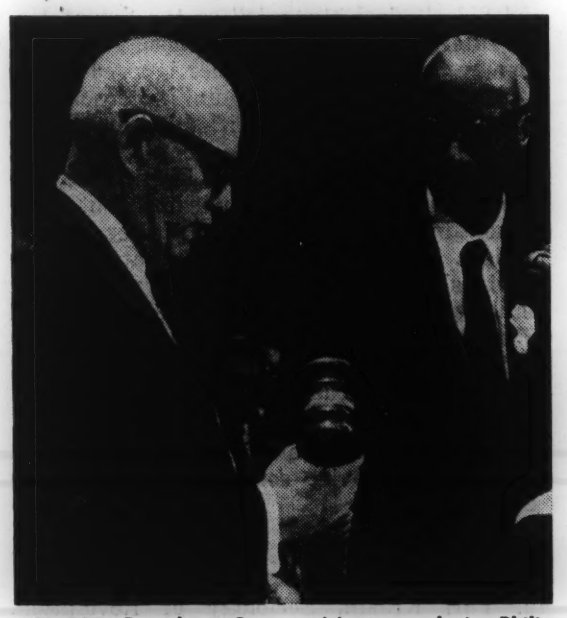
But on another occasion, here is what Kempton had to say of the movement which was so big a part of Randolph's life: "The AFL-CIO has lived happily in a society which, more lavishly than any in history, has managed the care and feeding of incompetent white people. . . . Who better represents that ideal than George Wallace?"

Of course, many columnists have never really been able to understand Randolph's deep commitment to the labor movement because they never really understood—still don't—what the labor movement is all about. They could not understand Randolph's support of the 1968 New York teachers strike in the midst of an intense campaign to discredit the teachers as racists.

Anderson gives a good account of Randolph's firm stand and quotes his reply to a critic: "I could not very well refuse to support the teachers' right to due process and job security since it is not only a basic part of our democratic life, but is indispensable for the ability of workers to hold jobs."

But this stand was rooted in a larger vision. Randolph expressed it at the 1963 AFL-CIO convention, in words which, says Anderson, "summed up his moral conception of the labor movement and its role in the social life of the country":

"Social and political freedom cannot be sustained in the midst of economic insecurity and exploitation," Randolph said. "Freedom requires a material foundation. . . . Social justice and economic reform have become inextricably intertwined in our time. If we are to speak to the needs of these workers, the labor movement will have to tap its wellsprings of social idealism. It will have to renew its crusading spirit. It must move forward toward a new evangelical spirit to reach down and lift up the poor workers, the disinherited, those in poverty and despair."



AFL-CIO President George Meany and A. Philip Randolph at recent federation convention.

Phil Randolph and I have had our disagreements over the years. They are discussed in this book. Yet they were, in the last analysis, disagreements on tactics, not principles. I think we have shared a common conviction that the labor movement has an urgent obligation not only to clean its own house of racism but to move all of society away from that disease.

Today, the American labor movement is far and away the most racially integrated mass institution in American life. In fact, a higher percentage of black workers are unionized than of white workers. Moreover, a Chicago Urban League study showed that a higher proportion of blacks occupy decision-making positions in the labor movement than in any comparable institution.

The building trades, long criticized as "lily-white," made enormous progress. Much of this has been due to the cooperation of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which, along with the Workers Defense League, gave birth to what is now called the Recruitment and Training Program. Thanks to the assistance of the RTP, the Urban League and other Outreach programs, the building trades can now boast a higher percentage of minority youth in their apprenticeship programs than in just about any other industry in the country. Over 13 percent of the building trades apprentices are minority youth today, as compared with 2.5 percent in 1960. Not only that, but of the newly enrolled apprentices, over 20 percent are nonwhite.

In all of this progress, as Anderson shows, Phil Randolph has had a hand and a voice. Indeed, when you look back on his solid and lasting achievements, you can't help but compare them with the flash-in-the-pan gimmicks of the fly-by-night "leaders" who were created by the boob tube in the last decade. Where are the loudmouths and the super-militants today?

I know where Phil Randolph is today, because he is a man of consistent and incorruptible dedication to principle. Half a century after his first union organizing efforts, he continues to serve with distinction as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. He serves, too, as honorary chairman of Social Democrats, USA, having never abandoned his democratic socialist philosophy and his strong opposition to Communist totalitarianism.

And, as chairman of the institute that bears his name, he inspires highly successful programs of voter registration and political education in the black community, with the support of the AFL-CIO. The "Negro-Labor Alliance," for which Phil has been the most eloquent spokesman in America, has found a most effective embodiment in the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Phil Randolph has enjoyed a rich career. He has earned the esteem of millions, not only here but throughout the world. Many will claim him for their own. But, firstly and foremostly, as I see it, he is labor's son—and he does us proud. He is a credit to workers everywhere, white and black. I am glad my good friend has had such a good biographer.

Where We Stand

Albert Shanker
NYSUT Executive Vice President

The greatness of A. Philip Randolph . . .

In recent years educators have devoted considerable effort to developing courses which include a full treatment of the role minorities, particularly blacks, have played in American history. In so doing, the schools have been making up for years of neglect in this area. But, in the effort to overcome this neglect, it is not surprising that there have been some excesses. In many cases Negro history has been rewritten and over-simplied. Black figures have been portrayed as either "Uncle Toms" or revolutionaries, not a very happy or accurate set of alternatives. Students searching for models have naturally chosen, and have been encouraged to choose, the revolutionaries, unaware that black history is richer and more complex than they have been led to believe.

We are, therefore, deeply indebted to Jervis Anderson for his absorbing and thoroughly judicious biographical portrait of A. Philip Randolph, one of the truly monumental figures in American history. Anderson's book (which can be obtained by sending $10 to the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 260 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010) is at once a biography and a history of the struggle for racial justice in this century. It is a struggle which Randolph pursued, often as its major leader, for over 60 years, demonstrating throughout an unbending dedication to basic principles, enormous perseverance, devotion and intelligence, and an exceptionally kind and generous nature.

His accomplishments are staggering. He started his career as the editor of the *Messenger*, a radical Negro magazine described by William Dufty of the *New York Post* as "one of the most brilliantly edited magazines in the history of American Negro journalism." In 1925, during one of the bleakest periods in Randolph's life and in Negro history since Reconstruction, he began his 12-year struggle to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It seemed a hopeless and dangerous task. "We thought Randolph was crazy," his old friend, Noble Sissle, recalls. "*You* going to fight the Pullman Company? *Randolph* going to fight Pullman's millions of dollars when half the time he didn't have a dime in his pocket?" But Randolph fought hard and he endured, and his success in organizing the porters stands as one of the most difficult and significant achievements by a black American or by an American trade unionist.

Randolph characteristically viewed the struggle for the Brotherhood in broad, long-range terms. The once-servile porters were to become, "the spearhead which will make possible the organization of Negro workers." They "constituted the key to unlocking the door of a nationwide struggle for Negro rights." With a solid base among the nationally organized and highly politicized porters, Randolph was in a position to lead the March on Washington Movement in 1941, which culminated in Roosevelt's executive order barring discrimination in defense industries. In addition to achieving the immediate objective, Randolph established two basic strategic principles for the Negro struggle: the necessity for intervention by the federal government in the pursuit of racial justice, and the need for mass action by blacks to pressure the government into acting. Randolph applied the same strategy in 1948 in pressuring Truman to issue a new executive order barring segregation in the armed forces. The civil rights movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's also followed this strategy. Indeed, it was Randolph, along with his protege, Bayard Rustin, who directed the most dramatic event of that period, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

. . . who saw in unionism the key to racial justice

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Randolph's other major achievement, which may ultimately be recognized as his most important, was to lead the fight for the full integration of the American labor movement. For a long time it was a very lonely fight. Randolph was bucking considerable anti-union sentiment among blacks as well as the tradition of segregation which existed in many unions. He succeeded where others had failed because he understood the importance of the labor movement—and economic progress in general—to the struggle for racial justice, and also because he knew that the labor movement itself could not survive without unity between black and white workers. "If they are organized separately," he told the AFL convention in 1936, "they will not understand each other, and if they do not understand each other they will fight each other, and if they fight each other they will hate each other, and the employing class will profit from that condition."

Because he was a loyal critic of the labor movement, unlike so many other critics of labor, Randolph was able to win the full support of the AFL-CIO leadership to the view that the fight against discrimination was in the best interests and in the best tradition of the labor movement. Randolph's steadfast commitment to trade union principles was the basis for his courageous and controversial support of the New York City teachers during the strikes of 1968. Unlike many fashionable liberals of that time, he believed that teachers — even "middle class white" teachers combatting the excesses of community control in black school districts — had certain inviolable rights. He refused to turn what was basically an issue of human rights into a racial issue. "I could not very well refuse to support the teachers' right to due process and job security," he said at the time, "since it is not only a basic part of our democratic life, but it is indispensable to the ability of teachers to hold jobs."

Everyone who has had any contact with Randolph has been deeply impressed by his integrity, his incorruptibility, his unflagging devotion to the Negro cause and to justice for all people. He has never tailored his views to suit popular fashions. As a lifelong democratic socialist, he has constantly warned the black community of the dangers to black progress inherent in black nationalism on the one hand and communism on the other. (Today, at 84, he continues his political activity as honorary chairman of Social Democrats, U.S.A.) Yet Randolph cannot be understood on the basis of philosophy alone. He is a man of *character*.

The young people today who place such a high value on sincerity (as well they should) should read the story of Randolph. He has never compromised, never sold out. When the Pullman Company sent him a blank check, redeemable in six figures, he said to the company's emissary, "Take this blank check back to where you got it and tell them I'm not for sale." Prior to the issue of the historic executive orders, he met both with Roosevelt and Truman. They tried to discourage him, to bargain him down, but he would not budge. Not even the President of the United States could persuade him to betray the trust his people had placed in him. These and other episodes in Randolph's life are recounted, simply and movingly, in Anderson's excellent biography. We are fortunate to have this book, just as we have been fortunate to have Randolph as a leader and an inspiration.

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Mr. Shanker's comments appeared in his column, "Where We Stand," in The New York Times *on Sunday, Sept. 2.*

1973

Roy Wilkins

AMERICAN NOBLEMAN

The ninth anniversary of the famous March on Washington by the civil rights organizations and their followers is Aug. 28. It seems only yesterday that 220,000 white and black people—an estimated 40,000 white — presented their petition and their personal presence to their government, at its seat, in behalf of civil rights for all Americans.

Aug. 28 offers also an opportunity to pay a tribute to the father of the March on Washington idea, A. Philip Randolph, who is several years past his 80th birthday. Randolph attained nationwide notice for his work in the '20s with the organizing period of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Few people know of those hard days, for the trains are gone.

* * *

Today is not the time to review the battle of Randolph's incipient union of poor and powerless Pullman porters with the rich and arrogant Pullman company. That is a story of steadfast integrity which might well inspire every black young person who seeks black heroes. One does not have to go to far-off Africa for black kings and fearless warrior tribes. One can find greatness, the sacrifice, the suffering and the inspiration right here in America.

After the union was a going concern of proud men, Randolph pursued his dream of an outpouring in Washington in support of jobs and the whole range of civil rights. He drove FDR up a tree in 1941 with the March on Washington idea of jobs for minorities just as Great Britain was calling for more production of war goods and black workers were being refused factory jobs.

President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 and the concept of fair employment practice was born. It went from the toothless, wartime FEP to where it is today, solidly rooted in our economic and political thinking, regardless of breaches in the practice.

Randolph waited impatiently for the right climate of opinion for his march. He got it in the summer of 1963 after the assassination of Medgar Evers, the Birmingham battle between "Bull" Connor and the civil rights forces of Rev. Martin Luther King. A week after the Evers killing, President John F. Kennedy went on nationwide television announcing that an omnibus civil rights bill was being sent to Congress.

The time was ripe. July 2, 1963 saw the organizing meeting in New York City. The next eight weeks were crammed with activity under the tireless direction of Bayard Rustin, assistant to Randolph.

Except for the many behind-the-scenes crises, the story of Aug. 28 is a public record. Martin Luther King, assigned to the clean-up spot, went on to deliver his now world-famous speech, "I Have a Dream."

Perhaps because of this, the practice has grown among writers on King, to call the Aug. 28, 1963, gathering "his" march. It has been so stated in newspaper and magazine articles, on television and on radio. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Nothing could be more unfair to A. Philip Randolph.

* * *

Martin Luther King, with his matchless oratory, his mellifluous cadences, and his great charisma, was the star above the star-studded cast of civil rights speakers. But the man who dreamed the dream that brought 220,000 Americans to Washington in behalf of the black and all minorities, should have the acclaim that is rightly his. Dr. King, who was assassinated in 1968, would be the first to hail Randolph on his anniversary.

Today the ideals of America are endangered and again the question is, "What shall be the United States' stand on opportunity and equality for blacks and other non-whites?" This time it is school busing that masks the denial of equal education.

Aug. 28 is a sobering date in our national history.

God and Richard Nixon

From "The Nixon Theology," by Charles P. Henderson, Jr. (Harper & Row, $6.95).

One gains the impression in reviewing all Nixon has said and done that, while he incessantly harks back to his religion, he does not find in it a source of personal insight or social vision. He constantly talks about shaping the future, but there is little in his prophecies that would fire the social imagination, and slight evidence that his programs flow from a compelling vision of the future. He forecasts a richer, safer, cleaner world, but he does not seem to imagine or desire fundamental changes in the quality of life. Apparently his hopes would be fulfilled if all the world could share the affluence of one of this country's better suburbs.

N.Y. Post 8-26-72

LABOR

'A. Philip Randolph Day' In Illinois; Named 'Man Of Year' By Chicago Group

A. Philip Randolph came to New York City in the 1920s when post-World War I America was in a ferment and Black America was going through some of the most dramatic changes in its history.

A poor boy from the South (Crescent City, Fla.), he helped to establish a small employment bureau for unskilled Southern Blacks who were flocking to New York in search of economic milk and honey.

Randolph was later swept up in the growing labor movement, where he made his mark by overcoming much opposition to organize The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union. The old warrior—he is 83—has been fighting for civil and labor rights ever since.

Rev. Dunlap pays tribute to Randolph who responds.

Randolph recently came to Chicago, where he was presented the "Man of the Year" award at a testimonial banquet held in his honor. The act of recognition, one of many given him during his lengthy career, was the work of the Chicago Coalition for United Community Action (CUCA).

On hand for the testimonial, held on the day proclaimed as "A. Philip Randolph Day" in Illinois by Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie, were Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Robert J. Brown, special assistant to President Richard M. Nixon; Philip J. Davis, deputy assistant secretary, U. S. Office of Federal Contract Compliance; Carl W. Latimer, president and executive director of the CUCA, and Rev. A. I. Dunlap, CUCA board chairman.

August 26, 1972

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

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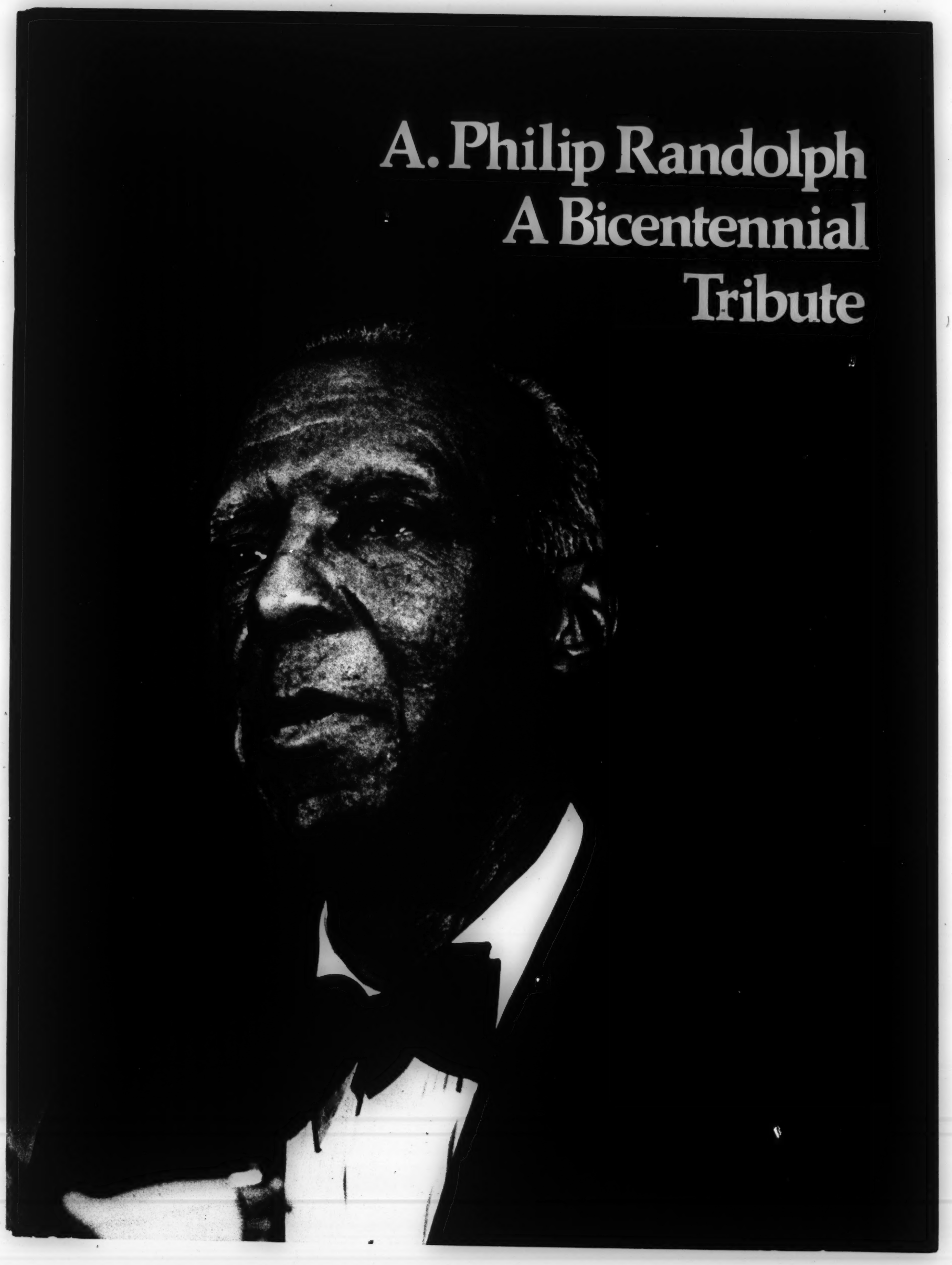
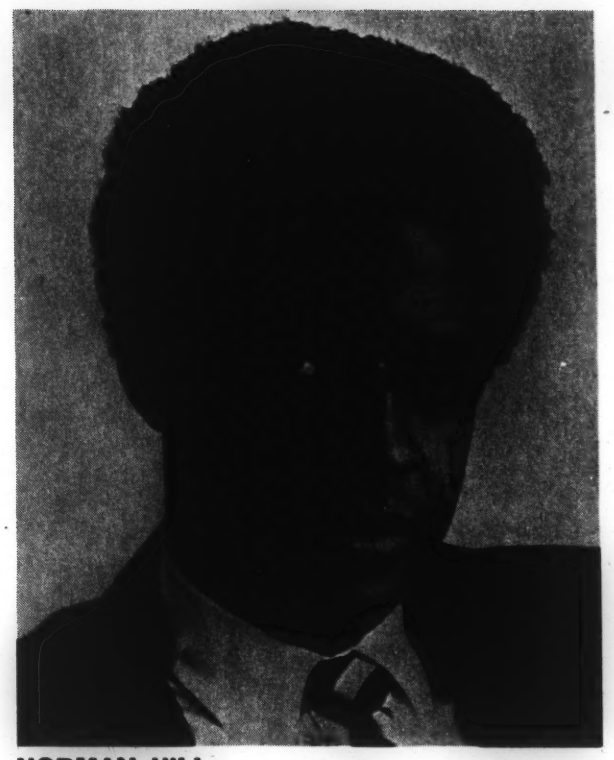
A. Philip Randolph
A Bicentennial Tribute



BAYARD RUSTIN



NORMAN HILL

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was established in 1965, the year in which the black struggle won one of its greatest legislative victories, the Voting Rights Act. The Institute has acted on the premise that to complete the agenda of the civil rights movement would require a movement which sought basic, far-reaching changes in the nation's social and economic structures. The means of effecting this transformation, moreover, would be political. Thus the Institute directs its program to extending democracy to those who have been traditionally disenfranchised or discouraged from participating in the political system.

The changes in the ensuing years have been dramatic. Millions more blacks, are voting and over 3,000 blacks serve as elected officials. But representation in and of itself is not enough — witness the scandalous rate of black unemployment, the deterioration of the cities and the inability to stem inner-city blight. Blacks alone do not have the power to secure the changes in national policy necessary to complete the legacy of the civil rights movement.

This is why the Institute has worked for the creation of a broad-based, national coalition of those forces who believe in social progress for minorities, the poor, and working people.

We believe the black unionist is a source of strength in our society. Our programs seek to enhance the role of the black unionist, both in the black community and in the labor movement itself.

The ideals of the Institute are the same ideals which have guided A. Philip Randolph in his life-long struggle for racial and social progress. They are the principles which produced the March on Washington, the successful campaigns to organize black workers, and the struggle against discrimination in federal employment and Jim Crow in the armed services.

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

National Advisory Board
Dorothy Height
Vernon E. Jordan
John Lewis
Roy Wilkins

Executive Board
I. W. Abel
George Agree
Jervis Anderson
Alexander E. Barkan
Charles Bloomstein
Peter Bommarito
John T. Burnell
Sol C. Chaikin
Kenneth B. Clark
Jacob Clayman
Earl W. Davis
Hal C. Davis
Walter Davis
Francis S. Filbey
Murray H. Finley
Angelo Fosco
Alex Fuller
William Gary
Raymond Gray
Ernest Green
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Vivian Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
Herbert A. Levine
Dennis Lockhart
John H. Lyons
Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert McGlotten
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
Emanuel Muravchik
Eleanor H. Norton
Warren Pate
William Pollard
Robert Powell
S. Frank Raftery
Richard Ravitch
Howard Richardson
John P. Roche
Albert Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Donald Slaiman
Lorenzo Stephens
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Joseph Tonelli
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POEM FOR A MAN

by

Langston Hughes

To A. Philip Randolph on achieving his 70th year

Poem for a man
Who has lived
Seventy years of life
And strife
And emerged grand,
In spite of errors here
And errors there
And pitfalls –
This compromise and that required
That the dreams he sired
Might in part
Be realized.

Poem for a man
Of flesh and blood,
And human as you and I,
And lost at sea
In waves of other lost humanity,
But holding somehow high
A flag with spar
And star
For you and me.

Poem for a man
Who put his hand
Upon a dream of human dignity
And held it there –
And took his other hand
To try to wipe the mud away,
The mud that spattered everywhere:
"And who are you to think
You lead the Negro people?"

And who are you to ask,
"And who are you?"

Poem for a man
Who plays the checkered game
Of king jump king –
And jumps a President:
That **order 8802**
For me and you
And porters on a railroad car
Who make –
Each time they make a bed –
A hammock on a star
That sings in space
The dawn-song
Of a race.

Poem for a man –
All these years
Grand!

A. Philiip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president emeritus of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

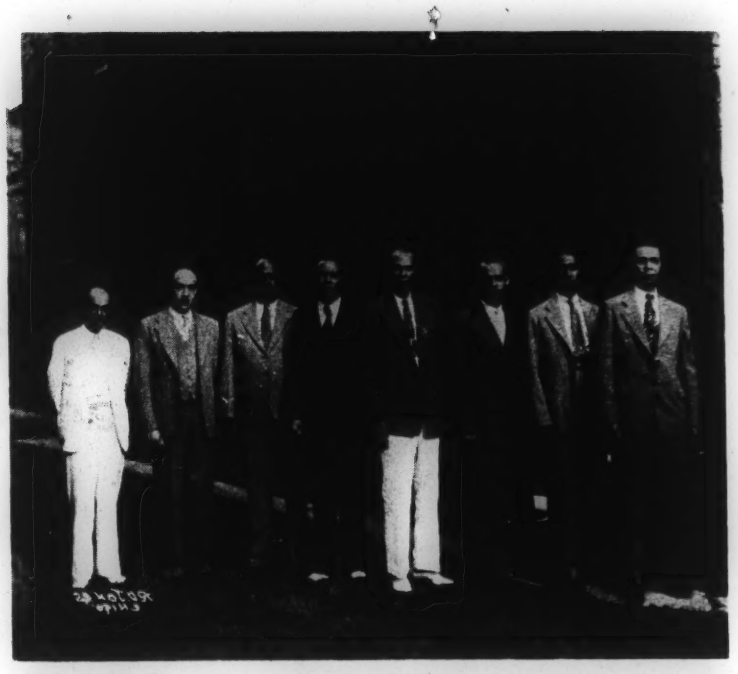
Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearaean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science and developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism. As co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader.



Early photo of A. Philip Randolph (fourth from left) with leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest—a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement—in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Wahington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only *after* President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948, Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees, and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

The Struggle for Justice, As He Has Seen It

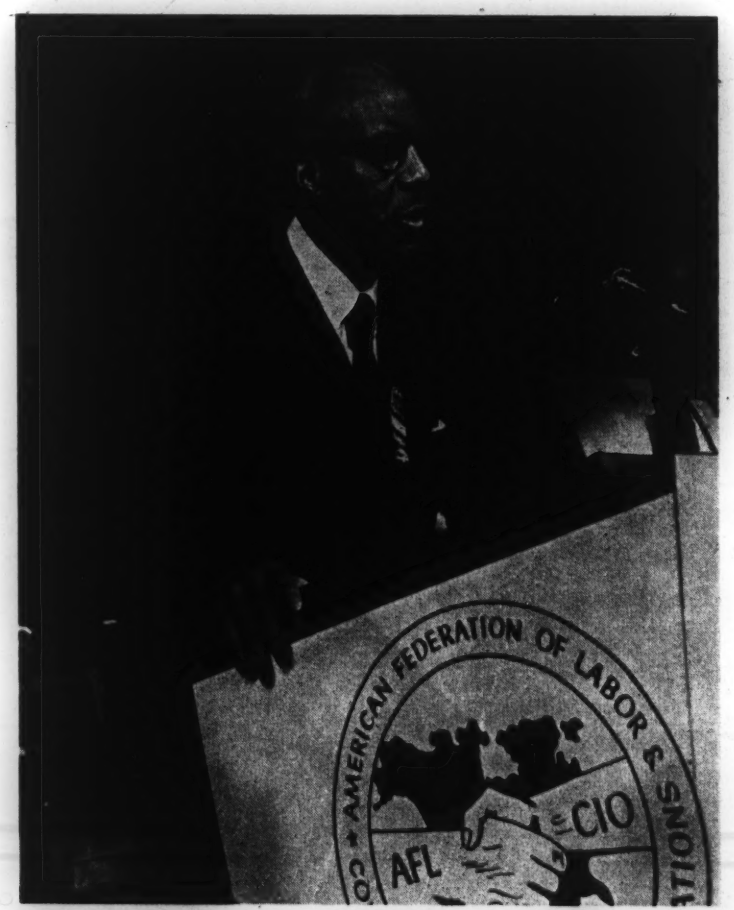
Labor and the Negro Revolution

But, since neither labor or the Negro is fully free and because both can only survive and win their complete rights within the framework of a democratic society, Negroes and white trade unionists can most effectively advance their cause by the recognition of the common interest both have at the point of production, on the job and in the union hall, as well as at the ballot box.

Both have the problem of getting the southern political demagogues off their backs, who ride into office from year to year on the slogan of racialism. Both have the problem of liberating themselves from the economic clutches of exploitation of city industrial and financial capitalists of the South and a semi-feudalistic plantation oligarchy.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

A. Philip Randolph and Milton Webster of the Brotherhood with AFL-CIO President George Meany.



Addressing the national convention of the AFL-CIO.

Labor and Blacks

While Negroes had and still have legitimate grievances against discriminatory practices of some unions which should be pressed for correction, organized labor, too, has a legitimate complaint against the indifference, if not outright opposition of some sections of Negro leadership to trade union aims and practices. Just as the poor white workers of the South were sold propaganda that they had a stake in the segregation and subjugation of their colored brothers, so Negroes were sold propaganda that their best interests were tied up with organized big business against organized labor.

Philanthropy of the rich for Negro institutions, educational and religious, were pointed to as evidence of the friendship of capital for the Negro worker; while trade unions were roundly berated and condemned for exclusion of Negro workers from membership and jobs. Irked and distressed by the attacks from capital and some Negro leaders, some trade union leaders replied by denouncing Negroes as strike breakers and poor union members. History will show that both groups were partially right and wrong.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the local union is the point where Negro workers must demonstrate their loyalty to the union cause and, by religious attendance at union meetings, to keep the fight alive against racism. It is also important that in the local union a vigorous fight be made by both white and Negro members, in the interest of the realization of the goals of the union by unremitting struggle, suffering and sacrifice. It is important that colored workers recognize, along with their white brothers, that no union can ever accumulate and build power except it pass through the fires of great suffering, struggle, trouble, hardship and trial. This quality is far more important than money, for while it is possible to build a union without money it is not possible to build a union without the spiritual and moral qualities of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of a better life for the workers.

From address to National Conference of NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

It is of noteworthy interest that at this period of crisis in the civil rights revolution and the highest peak of organizational power of the American labor movement, that its leadership should reside in the hands of a worker of fine moral integrity, vision and courage, such as George Meany, who is forthrightly and strongly committed to the cause of civil rights, amply attested in notable speeches and action.

From address to National Conference, NAACP; June 27, 1956; San Francisco, California.

The Futility of Violence

In this great fight for freedom, Negroes should not permit themselves to be provoked to the use of violence against violence under any circumstances. For just as violence cannot win civil rights for Negroes; violence by the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, by the same token, cannot defeat the fight by Negroes for their civil rights.

If Negroes continue wisely to shun the use of violence like a plague and keep the fight against segregation upon the high level of discussion, debate, argument, reason, fact and evidence, on the public platform, in the press, on the television and radio, our cause of integration will ultimately prevail because history is on our side.

From address at Orchestra Hall; Chicago; May 17, 1956.

Be not dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South. It is written in the stars that the old order of southern fedualism, with its remnants and vestiges of lynching, peonage, vagrancy laws, mob violence, Ku Klux Klan, anti-labor union practices expressed in right-to-work laws, widespread illiteracy, low wages, dying; its death will come as a result of the emergence of the dynamic impulse for freedom surging in the hearts of Negroes, together with the march of industrialization, urbanization, labor union organization, extension of education and the modernization of government through the spread of the ballot. These new forces will create and build a new South, free for the white and black masses to pursue a life of dignity and decency.

From statement delivered to the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom; May 17, 1957; Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Thus, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee go around calling upon Negroes to "get themselves some guns" for protection when trouble comes.

This commitment to violence as the major strategy to effect basic social change is not only an exhibition of the sickness of infantile leftism but a dangerous form of mindless madness. Violence settles nothing. Violence only begets violence. it does not inspire a forward march by the black

During World War I.

avant-garde to new fields of racial creativity, but to reaction, frustration and despair.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

Civil Rights and Economic Rights

Civil rights and economic rights supplement and complement each other. One is insecure without the other. Civil rights and civil liberties; namely, freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and religious worship, trial by jury, habeas corpus, right of petition, right to vote and to be voted for, freedom from self-incrimination or double jeopardy, constitute the pillars of our democratic society. They are the attributes of citizenship. Without them an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen. If an individual cannot function as a full-fledged, first-class citizen he cannot register his consent or dissent upon policies of state; he cannot effectively exercise a permanent influence upon the course and change of the economy which involve the means whereby he lives.

Thus, Negroes have no alternative but to throw their all into the balance, to fight for civil rights and civil liberties so as to possess the tools with which to struggle for economic rights and economic liberties, the *sine qua non* of political and economic democracy.

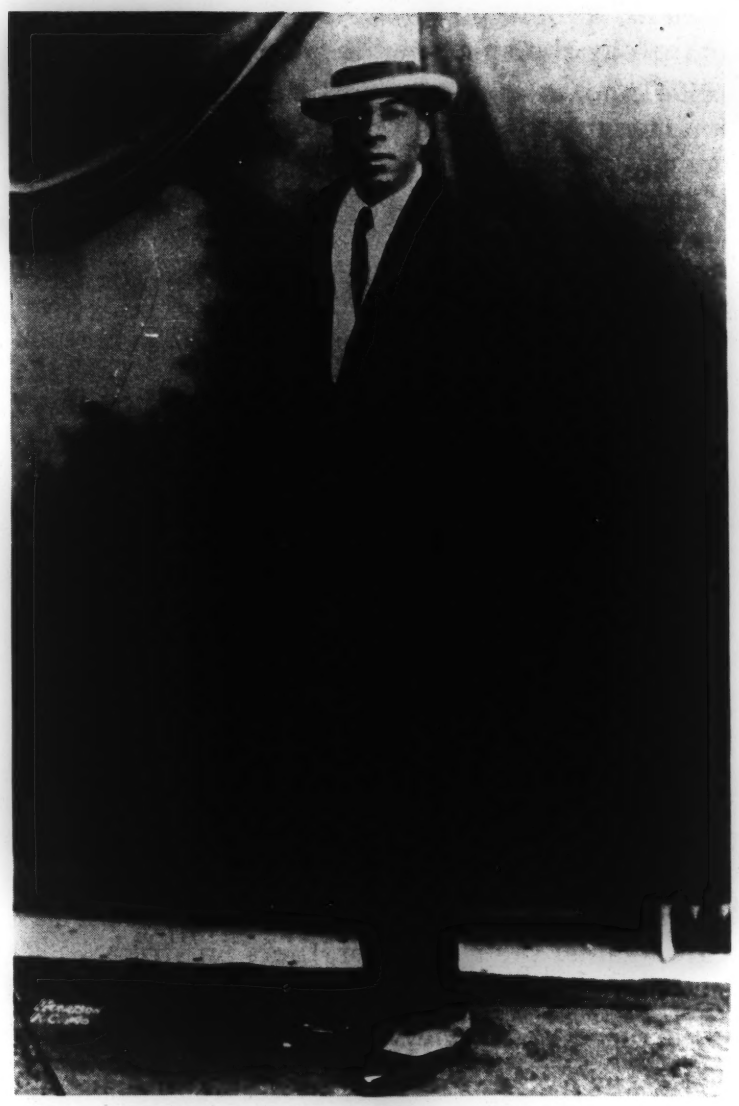
From address to Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.

Industrialism

Negroes are caught up in the dilemma of being propelled to keep the Civil Rights Revolution moving forward at an accelerated pace to the rapid realization of its mission without being devoured by the revolution of science. Negroes have major stakes in, and must profit from, both revolutions. But if the Civil Rights Revolution is not completed, they will become the stepchildren of the new scientific revolution, if not the victims of social-economic devolution.

Without a victorious Civil Rights Revolution Negroes cannot adequately participate in or benefit from the revolution of the new industrialism.

From address to the Americans for Democratic Action; February 1, 1964; Washington, D.C.



As a young man in New York, around 1912.

The Role of the Pullman Porter

The handful of porters who weathered the storms of Pullman oppression were the shock troops of black labor. They were the first black workers who had openly dared to beard the mighty industrial lion of Pullman in its den.

Yes, Pullman was fierce and cruel. It had brutally battered the railroad workers under the matchless leadership of the great Gene Debs in the celebrated Pullman strike of 1894.

During the bitter, grey and hapless days there was not a single Negro organization which the Brotherhood could call its friend, and only one or two black papers, and not a single nationally known leader. The Brotherhood porters and leaders were the black untouchables. But the small band of militant, weatherbeaten black proletarian brothers of the ghetto never faltered. With heads

erect and souls uncurbed, porters who had been fired on account of membership in the union were stirred by the spirit of the labor hymn, *Solidarity Forever:*

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn
We can break their might power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong.

The Brotherhood preached this philosophy to the black worker in particular, and the Negro communities in general. The Brotherhood gave the porter, and incidentally the Negro workers as a whole, a sense of racial and class identity and pride. While the Brotherhood fought to break down racial barriers in labor unions, it also fought against Negro workers permitting themselves to be used as scabs against their white brothers on strike.

From report to the triennial convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; September 2, 1968; New Orleans, Louisiana.

The Common Enemy

Finally, we call upon the white workers and black workers, poor white sharecroppers and poor black sharecroppers of the South to join hands and build trade unions, credit unions and cooperatives on a basis of their common interests and go to the polls and throw out of office the political demagogues who ride into power every election on the issue of racial discrimination.

We believe that when the poor whites of the South, drugged with the opium of white supremacy, open their eyes and realize who their main enemies are, namely; the plantation semi-feudalistic oligarchy, city-business and industrial capitalists and parasitic, demagogic politicians, they will join hands with poor blacks and fight for the liberation of both groups from segregation, economic exploitation and social oppression to the end of eliminating illiteracy, disease and poverty.

From address at Madison Square Garden rally; May 24, 1956.

Communists and the Civil Rights Movement

Because the Negro working masses possess deep and legitimate grievances on account of racial discrimination and segregation, they will be offered magnificent milleniums by all sorts of Messiahs if only they follow the gospel according to St. Stalin of the Soviet Union. While no compromise must be countenanced or entertained in the struggle of Negroes for civil rights, and be it said to the credit of militant Negro leadership and American democratic liberalism, this fight for civil rights is steadily, if slowly, being won, Negro workers must choose, with great care and vigilance and understanding, the allies they accept for support and cooperation. Just as Negro workers could not, with grace or in principle, accept help, even if offered, from the Ku Klux Klan, a species of Facism, which is the enemy of democracy, nor can they, by the same token, join hands and march forward with Communists on any front, since they represent, not only an anti-democratic, economic, political and social system, but they owe and maintain allegiance with a foreign state, Soviet Russia, the enemy of America and the free world.

Wherever trade unions have been taken over by the Communist agents of the Russian politbureau, such as the Communists are in every country today, not only have the workers suffered, but the democratic government of the workers has been undermined and destroyed, thereby establishing Communist labor concentration camps of slavery and the police state climate of frustration and fear.

From address to Negro Labor Committee; March 1, 1952

To An Emerging Nation

In order that this task may be progressively and constructively carried forward, your country must not only be free of external domination but free from within. Freedom and democracy do not inhere in independence per se, nor do they automatically follow therefrom. All of the moral, spiritual and intellectual resources of the leaders and people of Ghana will be required to hammer out and maintain free democratic institutions and a free way of life that are basically implicit in the mandates of nationalism. But I need not tell your great leaders that the job of building a sound, free economy will be no less challenging and difficult than winning independence.

From statement delivered at the Ghana Independence Celebration; March, 1957; Accra, Ghana.

Leading protesters demanding an end to Jim Crow in the armed services at the 1948 Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

Jim Crow Must Go

Today I should like to make clear to the Senate Armed Services Committee and through you, to Congress and the American people that passage now if a jim-crow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism. I must emphasize that the current agitation for civil rights is no longer a mere expression of hope on the part of Negroes. On the one hand, it is a positive, resolute outreaching for full manhood. On the other hand, it is an equally determined will to stop acquiescing in anything less. Negroes demand full, unqualified first-class citizenship.

From testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the demand for an end to segregation in the military forces; March 31, 1948.

Grant Reynolds and A. Philip Randolph testify before Senate Committee to demand an end to segregation in the military forces in 1948.

A Lesson of History

Now, history is replete with evidence of the fact that in this competitive struggle among social forces in the national community for support and concessions from the state to redress wrongs against any group, the state invariably moves in the direction and confers its favor upon that social force such as labor or business, prohibition or temperance, negroes or the South, which, in the context of the times, constitutes the greatest challenge to the stability and power of the state. The philosophy behind this historical fact is that government only moves when it is moved by pressure from social forces. It never initiates action in behalf of any groups of its citizens on a basis of sympathy, mercy or justice.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Segregation a Sin

Since segregation demeans and degrades the dignity of the human personality, it is not only a form of aggression against individual liberty, a major cornerstone of democracy, but it is also in conflict with the basic Judeo-Christian ethic which emphasizes the worth of every individual human being.

Thus, segregation is not only an abomination against humanity, but is a sin, and a sin should not be gradually accepted or gradually rejected. It is paradoxical to think of one gradually accepting the law of God or the law of the State.

May I submit that despite much discussion by some southern leaders about the practicality of gradualism, I know of no instances where southern leaders advocate gradualism, if it is construed to mean eventual racial and social equality with white men, even in astronomical time. This position of the South is understandable in the light of its belief in the racial inferiority of the Negro. Thus, the Negro and the South, in the terms of the logic of their positions on racial equality, are required to oppose gradualism, but for different reasons.

From address to the State of the Race Conference; April 24, 1956; Washington, D.C.

Toil and Trouble.

The following are excerpted from "A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait," by Jervis Anderson.

"The Sea Is Ruff"

After looking into the history of the porters' grievances, Randolph wrote and published two articles—"The Case of the Pullman Porter" and "Pullman Porters Need Their Own Union"—in the July and August, 1925, issues of the *Messenger*. They aroused such interest among porters in New York that Ashley Totten renewed his pressure upon Randolph to take on the job of organizing a union. And this time Randolph agreed. An organizing committee was set up, with himself as general organizer; W. H. DesVerney, deputy general organizer; and Roy Lancaster, secretary-treasurer. Lancaster also became business manager of the *Messenger*, which Randolph agreed to transform into the voice of the new union. Totten, Thomas Patterson, and R. R. Matthews continued working on the railroads.

Randolph's decision to lead the new movement had turned mainly on two considerations. First, no one else seemed willing to take kup the porters' cause. And, second, on further reflection, he saw the porters as his last and, possibly, best chance to promote the idea of labor unionism among black workers. "The Pullman porter," he told Benjamin Stolberg a year later, "seems to be made to order to carry the gospel of unionism in the colored world. His home is everywhere."

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was launched on the night of August 25, 1925, in the auditorium of the Imperial Lodge of Elks, at 160 West 129th Street. The New York *Amsterdam News* called the gathering of 500 "the greatest labor mass meeting ever held of, for and by Negro working men." But not all were well-wishers and potential members. According to the *Amsterdam News*, there were also "a few of the Company's spies and several hat-in-hand porters, waiting to get information to carry back to the Pullman offices." Because of this, the inaugural meeting had to be a cautious and restrained affair. Randolph recalls it:

I told the men I didn't want one porter to open his mouth in the meeting, lest the stool pigeons reported them to the Pullman Company. So I ran the whole meeting myself. I told them I would now give the invocation, and I gave it. I told them I was going to sing the Brotherhood's song, "Hold the Fort," and I sang it. I told them I was going to make the announcements and introduce the guest speakers, and I did. I told them now I was going to make the main speech, and then I did. At the end of the meeting, I moved the vote of thanks, said the benediction, and told everyone to go home and not hold any discussions on the street corners.

Photo taken around 1929, during the early period of Mr. Randolph's tenure as President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Randolph also told the porters what the Brotherhood would be demanding: recognition of the union and abolition of the company's Plan of Employee Representation; and end to tipping, and a minimum monthly wage of $150; a basic work month of 240 hours, compensation for "dead-heading," and an end to "doubling out"; conductor's pay for conductor's work; and, "by no means last, that porters be treated like men."

The following day, more than 200 porters came to the *Messenger's* office—also headquarters of the new Brotherhood—to join the union. The initial enthusiasm was so great that within two months the Brotherhood would claim a majority of the porters in New York.

It was about this time, while Randolph was back in New York, that a story started circulating that the Pullman Company had sent him a blank check, redeemable in six figures, to abandon the Brotherhood. Today, only one man declares that the story is true. Randolph himself has neither admitted nor denied it, perhaps because—as Roy Wilkins once said, while telling the story at an affair

in Randolph's honor—"Mr. Randolph is a modest man." C. L. Dellums says, "It is one of those stories you can't publish, because everyone would deny it." The man who says it's true is William Bowe, a charter member of the New York Brotherhood, who succeeded Ashley Totten as secretary-treasurer. Bowe knows it's true, he says, because "I was present at the attempt to purchase Randolph." It was, he recalls, "in the Harlem apartment of a porter named Owens. There were four of us there. Owens, Randolph, the porter stool pigeon who brought the check, and myself. Randolph had me hiding in another room. The stool pigeon, a porter working out of Philadelphia—I won't call his name—didn't know I was witnessing the transaction. He gave Randolph the check and told him all he had to do was fill in the amount. And Randolph, with his poker face, said, 'Take this blank check back to where you got it and tell them I'm not for sale.'" Randolph confines himself to the comment that "it was a feat to avoid being corrupted by the Pullman Company, because those fellows could corrupt Jesus Christ."

But, as one of the Brotherhood's organizers—O. W. Bynum—has said, recalling what every union porter felt at the time, "Randolph could not be bought. He had no interest in worldly goods. He would walk away from the Empire State Building if you gave it to him." Then, too, aside from his genuine disregard for "worldly goods," Randolph—as he had written in an internal office memo, in 1931—considered "the Brotherhood a high public and racial trust and I propose that its work shall always be conducted upon a high plane of honor, integrity and character."

It was not until April 1, 1937, three days after the Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of the amended Railway Labor Act, that the Pullman Company started bargaining in good faith. And it was not until August 25—the twelfth anniversary of the Brotherhood—that E. G. Carry announced to the mediator and the Brotherhood's negotiators, "Gentlemen, the Pullman Company is ready to sign." The agreement, the first ever signed between a union of black workers and a major American corporation, called for a reduction in the work month from 400 to 240 hours, and an annual wage package of $1,250,000.

E. G. Carry may not have realized that August 25 was the union's birthday, or, as the Brotherhood men suspected, he would have held out another day. Nevertheless, after twelve years of one of the bitterest struggles in American labor history, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had finally be recognized.

Almost overnight, Randolph became the most popular black political figure in America. A year earlier, the Brotherhood had become a full-fledged member of the AFL when, anticipating its victory, William Green had awarded it an international charter. After the union's victory, New York's Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, receiving a delegation of porters at City Hall, praised Randolph as "one of the foremost progressive labor leaders in America." And a few years later, the Brotherhood would help to win for blacks a place in American society that the Pullman porter of old had not known and could hardly have foreseen.

Negroes in Motion

In December, 1940, Randolph and Milton Webster left Washington by train to visit Brotherhood divisions in the South. As the train rumbled through Virginia, both men were silent. Whatever was on Randolph's mind, Webster, a self-confessed "loud-mouth" who "talk[ed] too much sometimes," was consulting old memories. "I always," he said later, "get a deep feeling, a funny feeling whenever I cross the Potomac River, and I'm always silent. They ran me and my old man from down South when I was a boy and I haven't been particular about going down there since."

Randolph finally broke the silence. "You know, Web," he said, "calling on the President and holding those conferences are not going to get us anywhere."

"We are going to have to do something about it," Randolph went on.

This changed Webster's mood. "Here it comes again," he said to himself, warily, remembering that "Brother Randolph was always figuring out something for us to do, sticking his nose in everything to see where he can stir something up." Wondering what Randolph had "up his sleeve" this time, Webster did not reply, but kept looking out across the Virginia landscape.

Randolph continued: "I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington in

With Eleanor Roosevelt and Fiorello LaGuardia at a 1946 Madison Square Garden Rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission from extinction.

protest, march down Pennsylvania Avenue. What do you think of that?"

Webster replied, guardedly, that it was a good idea, "but where are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

"I think we can get them," Randolph said, and both men resumed the silence.

On their first stop, in Savannah, Georgia, the Brotherhood's leaders called a public meeting to announce that they were "gathering 10,000 Negroes to march on Washington to demand jobs in the defense industry."

From Savannah, they went on to Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami, preaching march at each stop. Black newspapers picked up the story, and when Randolph and Webster returned to New York, the idea, according to Webster, "had caught on fire."

The idea "grew like Topsy," recalls Benjamin McLaurin, who as an officer of the Brotherhood, would become one of the chief organizers of the march. "It got out of hand almost overnight. People began writing us, 'What can we do?' How could they go about getting groups together?"

By the end of May, Randolph, responding to pressure from supporters, had, indeed, raised the ante. He was calling now for 100,000 marchers: "When 100,000 Negroes march on Washington, it will wake up Negro as well as white America ... I call upon Negroes everywhere ... to gird for an epoch-making march and demonstration ... Let the Negro masses march! Let the Negro masses speak!" ...

The White House meeting was held on June 18.

"Hello, Phil," the President said. "Which class were you in at Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President."

"I was sure you did," Roosevelt replied. "Anyway, you and I share a kinship in our great interest in human and social justice."

"That's right, Mr. President."

Roosevelt, a man of great charm, had merely embarked upon one of his favorite filibuster stratagems. But, finding he could not engage Randolph in small talk, he turned raconteur and started regaling his audience with old political anecdotes. Randolph, unfailingly well-mannered, allowed himself to be entertained. But the clock was running, the President's time was no doubt well budgeted, and Randolph had no way of knowing when Roosevelt might suddenly inform the gathering that it was time for him to leave for another appointment. So, with as much graciousness as he commanded, Randolph broke in:

"Mr. President, time is running on. You are quite busy, I know. But what we want to talk with you about is the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't

Bayard Rustin and Mr. Randolph at press conference before historic March on Washington.

live with this thing. Now, what are you going to do about it?"

"Well, Phil, what do you want me to do?"

"Mr. President, we want you to do something that will enable Negro workers to get work in these plants."

"Why," Roosevelt replied, "I surely want them to work, too. I'll call up the heads of the various defense plants and have them see to it that Negroes are given the same opportunity to work in defense plants as any other citizen in the country."

"We want you to do more than that," Randolph said. "We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, and affirmative."

"What do you mean?"

"Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants."

"Well, Phil," Roosevelt replied, "you know I can't do that. If I issue an executive order for you, then there'll be no end to other groups coming in here and asking me to issue executive orders for them, too. In any event, I couldn't do anything unless you called off this march of yours. Questions like this can't be settled with a sledge hammer."

"I'm sorry, Mr. President, the march cannot be called off."

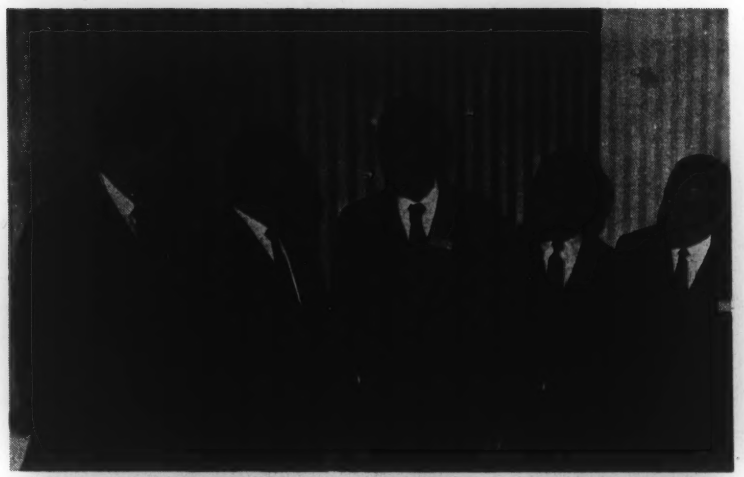
"How many people do you plan to bring?" Roosevelt wanted to know.

"One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

Roosevelt seemed torn between alarm and disbelief. Perhaps this was a bluff. He turned to Walter White, as if to a man whose word he could trust, looked White squarely in the eye for a few seconds, and asked, "Walter, how many people will really march?"

White's eyes did not blink. He said, "One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

[It may, at that, have been a bluff. Randolph and White certainly expected a march of thousands. March committees around the country could have



At the 1965 White House Conference on Civil Rights, A. Philip Randolph proposed the Freedom Budget, a ten year program to abolish poverty and racial discrimination. With Randolph at press conference were Morris B. Abram, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, then head of the Student Non-Violent coordinating Committee and currently head of the Voter Education Project, and William T. Coleman, currently Secretary of Transportation in the Ford Administration.

turned out at least 10,000 marchers. The question was whether they could, indeed, muster an army of 100,000. Then, too, what is one to make of what William Bowe, one of Randolph's lieutenants in the Brotherhood, said later? "Personally," Bowe said, with a twinkle in his eyes, "I don't know how far we could march. I didn't think we could go as far as South Ferry.]

"You can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington," Roosevelt said. "Somebody might get killed."

Randolph said that that was unlikely, especially if the President himself came out and addressed the gathering.

Roosevelt was not amused. "Call it off," he said curtly, "and we'll talk again."

Randolph said he had a pledge of honor with his people, and he could not go back to them with anything less than an executive order.

Budging somewhat, Roosevelt suggested that Randolph and White confer with his presidential assistants over some way of solving the problem with defense contractors.

"Not defense contractors alone," Randolph broke in. "The government, too. The government is the worst offender."

This, Roosevelt seemed to feel, was going a bit too far, and he informed the president of the porters' union that it was not the policy of the President of the United States to rule, or be ruled, with a gun at his head.

"Then," Randolph replied, "I shall have to stand by the pledge I've made to the people."

It was Mayor La Guardia who broke the impasse. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is clear that Mr. Randolph is not going to call off the march, and I suggest we all begin to seek a formula.

Roosevelt welcomed the opening, and asked Mrs. Rosenberg, La Guardia, and Aubrey Williams to take the group to an anteroom and work out a solution. But the solution proposed was the one Randolph had already rejected—the President's promise to call up the heads of defense plants and urge them to follow a nondiscriminatory policy. When both Randolph and La Guardia dismissed the proposal, a committee of five was appointed to draw up an executive order to be submitted to the President. This satisfied Randolph, and he left for New York—to continue preparing for the march, at least until he was assured that the President would sign the order.

It took a few days to work out a draft of the order that was acceptable to Randolph—one that had "teeth in it" and could be enforced. The chief legal draftsman for the government was a young lawyer in the Office for Emergency Management, named Joseph L. Rauh. Every draft that Rauh prepared was sent back to him as being not strong enough. They had all been read over the telephone to Randolph, in New York, and he had rejected every one. Rauh could no longer contain himself when what he considered his best and final draft was thrown back at him because, once again, it was not strong enough for Randolph. "Who the hell is this guy Randolph?" Rauh exploded at his superiors. "What the hell has *he* got over the President of the United States?" Rauh would later come to know, admire, and work with Randolph in a number of public causes, and would say, "I don't know that I've met a greater man in my life."

Randolph liked Rauh's very next effort, however, and on June 25, six days before the march was scheduled to take place, the President signed and issued Executive Order 8802—declaring it to be the policy of the United States "that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin," and that "it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries." To enforce the order, the President appointed a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee to "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination" and to take "appropriate steps to redress grievances." Mrs. Roosevelt wrote Randolph to say she was glad the march had been called off and to hope that "from this first step, we may go on to others." On July 19, the President appointed the Fair Employment Practices Committee, chaired by Mark Ethridge, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and including Milton P. Webster, first vice president of the Brotherhood

of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph had declined to serve on the committee.

We Won't Go

Though President Roosevelt's executive order of June, 1941, did not touch upon the problem of segregation in the armed forces, Randolph and the March on Washington movement had decided against pressing a desegregation campaign. They felt that such a campaign, in arousing public feeling—black feeling, at any rate—against the military, might tend to embarrass the nation's war effort. Two years after the war, however, when Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, called for a peacetime draft, a new opportunity arose for Randolph—if not the declining march movement—to wage a crusade against the racial practices of the armed services.

The 1947 draft bill, proposing universal military training, contained no provision for a ban against segregation. This, Randolph said in a statement to the press, was "pregnant with indecency;" and, that November, he and Grant Reynolds, Commissioner of Correction for New York State, founded the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training—which expanded, early in 1948, into the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

On March 22, 1948, after Randolph had made it clear that the civil disobedience movement would be satisfied with nothing less than an executive order against military segregation, President Truman invited a group of black spokesmen to the White House to discuss the subject. Among them were Randolph, Walter White, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lester Granger, and Charles Houston, a special counsel for the NAACP.

As Randolph remembers, the meeting had been proceeding smoothly and amicably, until he said to Truman, "Mr. President, after making several trips

Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, and Lyndon Johnson at the White House in 1965.

80th Birthday celebration.

around the country, I can tell you that the mood among Negroes of this country is that they will never bear arms again until all forms of bias and discrimination are abolished."

In a battle of bluntness Harry Truman came out second to no man, and he told Randolph, "I wish you hadn't made that statement. I don't like it at all."

Charles Houston intervened: "But, Mr. President, don't you want to know what is happening in the country?" Truman said he certainly wanted to know what was happening in the country; a president attracted more than enough yes men.

"Well, that's what I'm giving you, Mr. President," Randolph said, seizing the advantage before it disappeared again. "I'm giving you the facts." When the President allowed him to proceed, Randolph ran headlong into Truman again: "Mr. President, as you know, we are calling upon you to issue an executive order abolishing segregation in the armed forces." At this point, Truman simply thanked his visitors for coming, and said there didn't seem to be much more that they could talk fruitfully about.

But Truman's rebuff merely aroused Randolph's defiance. Testifying, nine days later, during hearings on the universal military training bill, Randolph (appearing with Grant Reynolds) told the Senate Armed Services Committee:

> This time Negroes will not take a jim crow draft lying down. The conscience of the world will be shaken as by nothing else when thousands and thousands of us second-class Americans choose imprisonment in preference to permanent military slavery. . . . I personally will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy.

On his way from the Armed Services Committee hearings, Randolph stopped off at the old March on

Washington headquarters, in the capital, to address a group of young people who had gathered to await his report of the confrontation with Morse. "I am prepared," he told them, "to oppose a Jim Crow army till I rot in jail." And, upon returning to Harlem, he launched a series of public meetings, at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, in which he counseled young men to refuse induction in a segregated army. In giving such counsel, he said, he was fully aware he was violating the Selective Service Act. "My exemption from the draft," he told one of the meetings, "is merely by accident of birth. And it imposes on me and others a special responsibility, a special moral obligation, not to expect of our younger brothers a conduct that the rules of self-respect and human decency preclude."

But the most telling endorsement of Randolph's campaign came from those immediately affected. A poll of young black men, in Harlem, showed that 71 per cent favored a civil disobedience campaign against the draft. It only proved that Max Lerner had been correct when he wrote in the newspaper *PM* that "Randolph and Reynolds come closer to the true feelings of the masses of American Negroes than their more cautious and circumspect colleagues."

In July, 1948, while Hubert Humphrey, at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, was waging his historic fight against the Dixiecrats to obtain a strong civil rights plank in the party's platform, scores of blacks, led by Randolph, were picketing the convention hall. Randolph's own picket sign read: "Prison is better than Army Jim Crow service."

Under the combined pressure of the Randolph campaign, the Humphrey civil rights floor fight, and the need to retain the black vote in the November election, President Truman, on July 26, issued Executive Order 9981, calling for an end to military discrimination "as rapidly as possible." The language was not clear, however—the word "segregation" had not been used—and Randolph wanted to know from Truman whether "you interpret your Executive Order on Armed Services to mean that its policy and purpose is to eliminate discrimination and segregation." When Truman replied, through Senator J. Howard McGrath, one of his spokesmen, that the order did indeed ban segregation, Randolph called off the civil disobedience campaign, and wired congratulations to the President for his "high order of statesmanship and courage."

At recent birthday celebration with Ernest Green, Director of the Recruitment and Training Program.

Address at the March On Washington

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our whtie allies know that they cannot be free while we are not; and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practices Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white? We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want federal aid to education—all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic, and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing, we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this proper priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment, and to put automation at the service of humand needs, not at the service of profits—for we are the first victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin before Lincoln Monument just prior to the 1963 March on Washington.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets, as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the freedom riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1964 Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was

enforced, and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than with enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will ring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education, and there you will find the enemy of the Negro—the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces, all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and techniques that built the labor movement, founded churches, and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave, it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less, and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength, and the faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

With Martin Luther King.

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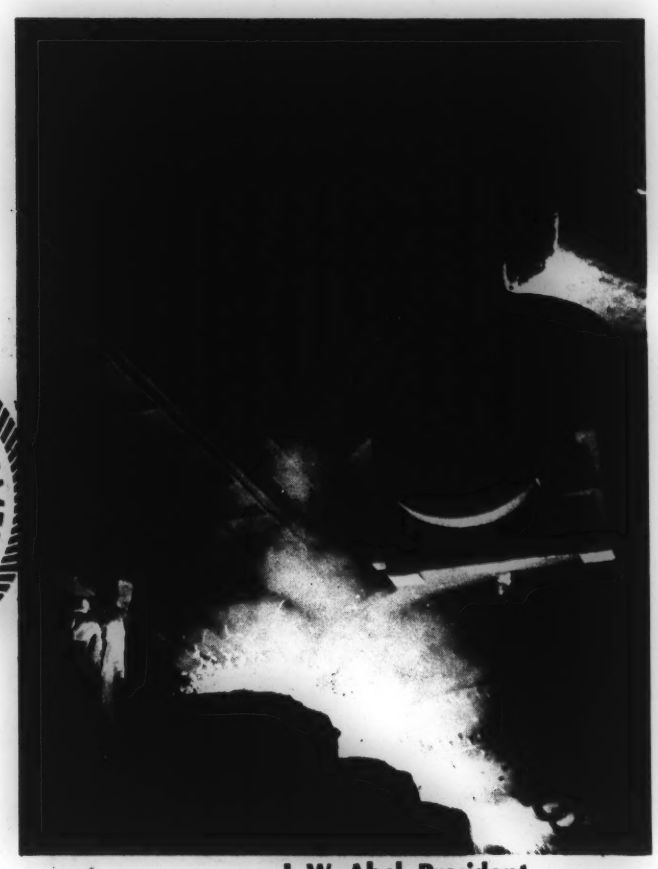
The United Steelworkers of America welcomes the opportunity to pay a much-deserved tribute to A. Philip Randolph. He is both a champion of civil rights and an outstanding leader of the working people, of all races, creeds and colors.

Brother Randolph has made us all prouder to be trade unionists, by contributing so much to the realization of the labor movement's most noble objective—equality and social justice for all.

Best wishes to the members and friends of the A. Philip Randolph Institute who are carrying on Brother Randolph's great work.



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SEVENTH NATIONAL A.P.R.I. CONFERENCE

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In honoring A. Philip Randolph, probably the greatest American of this century, you also honor the three great movements to which he devoted a lifetime of brilliant work and creative passion:

The Labor Movement
The Civil Rights Movement
and the Socialist Movement

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TO
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
AND
BAYARD RUSTIN

NORTH CAROLINA STATE AFL-CIO

AND ITS

FIFTEEN

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHAPTERS

EXTEND BEST WISHES

FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
A Great Humanitarian

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are delighted to join all of our brothers in the labor movement in applauding the A. Philip Randolph Institute for its wise decision to honor the man whose distinguished name it bears so proudly. On the occasion of the Institute's Seventh National Conference, this is a timely and most appropriate gesture of our affection and esteem for this outstanding humanitarian.

Mr. Randolph has devoted his life to improving the living conditions of black working people throughout America, sparing no effort to win for them and indeed for all workers, the social justice they had for so long been denied. He belongs for all time in the ranks of the nation's most effective and articulate labor leaders. As a resourceful trade unionist and civil rights activist for most of this century, he blazed new trails that have brought light where only darkness had long prevailed.

The Institute could have chosen no more fitting way to observe the Bicentennial than to recall the achievements of one of the most outstanding Americans in our history. To honor him once more on this occasion you emphasize for all of our fellow Americans the indelible imprint A. Philip Randolph has made on the lives of millions of working people.

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Greetings

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unionist, humanist, fighter for
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We of the Retail, Wholesale and
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Through almost all the days
of this century
you have been a leader in humanity's
struggle for a decent life in
a decent society.
You are an inspiration to us all.

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The Firemen and Oilers salute A. Philip Randolph, truly one of Labor's great statesmen.

GREETINGS:

On the occasion of the A. Philip Randolph Institute's Seventh National Conference—"1976: Year of Decision" the officers and members of the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, wish you much success and we take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to our common goals and aspirations.

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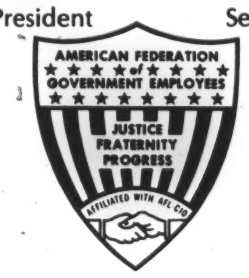

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AND
BEST WISHES

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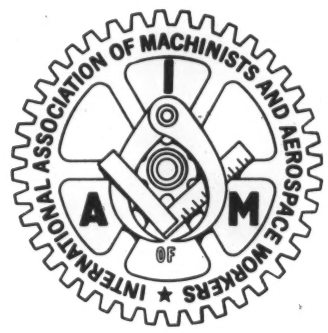
Best wishes from the IAM
to the
A. Philip Randolph Institute
for a great Seventh National Conference



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THE SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION IS PRIVILEGED TO JOIN THE MANY WHO ON THIS OCCASION PAY A SMALL HOMAGE TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH IN COMPARISON TO HIS PRICELESS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THE UNDERPRIVILEGED AND MINORITIES.

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Rev. T. Thornes, Joe Robbins

Seated left to right:
Arulia Griffin, Princess Mason, Gladys T. Coleman, Mary Ann Hinston and Luvercy L. Buford

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William C. Marshall
President

Walter Campbell
Secretary-Treasurer

Fraternal greetings and best wishes from the entire membership of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union.

EDWARD T. HANLEY
General President

JOHN GIBSON
General Secretary-Treasurer

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More than half a century has passed since A. Philip Randolph began his long and extraordinary career for the cause of racial justice. The results have been highly beneficial and far-reaching for both black and white Americans.

Not only has he been instrumental in raising the living standards and security of members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, but his efforts have also led to a better understanding between black and white workers.

Because of his perseverance, two Presidents of the United States have issued executive orders which have done much to free black workers from humiliating discriminatory practices which were prevalent in the federal civil service branches, the armed forces and those industries which do business with the U.S. Government.

His dream of a March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, realized in 1963, paved the way for the 1964 Civil Rights Act which raised the morale and hopes of black Americans all over the nation and spurred the campaign for racial justice in all spheres of American life.

And now, in his golden years, he still carries on his work under the banner of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, promoting the economic, social and political welfare of all Americans, black and white.

So it is with the greatest regard and affection that the Textile Workers Union of America joins with trade unionists and Americans from all walks of life in honoring A. Philip Randolph on this occasion and we express the hope that the future will add many more years to what already has been a highly distinguished and useful life.

Fraternally,

Sol Stetin
General President
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, CLC

William M. DuChessi
General Secretary-Treasurer
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, CLC

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IRON SHIPBUILDERS, BLACKSMITHS
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Harold J. Buoy
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Good Luck

American Federation of Teachers

Albert Shanker
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Secretary-Treasurer

The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement extends its best wishes for a successful national conference to the Officers, members and participants of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and is proud to join your organization in honoring Brother Randolph.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, CLC

We are proud to join in tribute to
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
for his long and distinguished service to humankind.

Gregory Oskoian
International Secretary-Treasurer

Daniel E. Conway
International President

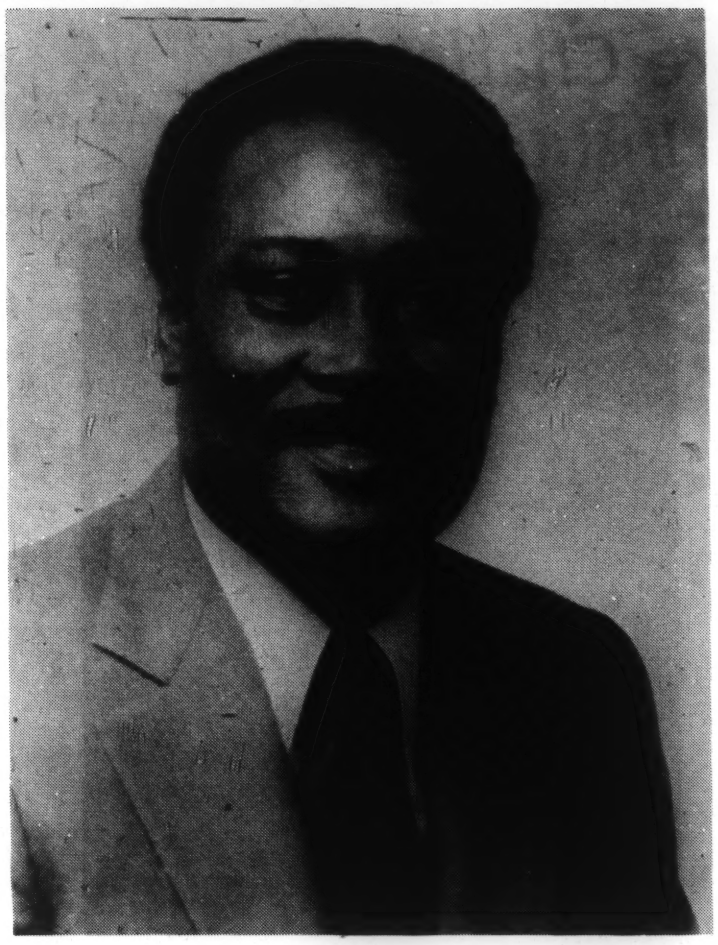
Best Wishes to a Great Leader of Working People and Champion of Civil Rights

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Paul Jennings
President

David J. Fitzmaurice
Secretary-Treasurer

Greetings From Los Angeles
A. Philip Randolph Institute



Greetings to All Delegates

The Louisiana A. Philip Randolph Institute, along with its affiliated chapters, take great pleasure in welcoming you to our state and to this historic city of New Orleans.

We know that you will enjoy your stay here and we hope that you have many pleasant memories which will cause you to want to return to Louisiana.

May you have much fun and learn much from our deliberations.

Mose Collins, President
Louisiana A. Philip Randolph Institute

Randolph Institute Executive Director Norman Hill with executive council of the Louisiana State Randolph Institute.

Greetings From
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James E. Stewart
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Augusta Chapter of
A. Philip Randolph Institute
Augusta, Ga.
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Mr. and Mrs. Mose Collins, President, Louisiana A. Philip Randolph Institute.

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SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
of the
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
Fairmont Hotel May 21-23, 1976
From
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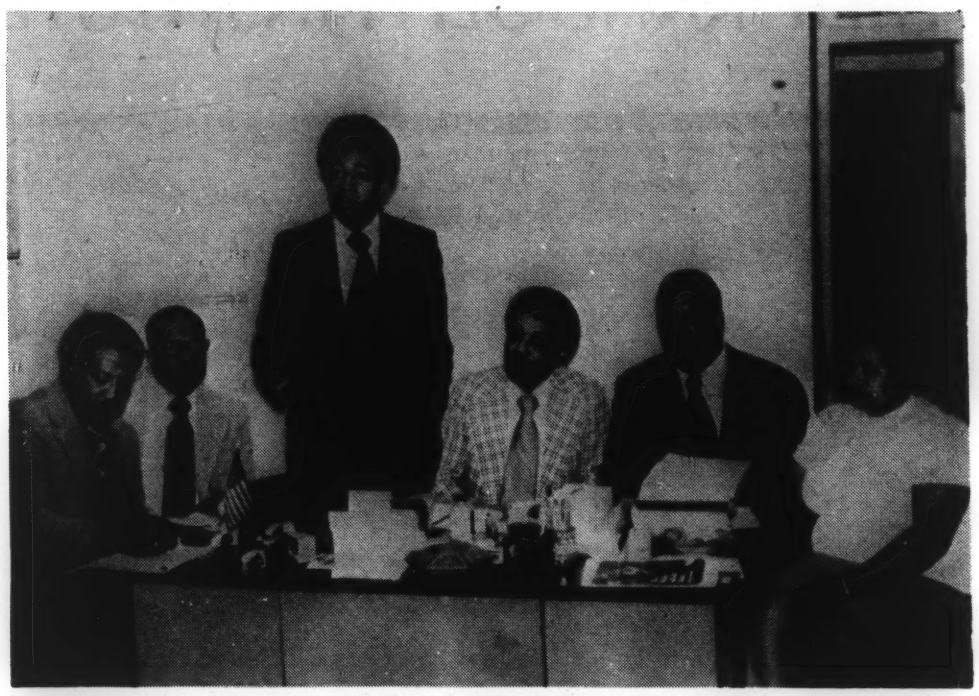

Norman Hill with New Orleans APRI executive board.

New Orleans Randolph Institute Queen and her Court.

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A. Philip Randolph tells his admiring audience that "I'll carry on as best as I can." Seated in the front row from left are Harry Van Arsdale, Paul O'Dwyer, John T. Burnell, Mayor Beame, Bayard Rustin and Lane Kirkland.

Photos by Sam Reiss

BEAME HAILS A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, 'AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE'

NEW YORK CITY — Addressing hundreds of labor, civic and civil rights dignitaries gathered to pay homage to A. Philip Randolph, father of the civil rights struggle in America, Mayor Abraham Beame proclaimed Oct. 18 A. Philip Randolph Day in New York City.

The noon-day ceremony on the steps of City Hall saw representatives and leaders of many of America's greatest historic movements for economic and social justice gathered with rank and file veterans of the struggle of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to honor "America's conscience," in the words of Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer.

Noble Crusader

The bright, clear, brisk day rang with praise, honor and appreciation for this man of rare talents and unalloyed integrity. Eleanor Holmes Norton, the city's human rights commissioner, opened the ceremonies by comparing Randolph with two other great labor leaders and socialists, Walter Reuther and Eugene Victor Debs. Of Randolph she said, "His unrelenting perseverance in organizing the unorganized sustains all of us who fight for social justice. He has been a subtle, strong and noble crusader."

Fred O'Neal, former president of Actors Equity and chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, said that Randolph "has always realized his responsibility to the whole community and we are happy that he will be around to counsel all of us."

Labor's Conscience

Kirkland spoke of the deep regret of the AFL-CIO Council in receiving Randolph's resignation. "He has served as the conscience of the labor movement and all of America."

Kirkland also said that Randolph "understood that the cause of civil rights and the cause of organized labor ought to be one and the same—the causes are inexorably intertwined. Randolph has moved justice forward as much or more than any other man in America."

Peter J. Brennan's representative from the United States Department of Labor, George Hopkins, called Randolph a "path-finder who knew that there could be no real equality without economic equality." He presented the department's highest award to Randolph.

Accomplished Impossible

John T. Burnell, the city's commissioner of labor, added his tribute to Randolph saying, "He was the idol of my youth and he's still my inspiration. He accomplished the impossible. His was the first union of black workers to win a collective bargaining agreement with a white employer. He fought exclusionary practices in every facet of American life."

Charles Faulding of the Transport Workers Union and head of the Black Trade Unionists Leadership Committee of the Central Labor Council presented a plaque to Randolph on behalf of the committee and pointed out that he had "led the greatest gathering of human beings for a cause during the 1963 March on Washington."

Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale, who said that Randolph had been an inspiration to him since his own earliest days in the labor movement, voiced his gratification that "the city saw fit to honor this man who has spent his whole life serving people."

FEPC Role

In his brief comments prior to proclaiming A. Philip Randolph Day, Mayor Beame referred to Randolph's historic meeting with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt when he persuaded him to declare Fair Employment Practices as the policy of the United States, initiating a new era for the black working class.

"New York claims him as its own," declared Mayor Beame as he presented Randolph with the Bronze Medallion, "the highest tribute our city can pay to an outstanding citizen."

Concluding the ceremonies, the beautiful, deep and unwavering voice of America's "gentle warrior" told his admiring and loving audience that he would "never forget this day. I will continue to carry on as best I can."

At the reception preceding the City Hall ceremonies John T. Burnell, Lane Kirkland, Fred O'Neal, Albert Shanker and Carl Parris of the TWU surround Randolph with affection and respect just after he finished shaking hands with hundreds of other friends, colleagues and admirers.

Missouri Teamster
Page 8, Jan. 17, 1975

Philip Randolph's imprint on U.S.

"Three things are necessary for the salvation of man; to know what he ought to believe, to know what he ought to desire, and to know what he ought to do."
—St. Thomas Aquinas

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor
(First in a new series)

One of the more persistent examples of social unawareness on the part of many black and white intellectuals today is the continuation of the notion that only a token number of black workers are members of U.S. unions. The fact of the matter is that unionism now competes with religion as the dominant part of black life.

TODAY, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, there are some 2.2 million black union members among the 18.5 million U.S. union members (excluding Canadians) who make up the American trade union movement. The significant thing about this rise in black union membership is that it constitutes about 12 per cent of U.S. trade union membership while the black civilian labor force is only 10.4 per cent of the total labor force.

Throughout many industries black workers show a greater proportion of union participation where the percentage of union membership exceeds their proportion in the labor force.

Among public employees, blacks constitute about 13 per cent of the work force but 17 per cent of union membership in the public sector.

IN DURABLE GOODS manufacturing 47 per cent of all black wage earners are in unions as compared with only 36 per cent of white wage workers.

Fourteen per cent of black females in the labor force are union members as compared with 10 per cent for white females.

What these figures reveal is that proportionately more blacks belong to unions today than whites.

Since 1954 union membership as a percentage of the non-agricultural labor force has been losing ground. In 1954 union membership constituted about 34 per cent of the non-agricultural labor force. In 1973 it

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
. . . addressing an NAACP convention

the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and at the time a group of us were trying to organize the nation's railroad red caps from our Chicago base.

We (Willard Townsend, Wilbur Winchester and myself) had asked Randolph to serve as an official convenor of a national red cap conference. He graciously agreed and a call was issued to red caps around the country under his name. He convened the meeting in Chicago on Jan. 14, 1938 and out of this effort the United Transport Service Employees Union was born and several years later affiliated with the CIO.

UP TO THAT POINT in time, 49-year-old Phil Randolph was a living legend in socialist and trade union circles. His joining with Eugene V. Debs in opposing World War I, his editorship of the Radical "Messenger" magazine, his leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as well as his leadership of the National Negro Congress during the early Depression years went into the hopper to produce a unique black American who was to leave an indelible trade union imprint upon our

those early days—some 55 years ago, in 1919—he wrote:

"We do not accept the doctrine of old reactionary Negroes that the Negro is satisfied to be himself. We desire as much contact and intercourse—social, economic and political—as is possible between the races. This is not because of the belief in the inferiority or superiority of either race, but because of our recognition that the principle of social equality is the only guarantee of social progress."

Randolph married in 1915 and in 1917, when America entered World War I, he and Chandler Owen launched the **Messenger Magazine.** It was a socialist magazine that militantly agitated against jim crowism and racial inequality. In 1918 he was arrested in Cleveland by the same federal agent who had arrested Eugene Victor Debs and on the same charge of obstructing the draft. Debs, the prime target of the Department of Justice received 10 years in federal prison. Randolph was released after a few days in Cleveland's city jail and he continued his attack upon the war.

sacrifice to achieve recognition of the union and the right to bargain collectively with the powerful Pullman Company. In 1928 the porters union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Randolph carried the crusade for racial justice into the house of labor.

RANDOLPH and the Pullman porters union gave American labor and black America an object lesson in social tenacity, and it was only the integrity and social idealism of the man that carried the united porters through the obstacle courses, set-backs, defeats, rumormongering in the black community and every "legalism" available to the Pullman Company. But in August of 1937—after 12 full years of struggle—the great Pullman Company finally capitulated and signed its first union agreement with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

During these years as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor Randolph carried on a lonely crusade against racial discrimination within the labor movement. His was always the lone voice at AFL conventions urging the delegates to take action against the evils of racial discrimination in the House of Labor.

BUT IT TOOK WORLD WAR II to bring Philip Randolph to full national flowering as the black, articulate voice of challenge against the worn-out discriminatory policies of American industry. In doing so he introduced a new social concept in American industry and law. The concept of **fair employment** in industrial relations.

It began in 1941 when defense industries were booming and blacks remained on the sidelines in low-wage, marginal industries. At a Madison Square Garden meeting in New York, Randolph proposed a massive **March On Washington** to call national attention to the rampant discrimination against black workers in war industries. The MOW Movement swept across black America and in major industrial centers local units were formed. (In St. Louis T. D. McNeal, an associate of Phil Randolph, headed the movement.)

THE GRASS ROOTS movement for jobs by blacks had heavy impact upon Washington and the White House. President Roosevelt sent two emissaries—Mrs. Eleanor Roose-

tion in the Armed Forces and the President was Harry S. Truman. Unlike Roosevelt, who was a master of charm, President Truman could not conceal his anger with Randolph for insisting upon eliminating such an old, easy and comfortable custom in the U.S. armed forces such as racial discrimination. But eventually the Pullman porter leader—in his suggestion of possible massive civil disobedience against segregation in the armed forces—got through to the President.

Truman in 1947 issued his historic Executive Order banning jim crow in the military forces.

IN THE MID-FIFTIES new young voices began to emerge in the freedom movement, and the most notable of these were out of the south and the challenging voice of Martin Luther King. Randolph and King were kindred souls, but of different time periods in the black thrust for functional freedom. Both were masters of exerting mass social pressure at the point of high resistance, and both had the social boldness to tackle the larger problems of a dispossessed race.

In 1961, Randolph called a national conference of black trade unionists in Detroit for the purpose of a new frontal attack against discrimination in unions. As a result the Negro American Labor Council was formed. In the spring of 1963 Randolph and the NALC had proposed and were planning a March on Washington on the question of jobs for blacks. However, after some discussion with other black leaders the plans were re-set to provide for a wider base of support. The new plans brought in Bayard Rustin as a full time organizer to co-ordinate the six top civil rights organizations, labor, church and community groups.

THE OLD BLACK socialist warrior finally got his living, breathing March On Washington. Randolph, now 75 years old, moves out again to do battle against the forces of racism and exploitation. On August 28, 1963 some 300,000 Americans—black and white—converged on Washington for the greatest demonstration in the history of social action. Under the slogan "Jobs and Freedom" the massive demonstration paved the way for the legislative thrust that provided the anti-poverty program and the Civil Rights Act.

However, in many ways this

with only 36 per cent of white wage workers.

Fourteen per cent of black females in the labor force are union members as compared with 10 per cent for white females.

What these figures reveal is that proportionately more blacks belong to unions today than whites.

Since 1954 union membership as a percentage of the non-agricultural labor force has been losing ground. In 1954 union membership constituted about 34 per cent of the non-agricultural labor force. In 1973 it was approximately 25 per cent. However, a breakdown reveals that black union membership is approximately 26.7 per cent of the 8.2 million non-agricultural black labor force while white union membership is 24.2 per cent of the 67 million white non-agricultural labor force.

THOSE FIGURES also show that black workers are perhaps more aware of the values of unionism than many other sections of the working population. This awareness assumes a practical economic stance in viewing the difference in the income gaps between median black and white family income. In 1973 overall black family income was 58 per cent of white median family income with a money gap of $5,326.

On the other hand the median income of black male union members was 84 per cent of white male union members with a gap of $1,553.

Unionism has now become a normal factor in the daily existence of the black working class. Today only the black church exceeds the influence of unionism in the lives of black workers. Over the past 40 years the black worker has gone through many militant struggles to improve his condition.

AT THE CENTER of this struggle there have been many black trade union leaders at the shop, regional and national level. But none have endured or had greater economic and social impact upon the lives of black workers over the past 50 years than that venerable, old socialist and trade union warrior A. Philip Randolph, the retired president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It was some 36 years ago in 1938 when I first met Phil Randolph. He had just emerged from his historic victory over the Pullman Company where he had gained recognition of ployees Union was born and several years later affiliated with the CIO.

UP TO THAT POINT in time, 49-year-old Phil Randolph was a living legend in socialist and trade union circles. His joining with Eugene V. Debs in opposing World War I, his editorship of the Radical "Messenger" magazine, his leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as well as his leadership of the National Negro Congress during the early Depression years went into the hopper to produce a unique black American who was to leave an indelible trade union imprint upon our times.

Today in his 85th year this grand old black activist has partially retired from the struggle, but his contributions helped change the racial face of America and paved the way for the present extended involvement of blacks in the trade union movement.

HE CONDUCTED one of the great trade union struggles in the case of the Sleeping Car Porters versus the powerful Pullman Company, he introduced the concept of "fair employment" in American social and economic endeavor, he is primarily responsible for the elimination of "jim crow" in the Armed Services, he was the prime mover of the March On Washington in 1963 which stimulated the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the anti-poverty legislation.

Asa Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889 at Crescent City, Florida, the son of a minister. As a youth he worked as a grocery clerk and railroad section hand and in many other odd jobs. When he finished high school in Jacksonville, Fla., he wandered northward to New York City where he took courses at City College. He held a variety of jobs.

PHIL RANDOLPH was a studious and searching young man, and early he began concerning himself with the plight of the black American. He rejected the extremes of the cringing Uncle Tomism so prevalent among many black leaders at the time as well as the hollow chest-beating of the early black nationalists. He moved towards socialism as a means of eliminating exploitation and other abuses of capitalism. Early in his life he began demanding unconditional social, political and economic equality for the great mass of dispossessed blacks. In 1917, when America entered World War I, he and Chandler Owen launched the **Messenger Magazine**. It was a socialist magazine that militantly agitated against jim crowism and racial inequality. In 1918 he was arrested in Cleveland by the same federal agent who had arrested Eugene Victor Debs and on the same charge of obstructing the draft. Debs, the prime target of the Department of Justice received 10 years in federal prison. Randolph was released after a few days in Cleveland's city jail and he continued his attack upon the war.

IN 1925, A SMALL GROUP of Pullman porters met in a Harlem recreation hall and organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The powerful Pullman Company, which had served as the rallying point of anti-unionism in American industry for many decades, at first ignored this effort on the part of a handful of black Pullman porters. As the major employer of black labor in the country, the Pullman Company felt that it would be easy to divide and conquer the effort. However, when the porters refused to fight among themselves, the Company decided to move in and break up the Union. Their strategy was simple and direct: they used the power of money to buy Negro "leaders" and many black newspapers in every major city.

The porters countered the Pullman Company's reign of terror and subversion by moving outside their ranks to induce a 35-year old radical socialist and crusading journalist to assume the leadership of the fledgling Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was felt that they must have leadership that could not be reached by the Pullman Company, either through economic terror or financial subversion.

THIS MEASURE of supreme confidence was placed in A. Philip Randolph, socialist crusader, agitator, lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science, union organizer, war resister and militant editor.

And so began the monumental struggle on the part of a group depressed black workers to achieve a new measure of dignity against one of the most powerful corporate bodies in the U.S. at the time. When Randolph Assumed leadership of the Porters Union in 1925 it was to take 12 years of struggle and group New York, Randolph proposed a massive **March On Washington** to call national attention to the rampant discrimination against black workers in war industries. The MOW Movement swept across black America and in major industrial centers local units were formed. (In St. Louis T. D. McNeal, an associate of Phil Randolph, headed the movement.)

THE GRASS ROOTS movement for jobs by blacks had heavy impact upon Washington and the White House. President Roosevelt sent two emissaries—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia of New York—to indicate to Randolph that the threatened March on Washington was not in the best interest of the nation and it should be called off. Randolph remained adamant, but finally agreed to call it off if the President would issue an Executive Order barring racial discrimination in all employment in defense industries. Roosevelt agreed, and his historic Proclamation became the forerunner of new national, state and municipal vehicles—**fair employment practices.**

In 1947, a new issue and a new U.S. President became Randolph's target. The tedious issue was that of the age-old system of racial discrimina-

THE OLD BLACK socialist warrior finally got his living, breathing March On Washington. Randolph, now 75 years old, moves out again to do battle against the forces of racism and exploitation. On August 28, 1963 some 300,000 Americans—black and white—converged on Washington for the greatest demonstration in the history of social action. Under the slogan "Jobs and Freedom" the massive demonstration paved the way for the legislative thrust that provided the anti-poverty program and the Civil Rights Act.

However, in many ways this greatest of all demonstrations of unity on the issue of race was as much a living tribute to the indestructible, incorruptible Phil Randolph as it was a hope for the future. In any event, both were one and the same.

Phil Randolph is now in the twilight years of a fruitful, meaningful life. He is now 85 years old.

AS A CONSISTENT fighter for freedom and dignity for the most despised and exploited in the American social order, there are many lessons to be learned from the life of this magnificient human being: integrity, social awareness, understanding and moral stamina are only a few.

Washington Guild unit okays 20% cut to protect 100 jobs

WASHINGTON (PAI)—In order to forestall the firing of 100 of their fellow Newspaper Guild colleagues, union employees of the Washington Star-News have accepted a four-day wage agreement by a 347 to 44 vote.

THE AGREEMENT, first ever recorded by the Guild, saved the jobs of some 100 employees of the editorial and business staffs of the financially troubled paper and meant a 20 per cent cut in wages for more than 500 editorial and business office employees.

Top minimums on the paper for experienced editorial employees is $434.10 a week, the highest for any Guild newspaper in the country. In some cases the 20 per cent cut in salaries will mean a loss of $86.82 each week.

The vote came after an agreement had been worked out between Guild officers and management, headed by Texas banker Allbritten who took over the paper in September, that he planned to cut editorial and business office jobs by 100. He said that the paper had lost nearly $15,000,000 during the past three years, including $5,000,000 last year and was still losing money.

PHILLIP M. KADIS, chairman of the Guild unit at the Star-News said that the four-day plan was a "bold venture in the newspaper industry and newspaper trade unionism," and praised the willingness of the Star-News employees to sacrifice their own interests to protect the jobs of their fellow workers.

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TRADE & INDUSTRY

Unusual Honor Accorded A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Once the new skills center at Henry and Roberts Avenue went by the name of 608. Then it became Asten Hill, after the manufacturing plant that once operated on the center's site. Now it has a bona fide name–the A. Philip Randolph Skills Center–and it will be "christened" on December 1 when the 86 year old Mr. Randolph comes to Philadelphia.

It will be a special celebration. The Skills Center is only the second school to be named after a living person. First was the Saul School of Agricultural Sciences which was named after Walter B. Saul who was still living at the time. Interestingly enough, both schools are located on Henry Avenue and both offer students specialized in-depth training although in completely different occupations. These schools are practically neighbors!

Asa Philip Randolph is a special man. A prominent labor and civil rights leader, he is a vice president of the AFL/CIO, founder and president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

For more than 40 years he has been known as "Negro Labor's Champion." His directorship of the 1963 March on Washington resulted in the largest peaceful demonstration in the history of the nation.

He has striven to open up job opportunities in many fields for minority and disadvantaged people. This is especially evident in his work as one of the heads of the Recruitment and Training Program Incorporated. This program has placed more than 13,000 plus minorities in building trades unions as apprentices and journeymen.

Randolph Skills Center

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Randolph is also president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he established in 1925. To organize this was no easy task as it was marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression. The battle was finally won in 1937.

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees. He has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and in 1964 the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

Mr. Randolph is now retired in the state of his birth, sunny Florida.

Although Mr. Randolph is retired, his ideals live through the A. Philip Randolph Institute located in New York City.

This institute is dedicated to the goal of seeking for the black community the social and economic rights which civil rights legislation by itself cannot accomplish. It believes this goal can be attained by instituting a program, Freedom Budget for All Americans, for basic economic change. With this Freedom Budget the Institute hopes to achieve full employment, the rebuilding of the slums and the guarantee of adequate medical care, housing and education for all Americans.

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past 18 years it would seem that a discrete silence on that subject would have been more to his advantage in avoiding unfavorable comparisons.

Standard 306. There is some question whether the legislative internship program is in compliance with this standard.

Comment: While page 24 of the inspection report mentions the clinical program in Delaware legislation, no particulars have been assigned as to why it fails to meet the Standards for Approval. The part-time instructor who supervises the legislative interns is the legislative counsel, and his supervision is quite thorough. The classroom work he supplies once a week also meets the Standards. Inasmuch as the inspection team did not meet the instructor, this is a mistake of fact.

Standard 403. The inspection team unanimously agrees that the present student/teacher ratio of 36:1 is far higher than will allow the School to fulfill the requirements of its educational program.

Comment: This criticism is discriminatory. The following approved law schools have faculty/student ratios as high or higher than that of Delaware: Baltimore, Inter-American, John Marshall, New England, Pacific, South Texas, Southwestern, Suffolk, and Western New England. Moreover, the student body is now at its apex of 670, due to the presence of a very large graduating class, which stemmed from an initially large entering class. Because the school initially took entering classes of 175 evening and 150 day and evening, but now is taking only 85–70 day and 65–55 evening, next year the enrollment has a built-in factor which will cause it to fall to 520, and the year after it will decline again to below 480. This one-third reduction in student body will improve the faculty/student ratio so that it becomes normal for multiple division law schools.

Standard 501. The flexibility in admission standards and the lack of clear and exact standards raises questions whether the Delaware Law School has admission policies consistent with the objectives of a good educational purpose.

Comment: It is doubtful that this objection is bona fide. The only thing stated in the body of the inspection report about admissions is that "no exact standards were stated." It was pointed out there, however, that minimum LSAT and grade point averages were required, and that all students had to have a baccalaureate degree from an accredited college. I know of no law school which admits students based exclusively on a mathematical computation of their LSAT scores and grade point averages. Many other factors are generally considered. A requirement of mathematical admissions procedures can hardly be considered bona fide.

The report seems to indicate a belief by the inspectors that Dean Weeks was not on the admissions committee. (p. 24) In fact, Dean Weeks had been on the admissions committee for several months prior to the inspection. I was also a member of the Committee, a change from last year when I exclusively handled admissions. The report was mailed to Dean Weeks with a covering letter dated February 11, 1975. It arrived in Wilmington on February 13, 1975. The only admissions activity done between that date and February 19, 1975 when Dean Weeks left for Chicago was my review for him of a few more admissions files. Yet on February 21, 1975, the Accreditation Committee passed the following resolution: "Whereas, the Council recognized the recent progress and improvement of the school's . . . admissions under the leadership of Dean Arthur A. Weeks;" It is difficult to believe that the school made such remarkable progress and improvement in its admissions systems in the six days between February 13th and February 19th. A more logical conclusion is that Professor White, in criticizing the admissions of the school in the inspection report, was laboring under the mistaken belief that I was still doing the admissions exclusively or as part of a holdover faculty committee, and that by criticizing the school's admissions he was still only criticizing me. When Dean Weeks arrived in Chicago, and spoke to the Accreditation Committee, Professor White must have realized his mistake, and found that by criticizing admissions, with Dean Weeks on the committee for several months, his report was in fact a criticism of Dean Weeks. Since Professor White made repeatedly clear that he decided to contrast Dean Week's excellent leadership with my allegedly deficient administration, this criticism of admissions could not be allowed to stand. Since the inspection report could no longer be retracted, the only way to cover-up this mistake was to draft the Accreditation Committee's resolution to praise Dean Weeks' leadership in improving admissions, even those the lapse of time could hardly have allowed any change at all. Indeed, the Accreditation Committee's resolution directs "particular attention to correction of the deficiencies noted in the report," of which admissions are one, although the resolution has previously praised it. Thus, Professor White's draft of the Committee's resolution has made it virtually self-contradictory.

Standard 701. The inspection team is of the opinion that while the physical plant is vastly improved, it is not adequate for growth of programs.

Comment: This criticism contradicts both the present and the last inspection report and is probably not bona fide. The Prince-Wildman inspection report of May 1974, delivered before the school purchased 2003 Washington Street, declared that the then existing space available for law school use was sufficient (p. 18), but required renovation and cosmetics. This fall, the school added to its facilities by buying an additional residence. Page 29 of the current inspection report declared flatly that "the present existing physical facilities, as modified and renovated, are adequate for carrying on the necessary law school functions." It is impossible to understand how they have become "not adequate" by page 31. The criticism speaks of "growth of programs." As previously pointed out, student enrollment is at its apex, with a built-in planned decline by about one-third in the next two years. If buildings are adequate to house 670 students, it defies logic to understand why they are not adequate to house 450 students.

Standard 701. Additionally, the fact that the program is housed in four separate buildings is a matter of serious concern.

Comment: This criticism is discriminatory. A number of approved law schools operate in more than one building, e.g., George Washington, Golden Gate, New York Law School, and New York University, to name only four. A most striking example is Antioch, the library of which (or former Meyer Mansion) is located several blocks from the main school building, divided from the latter by other property, and in fact so far that during the A.B.A. meeting in the summer of 1973 held in Washington, when Antioch hosted a law teachers' reception, it provided a shuttle bus from the library to the school building. Moreover, there is hardly any parking for students who in inclement weather might want to go by car from the school to the library. Yet, the school was provisionally approved upon its first application two years ago and fully approved this February. Delaware's buildings are on adjacent property, divided only by a small alley ways. The faculty buildings are an exception, being directly across a small and little traveled residential street from the school. The report itself noted that the faculty office building was so close to the school that students were not deferred at all from visiting the faculty, even in midwinter. (p. 27) It is therefore difficult to understand why the school's campus-type operation is an object of criticism.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 22, 1975

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, civil rights and labor leader, recently celebrated his 87th birthday. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to his distinguished career in service to the Nation.

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Fla., in the late spring of 1889. After high school, he moved to New York City and worked at numerous jobs while continuing his education at the College of the City of New York. These work and academic experiences helped crystalize his concern and later commitment to the burgeoning struggle of American workers.

In 1925, Mr. Randolph founded and served as organizer and first president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. After considerable turmoil and strife, the union negotiated a collective-bargaining contract with the Pullman Palace Car Co.

In subsequent years, Mr. Randolph distinguished himself in various civil, labor, and civil rights positions, culminating in his inspirational leadership of the march on Washington in 1963. Still active, Mr. Randolph remains a living monument to the individual rights and dignity of American workers and minority groups.

It is with great pleasure that I include in the RECORD Ms. Anna Hedgeman's tribute to Mr. A. Philip Randolph on the decision of his 87th birthday party. The text of the tribute follows:

PRESENTATION OF TV GIFT TO MR. RANDOLPH FOR THE LUNCHEON COMMITTEE OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY BIRTHDAY PARTY OF MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

(By Anna Arnold Hedgeman)

Thank you very much for giving me the privilege of presenting this gift to Mr. Randolph. I am told that in this box is a receipt for a new television which will be delivered to Mr. Randolph this week. My spies tell me that Mr. Randolph likes to view sports and drama. It is not unusual for a man or woman to enjoy sports, but I suspect few people know that A. Philip Randolph has always had special interest in drama. I understand that in his youth he wanted to be a Shakespearean actor and knows most of the great dramas. One of the roles he enjoyed as a young man was Hamlet. Can't you just imagine his beautiful resonant voice bringing Shakespeare to life on the stage! We should note here that few African Americans have ever had the privilege of following the career they personally would have chosen. In this case, we are glad that Mr. Randolph chose to dramatize the economic picture rather than Shakespeare.

We, however, hope he will take the privilege of all older people and become a critic

of the drama world which needs to be analyzed by 'knowledgeable—in-life' people.

Mr. Randolph, we present you with the television and will be looking for the incisive comments on drama that may yet enrich the theater.

As a member of the committee for this luncheon, I am embarrassed that we have on the dais only two women. That is unfortunate because A. Philip Randolph knew that women and men must work together. I had no responsibility for this lack of recognition of women for I was not invited to the committee meetings where the dais was planned.

And now, for my few words:

The first International Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters included men who must be mentioned today. These men served on the International Executive Board and I knew many of them and worked with them:

Ashley Totten, Milton P. Webster, T. T. Patterson, James Bell, E. J. Bradley, A. R. Dailey, John C. Mills, J. R. Benoit, Henry Yates, C. L. Dellums, Bennie Smith, and G. C. Garron.

The leadership of the International Ladies' Auxiliary included:

Mrs. Katherine Lassiter, (First International, V. P.), Mae Dailey, Fannie J. Coviness, Ardella Nufall, Florence Bell Jones, Ella Johnson, Carrie E. White, Ella McBride, Carolyn Lowe McWatt, Rosie Taylor, Nora O. Fant, and Velma Coward King.

I present you the names of these men and women, International Board members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, beginning in 1926. Through them, I hope you will recall today individual men and women from every section of the country who served as the backbone of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and their board members. I wish that we could mention the names of every one of these individuals across this country because they supported A. Philip Randolph in his commitment to the development of economic possibilities among the masses of people in our nation.

Cecelia Cabinass Saunders, as Executive Director of the West 137 Street Branch of the YWCA, introduced me to Mr. A Philip Randolph. Mrs. Saunders understood the importance of economics and it was through this introduction that I learned of the work of Mr. Randolph. It was my privilege to take students from all over the world to meet with him and in time I came to recognize that he was the significant labor leader of this century.

He understood economic need and began the struggle for economic freedom through the program of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and on a broader scale through his work for Fair Employment Practices. He knew that jobs at decent wages were basic.

Fair Employment Practices legislation recognized that every man, woman, or young person eligible for employment ought to have an opportunity for work without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. He made that phrase a part of the language of our nation. He might well have added sex, for women were always a part of his program.

In 1943, he asked me to lead the executive struggle for Permanent Fair Employment Practices legislation. This was a national program, as you know, and it meant placing tremendous responsibility in the hands of a woman. You will recall that Ida Fox, Sidney Wilkinson Bercovici, Beatrice Shalit, Mildred Mackover, Margarie Taylor Ware, and Natlie Moorman carried the major responsibility. Some other women assisted in the regions of the nation and we also employed several men. And so sex, as you can see, might well be added to the phrase, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

Mr. Randolph had unique characteristics which all of us recognized. He determined after careful study on some project which he believed significant to the economic life of the nation. He would then call a number of us in to talk about the project, and we would listen and offer our comments and objections. Mr. Randolph was always a good listener. I think Morris Milgram, who is here today, learned from Mr. Randolph who had the knack of listening to all of your objections and then calmly requesting that you go forward with the program that he had recommended. His ability to make you feel a part of this team made you actually feel guilty if you didn't begin to work on his projected program at once. In fact, he made it very clear that he expected you to do the work in whatever innovative way you pleased. And so he built teams of men and women who planned projects, always geared to the economic life of all people in this nation.

As we salute him, we recall the day-by-day service of the pullman porter to the program initiated by Mr. Randolph. You will recall that those of use who traveled for Fair Employment Practices usually needed overnight lodging and food service, for no hotel and no restaurant were open to us. The pullman porter selected the best homes in their community and gave us every assistance in meeting the people who could help understand the Fair Employment Practices Commission legislation and also raised funds in support of it.

And so today, we must give thanks to all of the men and women who made whatever progress we have achieved possible.

One of the quiet, consistent, hard working supporters of the program of Mr. Randolph was Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer. Today I'd like to make my own commitment to pieces of work which are very important and being presented actually because of Mr. A. Philip Randolph's leadership. The first program was developed by Mr. James Smith, who established some years ago the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow Program in order that young people may know of the work of the Brotherhood. Scholarships are being established for students in Mr. Randolph's name. The second program I'd like to mention is being led by Benjamin F. McLaurin who has created a training center for domestic workers. Each of these programs is presented without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, or sex.

The cost of the luncheon today suggests to me that you will have funds to spend, and since I love to spend other people's money when a little of mine is in the spot, I do hope you will consider these two projects for special funds as a salute to the past of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to their future, and especially as a tribute to A. Philip Randolph, pioneer labor leader of this century on his 87th birthday.

PERSONAL NOTICE

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 22, 1975

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, on June 19 my wife, Ruth P. Frenzel, sold 440 shares of Twin City Barge and Towing Co. common stock to avoid potential conflict in legislation involving the Minnesota River Valley. After holding this security for 6 years, she reaped a vast profit of $197.

TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 22, 1975

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, last week on the night of September 18, the Army Aviation Association of America honored our distinguished colleague from Alabama, Congressman BILL DICKINSON, at its annual Congressional Appreciation Dinner. Senator STROM THURMOND, the senior Senator from South Carolina and ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, was the principal speaker on that occasion.

I applaud the Army Aviation Association for recognizing the outstanding contributions of BILL DICKINSON to the defense of our Nation. I also wish to associate myself with Senator THURMOND's words of tribute to Bill and would like to share his remarks with all of my colleagues.

Following is the text of Senator THURMOND's address:

TESTIMONIAL REMARKS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND

Secretary Brownman, General Kerwin, General Maddox, General Wright, fellow members of Congress, friends and members of the Army Aviation Association of America, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a distinct pleasure for me to be with you tonight and to applaud your judgement in selecting my good friend and colleague, Congressman Bill Dickinson, to receive the Army Aviation Congressional Appreciation Award.

As you know, the purpose of this award is to recognize publicly a Member of Congress who, in the opinion of the National Awards Committee, has made the greatest contribution during the past calendar year to strengthen the defense posture of the United States.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we recognize Bill Dickinson tonight for his contributions to national defense in general and to Army aviation in particular. In every sense, he is what I would describe as a red, white and blue American; a dedicated patriot; and a man of integrity, courage and character.

However, I would like to go beyond these brief words and share with you some of the impressions I have gained of him over the years since he came to the Congress over a decade ago. During that brief period I have watched him rise from freshman status to highly responsible positions in the Congress.

Today, as the second ranking Minority Member of the Committee on Armed Services of the U.S. House of Representatives, he has worked long and hard to see that all elements of our national defense establishment, regular and Reserve, remain strong. As a senior member of the House Committee he is in a position to have great influence in assuring a national defense posture second to none. Predictably, his efforts have been criticized by those who would take the simplistic approach to complex problems and reason that detente allows us to relax our guard. But you and I know Congressman Dickinson as a strong individual, one who has the courage to stand up and be counted on the vital issues, regardless of how unpopular they might be at the time.

The Detroit News

AMERICA'S LARGEST EVENING CIRCULATION

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1976

Michigan hails A. Philip Randolph

By MARK LETT
News Labor Writer

Like most present day travelers, A. Philip Randolph took an airplane to get from New York to Detroit yesterday.

That's obviously the most practical way to go but there's also a touch of irony.

Randolph, who turned 87 yesterday, is the founder and president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union which had a steady drop in membership as rail travel declined.

But Randolph's real impact was as a premier civil rights leader — a role for which he was honored last night during a testimonial dinner in Cobo Hall.

On hand for the gathering were Michigan's top labor, political and civil rights figures — including UAW President Leonard Woodcock, UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser, Mayor Young, Michigan AFL-CIO President William Marshall and Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner.

An elegant man who enjoys reading Shakespeare and once entertained the notion of becoming a Shakespearean actor, Randolph is one of the elder statesman of the black community.

He was known on the national civil rights scene before the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was born.

It was Randolph who served as national director of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Randolph's efforts helped abolish Jim Crow practices in the armed forces and led to the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Act.

The son of a poor clergyman in the African Methodist Church, he organized a union of elevator operators in New York City in 1917. He expanded his interest in labor in 1925 when he and a small group of others met in a Harlem recreation hall to launch a drive to organize the porters of the Pullman Co.

Lengthy court fights stunted their attempts but they finally won recognition and, in 1935, the union won an overwhelming victory in a membership election.

Randolph went on to become one of the top black labor leaders, rising to a seat on the AFL-CIO's national executive council. He now is retired from that position.

Last night, Randolph underscored the role of labor in the civil rights movement.

"Today, the black struggle like the labor movement, is political," he said.

"The alliance of the labor movement is neither accidental nor temporary.

"The alliance has endured and will grow even more important because the activity of labor and civil rights movements are grounded in a common social vision.

"Neither the civil rights movement nor the labor movement can accomplish its goals without the other."

Tributes to Randolph last night included proclamations by the Michigan Legislature, Detroit City Council and officials of Grand Rapids and Highland Park — all setting yesterday as "A. Philip Randolph Day."

Randolph also was honored in a proclamation by the Michigan AFL-CIO and was given a key to the city of Detroit by Mayor Young.

UAW President Woodcock, who called Randolph "one of the greatest Americans of this century," presented the stately honoree with the Walter P. Reuther Commemorative Medal.

Benefits from the event go to the Detroit Chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which devotes considerable time to voter registration and other programs which embrace the civil rights and labor movements.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1977

George S. Schuyler, Black Author

By GEORGE GOODMAN Jr.

George S. Schuyler, a major black author and the first black journalist to attain national prominence with the acidic bite of his ideas, died Aug. 31 at New York Hospital. He was 82 years old and lived at 270 Convent Avenue.

Though Mr. Schuyler was best known in later years for pungent conservative positions that clashed with those of nearly every major spodesman for the civil rights movement of the 1960's, he began his writing career as a socialist and a colleague of A. Philip Randolph, the black labor leader with whom he helped found the Messenger Magazine in 1926.

His writing caught the eye of H. L. Mencken, the lampooning social critic of the American scene during the 20's and 30's who published him during Mencken's editorship of "The American Mercury."

In the early years, even among black intelligentsia with whom he quarreled publicly, Mr. Schuyler was respected for his well-documented views and his sharply pointed wit. These qualities brought chuckles among black leaders when he poked fun at them in "Black No More," a novel he wrote in 1931.

In the book, a mythical solution to the race problem employed the device of turning blacks white through use of a cream. "And as they began to disappear black civil rights leaders began to fear their reason for being was slipping away," recalled Henry Lee Moon, who was then public relations director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

George S. Schuyler in a photo made some years ago.

Matter of Recognition

"I remember W.E.B. DuBois laughing about recognizing himself in George's book," said Mr. Moon.

John Henrik Clarke, the black historian, said: "I used to tell people that George got up in the morning, waited tosee which way the world was turning then struck out in the opposite direction.

"He was a rebel who enjoyed playing that role," observed Mr. Clarke, who teaches at Hunter College. That particular quirk in Mr. Schuyler's personality was seen by others as a reason for the ideological switch in his views, from left to far right.

Though the shifting of views seemed sincere, another close observer said Mr. Schuyler often seemed to take a position that became popular, at which point he seemed to strike another stance.

In later years, particularly with the loss of middle ground between advocates of black advancement through demonstrations and protests, Mr. Schuyler's criticisms became viewed with less humor.

In 1966, two years after he ran and lost against the black Congressman Adam Clayton Powell for the latter's 18th District seat in New York, Mr. Schuyler attacked Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as promoting a movement that was having a disastrous effect on blacks in America.

At the core of his later arguments, positions he outlined in ultra-conservative settings such as public forum involving the John Birch Society in Denver, in 1966 he said Negroes in America were healthier, happier and better educated than Negroes in Africa and should be grateful.

Attacked U.S. Involvement

[illegible] positions became farther right and [illegible] of most black reactionary [illegible] began to speak out for Portuguese rule in Africa, where he toured on behalf of colonial regimes in 1961. For the Pittsburgh Courier, a black newspaper for which he was a columnist and correspondent between 1942 and 1964, Mr. Schuyler wrote favorably of United States involvement in Vietnam.

Though he had written earlier for the Nation, Readers Digest and The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Mr. Schuyler's outlets became more and more limited as the momentum of the major positions of the Civil Rights Movement overtook him, altogether obscuring hm by the late 1960's.

He nonetheless continued to champion conservative issues such as the presence of U.S. troops in Southeast Asia and locally opposed such things as police review boards.

He married Josephine E. Lewis, an accomplished painter and the daughter of a prominent white family in Houston, who bore him a daughter, Philippa Schuyler, the nternatonally known pianist and composer. Both his wife and daughter are deceased.

Mr. Schuyler was born in Providence, R.I., in 1895. His only formal schooling was in Syracuse public schools. He served in the U.S. Army from 1912 until 1918. He leaves no survivors. A memorial service is planned.

A. Philip Randolph
Portrait of a Gentle Warrior

- He was called the most dangerous black in America.
- He helped organize a Shakespearean Society in Harlem and played the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.
- He was the father of the civil rights revolution which began in the 1950's.
- He was arrested for speaking out against World War I.
- He spoke for all the dispossessed: blacks, poor whites, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexican Americans.
- He was called a Bolshevik.
- He attained for black workers their rightful seat in the house of Labor.
- He stood up against the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact.
- He joined the Socialist Party.
- He took on the powerful Pullman Company and forced it to sit down and bargain with the porters.
- His unremitting pressures forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign an Executive Order calling for fair employment practices in war industries.
- He won an Executive Order in 1948 from President Harry S. Truman to ban discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.
- He believed that in a bread-and-butter world jobs were the passport to dignity.
- He organized the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill.
- He inspired the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration.
- He led 250,000 persons in a March On Washington in 1963 in the struggle for jobs and freedom.
- He helped win for New York City school paraprofessionals their place in the sun.
- He is A. Philip Randolph, president of the institute bearing his name and President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union he built.

This material appeared as a supplement in the *New York Teacher Magazine* (October 13, 1974) published by the United Federation of Teachers. Reprinted August, 1977 by the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

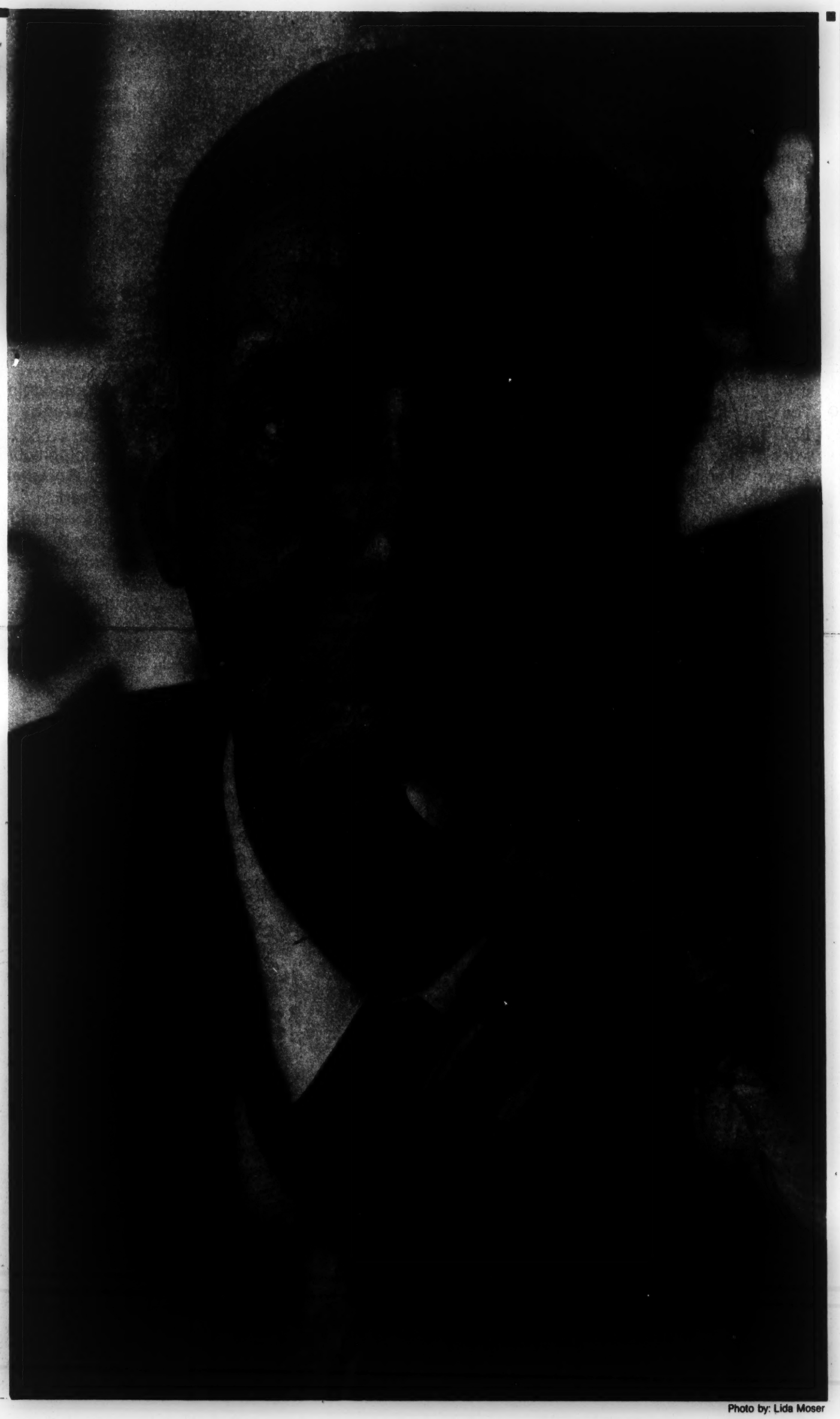


Photo by: Lida Moser

The words and deeds of A. Philip Randolph show us the unyielding strength of his life-long struggle for full human rights for the Blacks and all the disinherited of the nation.

In his cry for freedom and justice, Mr. Randolph is echoing the fury of all the enslaved. They are fighting for their freedom, with the kind of desperate strength that only deep wounds can call forth.

With none of his words, however, does Mr. Randolph turn aside the help of others.

But these comrades-in-arms must share the vision that has led Mr. Randolph through his long years of search for equal human rights.

From the day of his arrival in Harlem in 1911, Mr. Randolph had been in the thick of the struggle for freedom for Black Americans. The civil rights revolution which began in the 1950's was a result of his efforts and the work of men like himself.

Even when he had become an "elder statesman," his passion for justice remained as youthful and vigorous as ever. He still planned and organized such activities as the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill, the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration and the 1963 March on Washington.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 are all the fruits of the seed he and his co-workers sowed many years before.

A. Philip Randolph has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights.

At the same time, he did not let himself be led astray by the impractical economic promises of a man like Marcus Garvey, who called for a "return to Africa" back in the 1920's.

As a man living in the bread-and-butter world, Mr. Randolph knew that a good weekly pay check had to be won first. Then, after the children were fed, a better fight could be waged for dignity and self-pride.

With this always in mind, Mr. Randolph traveled throughout the nation just before World War II, in 1940 and 1941. His mission was to unite Blacks against the discrimination which shut them out of well-paying jobs in the factories.

Although many whites, and even Blacks knocked his efforts in the beginning, his message caught fire. All over the United States, committees of Blacks were forming to "March on Washington" in protest.

Influential people tried to turn Mr. Randolph away from his goal, but he remained strong and steadfast.

Finally, recognizing that Mr. Randolph could not be swayed, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an order, six months before Pearl Harbor, in June, 1941, which called for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs. Here was the beginning of "fair employment practices." This, the first "March on Washington," never had to be held. The most powerful leader in the world, the President of the United States, had yielded to the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

From this start have come all of the many laws trying to guarantee a fair and equal chance to all Blacks looking for jobs.

About seven years later, in July of 1948, Mr. Randolph again moved to fight discrimination. This time, it was against segregation and Jim Crow in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Once more, the power of his persuasion and the justice of his complaints swayed another President of the United States, Harry S. Truman. President Truman signed an order commanding that there would be an end to this kind of discrimination not only in the armed forces, but also in federal civil service jobs.

In 1963, another high point in Mr. Randolph's struggle for equality for oppressed people was reached when he headed the famous "March on Washington," in which more than 250,000 Americans joined together under the slogan of "Jobs and Freedom."

Still relentlessly pressing for full economic freedom, Mr. Randolph then presented, in 1966, the Freedom Budget to the nation. This called for the spending of $185 billion over ten years by the U.S. government to fight against poverty.

"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor." So spoke A. Philip Randolph from the convention floor of the AFL-CIO. And so believed A. Philip Randolph all his life long.

It was this belief that sustained his spirit through the long, long, bitter years when he was the voice crying in the wilderness.

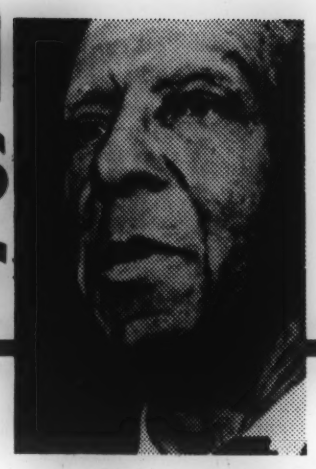
It was this belief that enabled him to go on with the uphill fight for racial equality and opportunity for all Americans.

The story of Randolph the labor leader is the story of many beginnings, a tale of many defeats and many victories. Even in defeat he sowed the seed that afterwards blossomed and bore fruit—for Black workers and white workers alike.

By the early 1920's, Mr. Randolph could look back upon "a career of glorious failures," as one writer put it. He had run for Assembly

August 28, 1963—WASHINGTON, D.C.: Leaders of the March on Washington lock arms and put hands together as they move along Constitution Avenue. A. Philip Randolph, March director, is at right and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), is second from right. The Rev. Martin Luther King is in the middle leading the march. (UPI Photos)

Civil Rights Leader



"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor."

twice and Comptroller once and lost each time.

As far as organizing Blacks went, he had been at it from his first days in Harlem, but had little to show for his efforts.

He began to come into his own when a group of Pullman porters came to him for help. The porters wanted the right to bargain for better wages and improvements in working conditions. They wanted a chance to run their own affairs.

After a number of secret meetings, the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was announced at Elks Hall, on August 25, 1925.

But it was going to be a long and tough fight to get the powerful Pullman Company to sit down and bargain with the workers. It took all of 12 years.

The odds against the newly-born union were huge. The company used all of its strength in attacking Mr. Randolph, calling him a Bolshevik and accusing him of being a hustler out for a fast buck. Pullman fired union members. It tried to put fear into the men by threatening them with tougher assignments, fewer assignments, or no work at all.

The law also failed the Brotherhood. Mediation failed, so did arbitration. And when the men prepared for a strike as a last resort, the company recruited strikebreakers and private police.

At the last moment, the strike was called off. The leadership of the union decided that the Brotherhood was simply not strong enough to win at that time.

Now began the struggle to keep the organization together—without funds, without much support from the outside, and in the midst of a depression.

Mr. Randolph would travel to Chicago on Brotherhood business and have only a one-way train ticket in his pocket. But somehow he survived and his message with him.

Wherever he went, Mr. Randolph had one important sermon for the porters. They were Black men who were being called upon to prove that "Black men are able to measure up." And the men never forgot that message and in the end it won for them.

By 1935, not only had the Brotherhood survived, but it had won an election supervised, by the National Mediation Board. The same year, the American Federation of Labor reversed its previous position and voted to grant an international charter to the Brotherhood. It took two more years of negotiations but finally the Pullman Company signed a contract.

This was more than a victory for better wages and working conditions. As one scholar wrote: "A small band of brothers—Black—had stood together and won against a corporation that had said it would never sit down and negotiate with porters."

In 1936, A. Philip Randolph was drafted for presidency of a new organization called the National Negro Congress. The NNC was made up of a number of groups which planned to build a Black mass movement by working with and through trade unions.

Although the NNC was successful in a number of organizing drives led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), when Mr. Randolph realized it had come under Communist control, he quit. He was attacked by the Communists as a traitor because he refused to support a stand against aid to the enemies of Hitler at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact. But when the Germans turned around and invaded Russia, he was again attacked by the Communists, this time for refusing to help the war effort on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Throughout the hard years of struggle to obtain dignity and decent treatment for porters, Mr. Randolph never forgot that there were other workers who also needed help.

As once observer wrote: "He became a familiar and lonely figure on the floor of AFL-CIO conventions," in his role as champion of the underdog.

He was to be the conscience of organized labor in seeking to get the trade union movement to set its own house in order and to remove the last remnants of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO.

He spoke up strongly and without fear or favor about the need to right the wrongs of segregation and discrimination inflicted upon Black Americans. He called for all organized labor to join in the Black man's struggle for freedom and in that way "rise to its full moral stature."

He spoke for all other dispossessed, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites alike.

He helped to draft "the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO." This resolution put organized labor in "a front line role in the civil rights revolution."

A. Philip Randolph's chosen home is the labor movement—which he believes is the real home of all working men. In 1955 he became a vice-president of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council, and in 1959 he helped to found the Negro American Labor Council.

The NALC's job is to present Black workers' demands to the labor movement and to do what Mr. Randolph has always tried to do—keep the Black people and organized labor together and working for common goals.

A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, is also a dreamer of dreams. He has tried to put flesh and bones on his dreams by working for a labor movement that would be free of all prejudice and which would play a key role in changing society for the better.

It is that dream that has made A. Philip Randolph one of the giants of the American labor movement.

At the heart of A. Philip Randolph's vision as a socialist is his belief that a decent and well-paying job is the first step towards social and political freedom.

Therefore, while he supported the needs of Blacks as Blacks, Mr. Randolph also maintained that those who are poor, or earn little money—whether they are Black or white—have basic interests in common, and that they should join together.

As a socialist, Mr. Randolph believes that workers and their labor unions are the key forces in any political effort to redistribute society's wealth more justly. Mr. Randolph has continuously advised Black people to develop political alliances with other groups—labor, liberal and civil rights groups—to fight for common aims.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned those principles that have given his outlook qualities of depth and honor. He is a firm believer in both integration and non-violence.

As an integrationist he opposed the "Back-to-Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's, as he has opposed the separatist beliefs of the "Black Power" advocates of today. At the same time, Mr. Randolph has rejected violence as a tactic of struggle, on both moral and practical grounds.

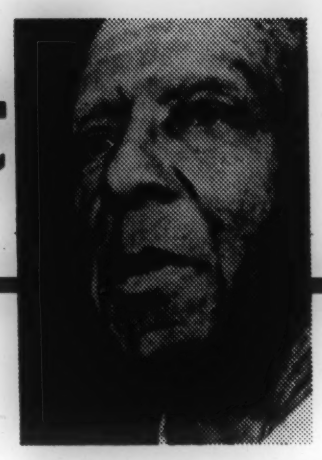
A. Philip Randolph has not seen the problem of Black people in America as the problem of one isolated group. He views the condition of American Blacks as the symptom of a larger social illness, an illness which is caused by an unfair distribution of power, wealth, and resources.

For the socialist ideals on which his political wisdom is built, Mr. Randolph looked to the giants of American socialism—Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas.

The agent for spreading Mr. Randolph's socialism was a magazine called the MESSENGER, founded in 1917, "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by Negroes." He co-edited the magazine

Labor Leader

Socialist



with Chandler Owen, a fellow socialist who came to be Mr. Randolph's closest friend. Though both men were well aware that many unions and many socialists discriminated, they continued in their conviction that only through the organization of the workers into unions could society be changed.

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen outlined the purpose of their socialist publication in an early editorial, saying:

"The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing classes recognize no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a Black man . . . they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits.

"The combination of Black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, Black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will prove that unions are not based upon race lines, but upon class lines. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class conscious, intelligent, militant group."

Though Mr. Randolph was an integrationist, he believed that organizations which had come into existence to wage the Black and working class struggle ought to be headed by the leaders from those groups. He disagreed with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader W.E.B. DuBois' claim that a "talented tenth" of the race would pave the way for its entry into society.

The gap between Mr. Randolph and Mr. DuBois widened when, during World War I, Mr. DuBois called on Blacks to "close ranks," put aside their grievances, and support the war. Mr. Randolph was definitely opposed to the war. He believed that the American idea of "making the world safe for democracy" was outright falsity and "a tremendous offense to the intelligence of the Blacks because at that time the Blacks were being lynched and denied the right to vote, in the South, especially, and were the victims of segregation and discrimination all over the nation."

The MESSENGER repeatedly stressed the anti-war stand of its editors and, as a result, the U.S. Justice Department kept a close watch on Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen. Finally, they were jailed in Cleveland on charges of treason. They managed to get out under the custody of Seymour Stedman, a socialist lawyer, and they promptly continued their public protest against the war. World War I ended just one day before Mr. Randolph was scheduled to leave for war himself as a new draftee.

As a socialist associated with radical, left-wing causes, Mr. Randolph was subject to pressures from other radical groups, including the Communists. When a split struck the Socialist Party in 1919, over the question of whether or not to support the Bolsheviks in their leadership of the Russion Revolution, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen stayed with the non-Communist faction of the party.

When the Communists began to concern themselves with the issue of Blacks in the labor movement, Mr. Randolph had already begun his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Communists were so jealous of Mr. Randolph's effort, they took pains to prevent mentioning him in their publications.

A. Philip Randolph's position, whether an attitude toward labor unions, an anti-war stand, or a political position with an aim of economic change, has consistently reflected his socialist ideas. He has always believed in a movement based on the workers as the main force, and has always been committed to the idea that a democratic redistribution of wealth is the first step toward greater freedom for all people—Black as well as white.

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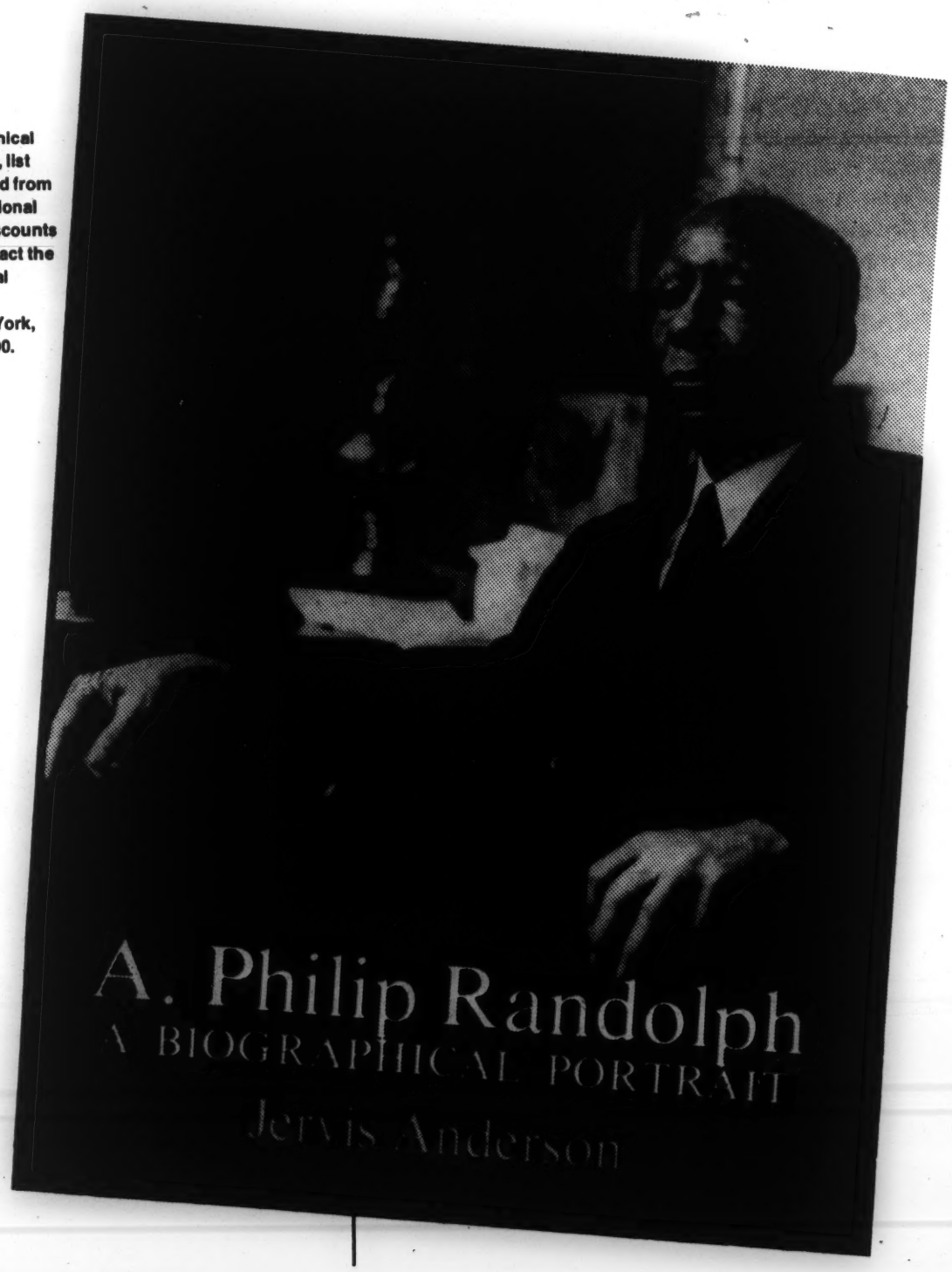
The Jervis Anderson "biographical portrait" of A. Philip Randolph, list price $12.50, may be purchased from the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund for $10.00. Additional discounts available for bulk orders. Contact the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund Literature Department, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010 (212) 533-8000.



Free copies of this brochure are available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Spingarn Medalist Alvin Ailey pays tribute to A. Philip Randolph as Judith Jamison, Roy Wilkins and Hank Aaron look on.

Books THE KANSAS CITY STAR

Long Struggle of the Porters

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The union not only brought more than 8,000 black workers into the stream of American trade unionism but achieved a milestone in the history of organized labor by becoming the first union to cause a nationwide jurisdictional dispute.

One of the union's stalwarts was William F. Webster, a former porter, who effectively complemented Randolph's [illegible] and [illegible] while Randolph forcefully [illegible] the porters' goals to the public, [illegible] successfully organized the porters in Chicago. Webster was [illegible] in the days [illegible] of union. He [illegible] the porters and was [illegible]

In World War I, as a Communist [illegible] a check for [illegible] a new [illegible] target for [illegible] union and to take a [illegible] stand by Negroes [illegible]

[illegible] the Pullman porters [illegible] from discovery by [illegible] company [illegible] "Salvation for a people must come from within. It must be earned, granted. It is [illegible] justice is never given, it is [illegible]

Thomas A. Wolcott is [illegible] of the Union League and [illegible] part in the march on Washington with A. Philip Randolph.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH (1889-) the first Black vice-president of the AFL has made significant contributions to the nation as a leader of labor and civil rights movements. He organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters of the AFL in 1925. He was the initiator and director of the 1941 March on Washington which prompted President Roosevelt to establish the Fair Employment Practices Commission. He helped maintain the lobbying efforts in Congress and the pressure on the office of the Chief Executive during 1946 which finally resulted in the desegregation of the Armed Forces. He was also instrumental in planning the freedom rides of 1946 and the March on Washington in 1963.

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MAY 1978

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WASHINGTON DC 20009
(202) 483-1900

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	Sterling Brown, poet, essayist and educator, born 1901	Elijah McCoy, "father of automatic lubrication," born 1844			Gwendolyn Brooks became first Black poet to receive Pulitzer Prize, 1950	
7	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**
			Judith Jamison, dancer and board member of the National Council of the Arts, born 1943			Stevie Wonder Morris, singer, musician and composer, professional entertainer since the age of 17, has more than 12 gold records, born 1950
14	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**
		Peter Salem, Minuteman, fought at Concord and at Bunker Hill where he shot the commander of the British Marines, Major John Pitcairn, died 1816	The Supreme Court, in landmark decision (BROWN VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION) ruled segregation in U.S. public schools unconstitutional, 1954		Lorraine Hansberry, author of "A Raisin in the Sun," born 1930 Malcolm X (El Hadji Malik El Shabazz) born 1925—An Official Pride Holiday	
21	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**	**26**	**27**
	Claude McKay, writer during the "Harlem Renaissance," died 1948			The Organization of African Unity (OAU) with the charter signatures of 30 different African leaders, established 1963	Guyana won its independence from Great Britain in 1966	
28	**29**	**30**	**31**			
Sojourner Truth delivered keynote address at Women's Rights Convention, 1851		**Memorial Day—An Official Pride Holiday**	Patricia Roberts Harris, ambassador assigned to Luxembourg (1965-67), first Black woman to serve in such a capacity, born 1924			

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

PRINTED MATTER

1979

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U.S. Is Studying Charges Linked To Mastropieri

Scrutinizing Possible Ties to Organized Crime

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Eugene F. Mastropieri, whose expulsion from the City Council was unanimously recommended by the Council's Ethics Committee on Wednesday, is under investigation by a Federal grand jury in Brooklyn on charges of having assisted organized-crime figures to evade Federal income taxes, sources close to the inquiry said last night.

The 41-year-old Democrat, a Councilman at Large representing Queens, has appeared before the grand jury at least once during the six-month investigation, but it could not be determined last night whether he testified or declined to testify on constitutional grounds against self-incrimination.

Variety of Charges Studied

The precise charges being examined by the grand jury have not been spelled out, but the sources said that the panel was looking into a variety of income-tax-evasion charges against members of organized crime and the possibility that Mr. Mastropieri, a lawyer, might have abetted them. Under Federal law, there is a seven-year statute of limitations on income-tax frauds.

Thomas P. Puccio, head of the Justice Department's Organized Crime Strike Force in Brooklyn, and a spokesman for Edward R. Korman, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of New York, declined all comment last night on the reported investigation of the Councilman.

Mr. Mastropieri, who spent much of the day yesterday at his Queens law offices at 67-40 Myrtle Avenue in Ridgewood answering reporters' questions pertaining to his City Council troubles, could not be reached last night for comment on the Federal inquiry.

Council Votes June 7

Word that Mr. Mastropieri was under Federal scrutiny came only a day after the Council's Ethics Committee unanimously found him guilty of 14 charges of misrepresentation, conflict of interest and official misconduct and voted to recommend to the full council that he be expelled.

The Council will vote on the recommendation on June 7. A two-thirds majority of the 43 member council — 29 ayes — would be required. If it is approved, Mr. Mastropieri would be the first Councilman in the 41-year history of the body to be formally expelled, though two Councilmen resigned in 1967 when facing expulsion in separate inquiries.

Most of the charges sustained by the Ethics Committee involved a 1975 Mercedes Benz, which had accumulated more than $7,000 in parking tickets. Others had to do with his involvement

A. Philip Randolph, Rights Leader, Dies; Presid

By PAUL DELANEY

President Carter and Vice President Mondale led tributes yesterday from political, religious and civic leaders to A. Philip Randolph, the longtime labor leader and civil rights activist, who died Wednesday afternoon.

The founder and former president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Mr. Randolph died at the age of 90. He had suffered for years from high blood pressure and a heart condition.

"His dignity and integrity, his eloquence, his devotion to nonviolence and his unshakable commitment to justice all helped shape the ideals and spirit of the civil rights movement," President Carter said.

The President said that Mr. Randolph "helped sweep away longstanding barriers of discrimination and segregation in industry and labor unions, in our schools and armed services, in politics and government."

'No American Did More'

Mr. Mondale said that "no American did more for the cause of social equality and economic justice" than Mr. Randolph.

"Today, America can speak out for human rights around the world, without hypocrisy, because of the faith A. Philip Randolph and others in the civil rights movements showed in our country," he added.

Like others paying tribute, the Vice President noted the irony of Mr. Randolph's death on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregated public schools.

Sadness over news of the death of the rights leader was mixed with joy at a celebration of the anniversary by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Columbia, S.C. Association members were joyous by the announcement by President Carter had nominated its general counsel, Nathaniel R. Jones, to become a Federal appeals judge.

'Beacon of Strength'

From Columbia, Benjamin L. Hooks, director of the N.A.A.C.P., said of Mr. Randolph: "It's so sad because there are so many young people today for whom that name means very little. And yet, for more than 40 years, he was a tower and beacon of strength and hope for the entire black community."

David Hyatt, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, called Mr. Randolph a "great warrior," and Vernon E. Jordan Jr., president of the National Urban League, said, "He was a strong leader, strong in his convictions, unafraid."

In a statement from Washington, George Meany, president, and Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer, of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said: "Phil would not want us to mourn, but rather to move on to the tasks that remain undone. That is the way he responded throughout his career as a trade unionist and civil rights leader. Even in the darkest days, Phil never lost sight of the goals, the

Associated Press, 1963

A. Philip Randolph

row, and that a wake would then be held. A memorial service is planned next month, the spokesman said.

Mr. Randolph was propelled onto the national scene by the long and bitter struggle to unionize the Pullman Company. He led the small, all-black union of sleeping-coach company employees to victory over the powerful corporation, which turned out to be a significant gain not only for the porters, maids and cooks of the union but also for America's black community. And the statement of E.F. Carry, the company president, on Aug. 25, 1937, that Pullman was ready to sign with the union, began for Mr. Randolph a national labor and civil rights career that spanned some three decades.

Mr. Randolph was a veteran of confrontations, a graduate of Harlem soapbox oratory who rose from a radical socialist and pacifist background to become a labor leader at a time when labor unions openly espoused antiblack policies and a civil rights movement was unheard of.

Little Progress in Labor

In the twilight of his career, his body pained by illness, Mr. Randolph must have felt frustrated to see what little progress his long fight with organized labor had produced. But he never publicly said as much.

Too, he must have smiled quietly to himself in later life as he was called conservative by some younger, more militant blacks who came on the scene with different tactics and beliefs — violence and separatism — that he could not accept and who chastised him without knowing his radical past: that of a man who urged blacks not to fight in World War I, who criticized W.E.B. DuBois for taking the opposite position and whom President Woodrow Wilson called the

in what was still a Southern city caused near panic. Mr. Roosevelt set about to prevent the march.

The President called on white labor leaders to try to talk Mr. Randolph and other black leaders out of it. Mr. Roosevelt asked Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York, a friend of Mr. Randolph, to seek to dissuade the blacks. Even the President's wife, Eleanor, was enlisted. But the effort did not work.

The black leadership insisted on a meeting with the President himself.

Besides Mr. Randolph, the leaders of the planned march included Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P.; Lester Granger of the National Urban League; Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee; J. Finley Wilson of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, and the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York.

When the efforts of Mrs. Roosevelt and others failed to persuade the blacks to call off the march, President Roosevelt agreed to a meeting, which was held on June 18.

In that meeting, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Roosevelt that at least 100,000 blacks were expected to march. The President at first turned on his charm. He noticed Mr. Randolph's pronunciation of the broad "a" and inquired, "Phil, when did you graduate from Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President," Mr. Randolph answered.

Executive Order Issued

When the President failed to dissuade the black leaders, he agreed to their demands. On June 25, 1941, six days before the march, he signed Executive Order 8802 and named a Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

Mr. Randolph called off the march but was denounced for doing so by his more militant followers in the coalition, who accused him of selling out. One of those objecting vigorously was Mr. Rustin, who later was to become a faithful follower of Mr. Randolph.

Despite the fact that the executive order was not observed uniformly, thousands of defense jobs were opened to blacks, and the order set a precedent that some state governments followed.

After the war, black leaders turned their attention to segregation in the armed forces, an issue that they had decided not to press in their confrontation with President Roosevelt. But with the nation facing mandatory conscription in peacetime, Mr. Randolph and the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation informed President Truman that they wanted from him an executive order banning military segregation.

On March 22, 1948, the President met at the White House with black leaders, including Mr. Randolph, Mr. White, Mr. Granger, Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the National Council of Negro Women, and Charles Houston, an N.A.A.C.P. lawyer. Both sides were stubborn and the meeting produced nothing.

Civil Disobedience Campaign

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Associated Press, 1969

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Despite the fact that the executive order was not observed uniformly, thousands of defense jobs were opened to blacks, and the order set a precedent that some state governments followed.

After the war, black leaders turned their attention to segregation in the armed forces, an issue that they had decided not to press in their confrontation with President Roosevelt. But with the nation facing mandatory conscription in peacetime, Mr. Randolph and the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation informed President Truman that they wanted from him an executive order banning military segregation.

On March 22, 1948, the President met at the White House with black leaders, including Mr. Randolph, Mr. White, Mr. Granger, Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the National Council of Negro Women, and Charles Houston, an N.A.A.C.P. lawyer. Both sides were stubborn and the meeting produced nothing.

Civil Disobedience Campaign

This sent Mr. Randolph on a civil disobedience campaign. Mr. Truman, in a speech to the N.A.A.C.P. convention, said he would "do everything I can" to end military segregation. Later, he signed an executive order to do just that.

United Press International

Mr. Randolph with Eleanor Roosevelt at a rally in New York in 1940

and beatings of blacks increased year by year.

President Wilson's Administration was reducing the number of Federal jobs allotted by custom to blacks, and was imposing segregation in Government building in Washington. An extensive migration began from the South; there was pervasive discrimination and, not infrequently, there were race riots in the North.

Assailed Woodrow Wilson

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen had founded a magazine, The Messenger, in 1915, and they lashed out at President Wilson. As editor and a gifted orator, Mr. Randolph also took his message to the street, his resonant baritone booming from soapboxes from Harlem to black hamlets across the nation as he spoke out against injustice.

On one occasion during the street-corner rallies, Mr. Randolph was arrested by the Federal authorities on charges of treason for urging blacks not to fight in World War I. The charges were later dropped.

The Pullman porters, listening from the crowds to the tall, forceful speaker and admiring his obvious strengths of character, tapped him to organize the union. Since he was not an employee of the company, he could not be dismissed or harrassed.

The years that followed were made particularly arduous by the rock-like resistance of the Pullman Company.

dustrial Organizations, Mr. Randolph went with him. Like Mr. Lewis, Mr. Randolph was always ready to combat any and all, black and white, in pursuit of his ideals.

After the two big labor organizations merged in 1956, Mr. Randolph became the only black representative on the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council. But in a further effort to end employment discrimination, he formed the Negro American Labor Council in 1959. Two years later, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council censured him as being "largely responsible" for driving a wedge between blacks and the unions.

Undaunted, Mr. Randolph refused to accept the blame for racism in unions. In an 80th birthday interview, he said:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . The unity of these forces would bring about the power rally to achieve basic social change."

Increasing Demonstrations

In the 1960's a new generation of black leaders organized a [illegible] of demonstrations, North and South. At first they followed Mr. Randolph's precepts of peaceful sit-ins and nonviolence, and he personally acted as a counselor to Dr. King and as a mediator.

The [illegible] saw the growth of

The Council will vote on the recommendation on June 7. A two-thirds majority of the 43 member council — 29 ayes — would be required. If it is approved, Mr. Mastropieri would be the first Councilman in the 41-year history of the body to be formally expelled, though two Councilmen resigned in 1967 when facing expulsion in separate inquiries.

Most of the charges sustained by the Ethics Committee involved a 1975 Mercedes Benz, which had accumulated more than $7,000 in parking tickets. Others had to do with his involvedment with a Delaware corporation known as Mastro Enterprises. The committee concluded he had lied to its members, to a hearing officer of the Parking Violations Bureau and to a special counsel for the committee.

Besides facing expulsion from the Council, Mr. Mastropieri is said to be under investigation by the city's Department of Investigation on whether his legal residence is, in fact, in the city, as required by law. There have been allegations that he is a resident of Sands Point, L.I., in Nassau County.

Three in Key Army Jobs Reshuffled by Pentagon

WASHINGTON, May 17 (UPI) — The Pentagon today announced a reshuffle of three top Army men that is a consequence of President Carter's promotion of a three-star general to be the new Chief of Staff.

Two four-star generals will be transferred and a three-star general will be promoted to full general to fill gaps opened up in top posts by the selection of Lieut. Gen. Edward Meyer as Army chief.

In the reshuffle, the Army's present No. 2 general, Vice Chief of Staff Frederick Kroesen, 56 years old, will go to Europe as commander of all United States Army forces there. General Meyer, 50, had been scheduled to go to that post before being picked for the top job.

To replace General Kroesen, Gen. John Vessey will move from the post of United States and United Nations commander in South Korea, which he has held for almost three years. To replace him in Korea, the Pentagon said, Lieut. Gen. John Wickham is being nominated for promotion to full general. General Wickham, 50, is now the staff director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon.

Nevada Reporter Loses Appeal On Ruling in Shield Law Dispute

CARSON CITY, Nev., May 17 (AP) — The State Supreme Court has upheld the contempt-of-court judgment against a Las Vegas Sun reporter, Dan Newburn, for refusing to answer questions about the will of the late Howard R. Hughes.

The court ruled yesterday in a 3-to-2 decision.

Mr. Newburn refused in 1978 to answer questions about any knowledge he might have of a will left by the late billionaire. Mr. Newburn had told representaties of the Hughes estate that he had seen what appeared to be a will. But when he appeared for a deposition-taking of sworn testimony, he refused to comment further.

He was adjudged in contempt of court after refusing to abide by a court order to give the deposition.

A lower court ruled there was no basis for Mr. Newburn to cite Nevada's shield law, because his initial disclosures to the Hughes estate were not made as part of any investigative reporting.

AUGIE RATNER

EL CAJON, Calif. May 17— August (Augie) Ratner, a middleweight boxer in the 1910's and 1920's, died last Monday in a hospital. He was 84 years old.

the National Urban League, said, "He was a strong leader, strong in his convictions, unafraid."

In a statement from Washington, George Meany, president, and Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer, of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said: "Phil would not want us to mourn, but rather to move on to the tasks that remain undone. That is the way he responded throughout his career as a trade unionist and civil rights leader. Even in the darkest days, Phil never lost sight of the goals, the needs, the aspirations of workers — both white and black, male and female."

Bertram H. Gold, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee, said, "Jews and blacks and all minorities would do well to rededicate themselves, on this day of mourning, to A. Philip Randolph's philosophy of effective nonviolence."

'Majestic Figure' in Labor

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the union that absorbed the organization founded by Mr. Randolph, meeting in Toronto, adopted a resolution that said, in part, that he "was a majestic figure in the labor movement and on the American scene: militant, dignified, courageous, determined, skillful and wise."

A letter from Mr. Randolph was read Tuesday at the convention. He wrote, in part, the following:

"Your union, like the old brotherhood, recognizes that organized labor must concern itself with the broader social issues of the day, such as injustice for the poor, protection of basic civil liberties and the promotion and defense of the free democratic trade unions throughout the world."

Although he died in the afternoon, word of the death was delayed for nearly eight hours until Bayard Rustin, a longtime associate of Mr. Randolph and the person closest to him, returned from Washington.

A spokesman said Wednesday that funeral arrangements were incomplete but that the body would be cremated tomor-

labor had produced. But he never publicly said as much.

Too, he must have smiled quietly to himself in later life as he was called conservative by some younger, more militant blacks who came on the scene with different tactics and beliefs — violence and separatism — that he could not accept and who chastised him without knowing his radical past: that of a man who urged blacks not to fight in World War I, who criticized W.E.B. DuBois for taking the opposite position and whom President Woodrow Wilson called the most dangerous man in America.

But the tall, dignified Mr. Randolph always maintained his composure somehow, with no overt hostility toward anyone.

Fiery Convention Speech

His frustrations did prompt him to make a fiery speech in San Francisco at the 1959 convention of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. On the podium later, an angry Mr. Meany turned to the calm Mr. Randolph and asked, "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

It was his characteristic quiet dignity that enabled Mr. Randolph to lead confrontations with three Presidents, threatening massive marches on Washington and civil disobedience if those Presidents, who were all extremely popular among blacks, did not take action on behalf of black people.

The first of these confrontations came in 1941. Black leaders were seriously concerned about the barring of blacks from defense plants at the beginning of World War II. They had little success in moving the defense industry or the Federal Government with speeches, conferences, meetings and verbal protests.

Eventually, Mr. Randolph felt that only President Roosevelt could force the necessary changes through an executive order and that only a massive march by blacks could attract the attention to force the President to act.

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Against Military Segregation informed President Truman that they wanted from him an executive order banning military segregation.

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On July 26, 1948, President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, a vaguely worded document that never mentioned segregation but indeed banned it in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph called off his civil disobedience campaign, again to the bitter complaint of Mr. Rustin and his fellow radical pacifists.

The final confrontation with a President occurred in 1963, when the ailing Mr. Randolph, who by then was more a symbol than an active participant in the fast-growing civil rights movement, helped organize the biggest demonstration ever by blacks, the March on Washington. His close aide, Mr. Rustin, was the chief strategist for the coalition that sponsored the march of nearly a quarter-million people.

Once again, a President, this time John F. Kennedy, attempted to dissuade the blacks, but to no avail. The main goal of the march was to push for passage of a civil rights bill. A bill was passed the next year, but not before the assassination of President Kennedy and the almost evangelical commitment to its passage of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Son of a Minister

Asa Philip Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Fla., a hamlet outside Jacksonville. It was one of three communities his father served as minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Two years later the family moved to Jacksonville.

Philip and his older brother, James William Jr., grew up in a relatively intellectual atmosphere, exposed not only to Shakespeare, Scott and Dickens but also to such black heroes as L'Ouverture, Attucks, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Douglass. Both boys attended the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, a Methodist missionary school.

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In New York, he worked as a busboy and at other menial jobs, but he enrolled in night courses in English literature and sociology at City College. From the first sprang his lifelong interest in Shakespeare and from the second his commitment to socialism.

Set Up Employment Agency

In those years he met Chandler Owen, a law student at Columbia University. The two men founded an employment agency in Harlem called the Brotherhood of Labor and made their first efforts to unionize black workers.

In the same building was a beauty parlor managed by Lucille Green, a graduate of Howard University and a former schoolteacher. The dynamic and witty Miss Green and the solemn Mr. Randolph were drawn to each other immediately — they called each other Buddy — and in 1913 they were married.

"For our honeymoon," Mrs. Randolph recalled years later, "we took an open streetcar to South Ferry and back."

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Chief Justice to Appoint 2 Wiretap Panels Today

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17 — Chief Justice Warren E. Burger is expected to name tomorrow the members of two special panels of judges who must approve all electronic surveillance of foreign agents in the United States by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Judge George L. Hart Jr. of the Federal District Court here will be appointed chief judge of a seven-member panel of district judges, and Judge George E. MacKinnon of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia will head a three-member appellate bench, according to court officials here.

Both Judge Hart and Judge MacKinnon are known as conservatives. Their selection was greeted with dismay by proponents of minimal wiretapping. "We'd expect they would look with sympathy at most Government requests," said Mark Lynch, a staff attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, passed in response to revelations about past wiretapping abuses by the F.B.I., requires a court order for electronic taps in foreign intelligence cases. The law authorized appointment of the two judicial review panels. Each member of the district court panel can approve wiretaps individually. Appeals must be ruled on by the entire appellate bench.

Carter to Speak in Indiana

WASHINGTON, May 17 (AP) — President Carter will travel to Indianapolis June 2 to address the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner of the Indiana Democratic Party, the White House press secretary, Jody Powell, announced today.

Ex-Policeman Put on Probation For a False Arrest and Assault

A former police officer who had beaten and falsely arrested another man was put on five years' probation yesterday by a judge who noted his impeccable police record and service to the community.

The former officer, Paul Bellissimo, 32 years old, of Stony Brook, L.I., had pleaded guilty to perjury — which carries a maximum penalty of four years in prison — for beating and arresting Geraldo Vidal, 53, last Sept. 16 when Mr. Vidal tried to intervene in a violent argument between Mr. Bellissimo and Mr. Bellissimo's wife. Mr. Bellissimo was off duty at the time.

"This does appear to be an isolated incident and atypical of the defendant's behavior," Justice Harold Rothwax commented in State Supreme Court in Manhattan.

The defense attorney, Joseph A. Barbaccia, said that Mr. Bellissimo was a volunteer fireman and a member of a rescue team with the Air National Guard, and that he held numerous police commendations. Mr. Bellissimo has since been dismissed from the force.

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102D YEAR: THE FRESH AIR FUND

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The years that followed were made particularly arduous by the rock-like resistance of the Pullman Company and even the labor movement, which was then virtually all white.

But in the signing of the first contract with Pullman in 1937, blacks made the first inroads into the trade union movement. The impact was especially important in the black community: it was greatly encouraging that a small black union had broken the resistance of a corporate giant and forced it to recognize the union.

United Press International

In 1948, Mr. Randolph led demonstration in Philadelphia shortly before the start there of the Democratic National Convention.

The Chief, as the porters called Mr. Randolph, had succeeded against overwhelming odds. In return they gave him unswavering loyalty.

Instrument of Protest

Mr. Randolph, along with Mr. Owen, had shaped The Messenger into an effective instrument of protest. After the porters were organized, the magazine was renamed Black Worker and centered on making the union recognized in the labor movement and on ending discrimination here.

Mr. Randolph, in convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor, spoke out persistently and futilely against racial injustice. He was considered a nuisance and an oddball by white unionists.

When one of his few white allies in the movement, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, walked out of the A.F.L. and formed the Congress of In... the liberation of the black working man ... The unity of these forces would bring about the power rally to achieve basic social change."

Increasing Demonstrations

In the 1960's a new generation of black leaders organized a rising tide of demonstrations, North and South. At first they followed Mr. Randolph's precepts of pacifism and nonviolence, and he frequently acted as a counselor on tactics and as a mediator of quarrels.

The next decade saw the growth of black militant nationalism. Young activists challenged the concept of nonviolence, as well as integrationist ideals of such moderate leaders as Mr. Randolph.

He criticized the neo-black nationalist trend, as he had Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" movement five decades before. Some nationalists branded him "Uncle Tom," but he answered:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overcome. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

He admitted, with some evidence of disappointment on his face, that organized labor had not completed putting together the forces either, and that the workers did not seem to understand the potential that could be achieved in unity.

Institute Was Established

In 1965, Mr. Randolph announced the establishment of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute with a grant of $25,000 from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and $30,000 from other sources. Under the leadership of Bayard Rustin, the institute was given the task of enlisting community leaders in a broad study of conditions that create perpetual poverty.

In 1968, Mr. Randolph stepped down as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and became its first president emeritus. By then the union, with the decline of rail travel, had only the memory of past glory. And as better jobs opened for blacks, the Pullman porters lost the status they had once enjoyed in the black community. Eventually his union disappeared in a merger into the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

Also in 1968, Mr. Randolph moved from the Harlem apartment in which he had lived so long and into a downtown cooperative apartment owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He busied himself writing an autobiography and a history of his own union, although his weakening physical condition forced him to curtail his activities.

In the last few years, Mr. Randolph lived very quietly in his Chelsea home, making very few public appearances.

Over the years, a porter's union salary, which never exceeded $13,000 annually, had been his main support, with additional money earned from speeches and writings. In the early years, when the union was struggling, he often had to rely on his wife's earnings.

Mrs. Randolph died in 1963, shortly before the March on Washington, with Mr. Randolph in the lead column. He had wanted her to see it. For others, the memory of that event, on Aug. 28, 1963, became one of Mr. Randolph's greatest legacies.

Speech at Lincoln Memorial

To the 250,000 people at the Lincoln Memorial, and to millions of others watching on television and listening on radio, the speech of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the most memorable of the day. But when the austere, dignified Mr. Randolph went to the podium, he spoke from experience and emotion that the younger Atlanta clergyman could then but little know.

"We are not a pressure group; we are not an organization or a group of organizations; we are not a mob," he declared in a booming but controlled voice. "We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom. This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited."

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The New York Times/Fred R. Conrad

AFTER MONTHS OF RESTORATION the Shubert Theater, on 44th Street, boasted a new copper roof, a cleansed exterior and improvements to the interior. Scaffolding was removed yesterday.

Port Authority Is Putting Pressure On Both Sides to Settle Tug Strike

By DAMON STETSON

The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which is increasingly concerned about the diversion of cargo to other ports during the 47-day-old tugboat strike, moved yesterday to put pressure on both sides to settle the dispute.

Alan Sagner, chairman of the authority, announced that Vincent D. McDonnell, former chairman of the New York State Mediation Board, had been engaged as a special consultant.

Mr. Sagner requested negotiators for the striking tugboat crewmen and their employers to meet this morning at the authority's office in the World Trade Center along with Mr. McDonnell and Robert E. Kennedy, maritime coordinator for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Meanwhile, Mayor Koch sent a letter to Vice Adm. Robert I. Price, the Coast Guard commander for the Atlantic area, asking that he make available Coast Guard crewmen to man three tugs that the city has chartered to help cope with the accumulating garbage problem resulting from the strike.

Mr. Sagner said that as a result of the tug strike more than 300,000 tons of cargo a month were being diverted to competing ports. The strike has also seriously affected distribution of gasoline by some companies that normally move it on barges and self-propelled tankers within New York Harbor and up the Hudson River.

Fred Meeder, executive vice president of the Empire State Petroleum and Fuel Merchants Association, said gasoline deliveries had been hampered throughout the metropolitan area and Long Island along with shipments to upstate points.

The contract dispute is between Local 333 of the United Marine Division of the International Longshoremen's Association and the Marine Towing and Transportation Employers Association. The 2,800 officers and deckhands involved operate about 250 tugs, barges and tankers based in New York Harbor.

A key issue in the dispute is the geographical area in which employers would [illegible] vessels operated by Local 333

ARNOLD LEVIEN

Arnold Levien, a retired builder in Long Island City, Queens, died of pnuemonia Monday at the Miami Heart Institute in Miami Beach. He was 89 years old and had lived in Queens and Miami Beach the last 30 years.

Mr. Levien, who graduated from Cooper Union in 1919, put up his first industrial building as a self-employed contractor that year and remained active in the business until his retirement in 1965.

He is survived by four sons, Henry of Manhattan, Edward of Miami, Arthur of Kings Point, L.I., and Robert of Roslyn, L.I.; a brother, Edward of Miami.

Reuben Bitensky, Dean At Syracuse University

Dr. Reuben Bitensky, a former associate dean of the Syracuse University School of Social Work, died of cancer Tuesday at Crouse-Irving Memorial Hospital in Syracuse. He was 63 years old and lived in Syracuse.

Dr. Bitensky was a graduate of the University of Rochester, Columbia University and Syracuse University.

During World War II, he served with the Army in Europe. He later served as executive director of the Jewish Family Service in Syracuse and director of the Syracuse Family Center. He was also a director of Catholic Charities for the Diocese of Syracuse.

Essays by Dr. Bitensky on social science and mental health were published in the United States and in Europe.

He was a past president of the Central New York chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.

Dr. Bitensky is survived by his wife, Muriel; two daughters, Susan of Manhattan and Nancy Henderson of Pittsburgh; a sister, Libby Berman of Rochester, and two brothers, Al Benton of New York City and Barnet Bittner of Albuquerque, N.M.

Kathryn Pittman, Artist, Is Dead; Headed a Free-Tutoring Program

Kathryn Pittman, an artist and educator, died yesterday at Roosevelt Hospital of cancer. Mrs. Pittman, who lived in Manhattan, was 64 years old.

She was born in Philadelphia and studied art at Oglethorpe College, in Atlanta. When she was 19, she was commissioned to paint a series of historical murals for the mezzanine floor of the Robert Fulton Hotel in Atlanta.

Mrs. Pittman served as president of the New York-Metropolitan branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1960. She directed an after-school free tutoring program and aided more than 2,000 pupils through her work with the New York Educational Workshop.

She is survived by her husband, James T. Pittman, and a brother, James Whitley Herron Butner of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Deaths

ABRAMS—Oscar. Guiding Light Lodge, 1151 F.& A.M. sorrowfully announces the passing of their brother Oscar Abrams and extends to his bereaved family their sincere sympathies.
Michael DiNapoli, Master
Morton Halbreich, Secretary

ALPER—Dr. Abe. Beloved husband of Francine. Devoted father of Leslie Bockstein, Cathy Jurist and Jimmy. Loving grandfather of Keith Bockstein. Dear brother of Rose Coven. Services at "BoulevardPark West" 1450 Broadway, Hewlett, L.I. Sunday at 10:30AM.

ALPER—Dr. Abe. Temple Israel of Lawrence, L.I., mourns the loss of its member, Dr. Abe Alper, beloved husband of Francine Alper, father of Leslie, Jimmie and Cathy. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family.

Deaths

GOODMAN—Sylvia, beloved wife of Max, devoted mother of Joan Schein and Rochelle Davis, adored grandmother of Craig, Brian and Andrew Davis, dear sister of David Weiner. Services at "Boulevard-Park West", 115 W. 79 St. NYC, Friday, at 11:30AM.

GREENE—Lionel. The New York Times records with deep sorrow the passing of Lionel Greene, associated with The Times from 1946 until retiring in 1952.

GWATHMEY—Edith W. On May 16, 1979 of Westbury, L.I. Loving mother of Gaines Gwathmey, Jr., Edith Grassi and Nancy Harris. Also survived by 9 grandchildren and 4 great grandchildren. Services will be held on Friday at 3pm at the Church of the Advent, Westbury, L.I. Interment Saturday at the Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

HALBRIN—Dr. [illegible]

Deaths

MAZEL—Alexander. Loving uncle and friend. Services at "Boulevard-Park West" 1901 Flatbush Ave(at Ave.L) Brooklyn 12:15PM Friday.

MEISTER—Selma (nee Pavell) Beloved wife of Edward W. Dear mother of Suzanne Meister. Dear sister of Therese Zass and Edward Pavell. Graveside services will be held Sunday, May 20 at 11AM at the Mayfield Cemetery, 2749 Mayfield Rd. Cleveland Hts. Ohio. Family will receive friends at the residence of Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Colbert, 13705 Shaker Blvd through Monday evening only. Friends who wish may contribute to The Temple or the American Cancer Society. For further information contact: Barnett Buckeye-Cleveland Temple Memorial, Cleveland Hts. Ohio.

Deaths

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Perhaps more than any other individual, A. Philip Randolph in his lifetime symbolized militant but responsible struggles for civil, human, social and economic rights for black Americans. As a pioneer trade unionist, he early recognized the key role that the labor movement could play in winning these objectives; as a believer in social democracy, he emphasized that the attainment of civil rights could have full meaning only if supplemented by economic democracy and social justice for all Americans-black and white. We in the ILGWU are proud to recall that when, in earlier decades, his was often a lonely voice, even in the House of Labor, our union was at his side. His almost single-handed efforts which won Presidential executive orders for fair employment practices in war industries in 1941 and the banning of discrimination in the armed forces and federal employment in 1948 by now are legendary; his day to day contributions in so many other areas are uncountable. His was a rare combination of determination and compassion, idealism and pragmatism, towering strength and dignity. He was one of the rare number of truly "greats" of our epic.
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Sol C. Chaikin, President
Shelley Appleton, General Secretary-Treasurer
Wilbur Daniels, Executive Vice President
Frederick R. Siems, Executive Vice President

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Liberal Party of New York State mourns the death of A. Philip Randolph, a truly great and courageous leader on American History for equality, justice and democracy. A founder of the Liberal Party & State Vice Chairman for many years, he inspired all who knew him & heard his eloquent voice for the poor, the oppressed, the discriminated against. The United States is better for all that Phil Randolph lived for, spoke for, worked for. He organized and led the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters. He led the Black & forward looking people in the struggle for equal rights and opportunities. He always carried on with dignity, moral strength, perseverence & dedication for the cause of all working people of all races and colors. A better America & the struggle for an even better America were his legacy.
Dr. Donald S. Harrington, State Chairman
David Dubinsky, 1st Vice Chairman
Ben Davidson, State Secretary
Benjamin F. McLaurin, Vice Chairman

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The officers and members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union mourn the passing of A. Philip Randolph, a lonetime leader of the civil rights movement and a staunch trade unionist. Wherever the struggle for equality for all Americans has taken place, A. Philip Randolph was there in the thick of it.
While he is best remembered for the historic 1963 march on Washington, his leadership extended as far back as the First World War, when he attempted to arouse the conscience of Americans to the plight of black soldiers and black workers. He inspired, he guided, he fueled the crusade for equality and equal opportunity. Whatever progress has been made in civil rights is linked forever with the name of A. Philip Randolph.
MURRAY H. FINLEY, President
JACOB SHEINKMAN, Secretary Treasurer
SOL STETIN, Senior Executive V.P.
WILLIAM M. DuCHESSI, Executive V.P.

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. We mourn the loss of a great labor leader, founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a man who dedicated his life to the Civil Rights Movement. An indefatigable champion of democracy and human rights and a compassionate humanitarian, he brought many benefits to the entire American labor movement. He was an ardent friend and staunch supporter of Histadrut and the state of Israel. He will be sorely missed by his many friends and colleagues.

e New York Times/Fred R. Conrad

per roof, a cleansed ex-
ay.

NOLD LEVIEN

ien, a retired builder in City, Queens, died of onday at the Miami Heart Miami Beach. He was 89 had lived in Queens and the last 30 years.

n, who graduated from in 1919, put up his first in- ing as a self-employed con- ear and remained active in ntil his retirement in 1965.

ved by four sons, Henry of dward of Miami, Arthur of L.I., and Robert of Roslyn, er, Edward of Miami.

Reuben Bitensky, Dean At Syracuse University

Dr. Reuben Bitensky, a former associate dean of the Syracuse University School of Social Work, died of cancer Tuesday at Crouse-Irving Memorial Hospital in Syracuse. He was 63 years old and lived in Syracuse.

Dr. Bitensky was a graduate of the University of Rochester, Columbia University and Syracuse University.

During World War II, he served with the Army in Europe. He later served as executive director of the Jewish Family Service in Syracuse and director of the Syracuse Family Center. He was also a director of Catholic Charities for the Diocese of Syracuse.

Essays by Dr. Bitensky on social science and mental health were published in the United States and in Europe.

He was a past president of the Central New York chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.

Dr. Bitensky is survived by his wife, Muriel; two daughters, Susan of Manhattan and Nancy Henderson of Pittsburgh; a sister, Libby Berman of Rochester, and two brothers, Al Benton of New York City and Barnet Bittner of Albuquerque, N.M.

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National Committee for Labor Israel

Deaths

Abrams, Oscar	Miller, Gertrude
Alper, Abe	Randolph, A.
Bauer, Jean	Nierenberg, Helen
Boxenbaum, Irene	Petrano, Frank
Brown, William	Pittman, K.
Brush, Edmund	Perrino, L.
Chasen, Aaron	Potter, Charles
Cootes, Adele	Randolph, A.
Corino, Elvira	Rhyne, Ezra
deRham, Frederic	Scherz, Carole
Dioguardi, A.	Schreck, Shirley
Ebert, Grete	Schwartz, Samuel
Goldenson, Esther	Searles, Ralph
Goodman, Sylvia	Sercus, Harry
Greene, L.	Shaw, Theresa
Gwathmey, Edith	Shulock, Hugh
Halprin, Harry	Stanton, Irving
Hartigen, John	Steck, F.
Hertlein, Ottilie	Steinberg, J.
Hoagland, C.	Steinberg, Max
Kahn, Alfred	Sutton, Joseph
Kraft, A.	Thaler, Richard
Lafferts, Betty	Traver, Marion
Levine, I.	Waldron, Thomas
Lloyd, Leo	Wasenius, Theresa
Loevner, Abraham	
Magee, Grace	Weisburgh, H.
Mazel, A.	Weiss, Lillian
Meister, Selma	Yanowitz, Murray

SHULOCK—Hugh Husband of Carole. Devoted father of Lisa and Valerie. Loving son of Gertrude. Services Sunday May 20, 12 noon. "The Riverside" 76 St and Amsterdam Ave.

STANTON—Irving B. Sr. On May 16, 1979. Beloved husband of Alice(nee Haviland), devoted father of Irving B. Jr., dear grandfather of Eric R., Lindsley H., and James A. Stanton. Also survived by 3 great grandchildren. Services Sunday 8 PM at the E. C. Waldeck Home for Funerals 7614 4th Ave, Brooklyn NY.

STECK—Frederick. C. on Tuesday, May 15, 1979, of Nutley, N.J. Husband of Betty. Father of Geoffrey and Eric. Relatives and friends are invited to attend the memorial service at Vincent United Methodist Church, Vincent Place, Nutley, on Sunday, May 20 at 2pm. In lieu of flowers, donations to Vincent Methodist Church Memorial Fund.

STEINBERG—Jennie. Beloved wife of the late Samuel. Devoted mother of Fred and Sylvia. Loving sister of Francine Miller. Services at "Boulevard-Park West", 115 W 79 St., NYC, Friday at 12:15pm.

STEINBERG—Max On May 16 beloved husband of Rose. Cherished father of Arnold and Dr. Myron Steinberg, Gladys Benenson and Joyce Koslow. Brother of Rebecca. Devoted father-in-law, darling grandfather and great-grandfather. Services Friday 11:30 AM "The Riverside" 76 St and Amsterdam Ave.

STEINBERG—Max. The Officers, Trustees, and Administrative Staff of Daughters of Jacob Geriatric Center record with deepest sorrow the passing of Max Steinberg, husband of our esteemed and former long time Trustee, Rose Steinberg. Mr. Steinberg's long dedication support and devotion to the work of our Center has helped enhance the quality of life for our patients and residents. We extend heartfelt sympathy to his wife and children, Gladys, Joyce, Arnold and Myron.

JULES RAYNES, Chairman
MIRIAM HALBERSTADT, Pres.
GERALD GOTTLIEB
Executive Director
Daughters of Jacob Geriatric Center

STEINBERG—Max. The Officers and Members of the Bronx Realty Advisory Board deeply mourn the passing of Max Steinberg, one of the founders of our organization in 1946. A devoted board member and officer for many years, he was currently our Treasurer Emeritus. We wish to convey our heartfelt sympathies to his beloved wife Rose and his family. His dedication and significant contributions to our industry have earned him our respect and grati-

Deaths

STEINBERG,Max—The Board of Overseers of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University deeply regret the passing of Max Steinberg, a Founder and devoted supporter of the Medical School whose son-in-law, Edward H. Benenson, is a member of the College's Board of Overseers. We extend our most sincere condolences to the entire family.

ELI L.ROUSSO,Chairman, Board of Overseers
DR.NORMAN LAMM,President
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

SUTTON—Joseph G. of Scarsdale, on May 17, at St. Agnes Hospital after a long illness. Survived by his wife Ethel, daughter Caroline, and sister Mrs. Charles E. Mercer. Funeral private. Memorial gifts may be made to the Harvard College Fund, Holyoke Center, Cambridge Mass.

THALER—Richard. Suddenly, while trying to help a fellow human being he became a victim of a violent crime. Beloved husband of Carole. Adored and loving father of Jacqueline, Michael and Gaby. Devoted son of Dorothy, Dear brother of Cecelia Nancy Sallan. Services Sunday, 1pm, Schwartz Brothers "Forest Park Chapels", Queens Blvd and 76th Rd, Forest Hills.

THALER—Richard. Temple Beth-El of Great Neck records with profound sorrow the tragic and untimely passing of its member. Heartfelt condolences are extended to the bereaved family.

Myron Pomerantz, Pres.

TRAVER—Marion Gray in East Orange, N.J, on May 14, 1979. Artist, formerly of NYC. No service.

WALDRON—Thomas C. Of Caldwell, N.J., on May 17, 1979. Husband of Esther. Father of Thomas C., Jr., Anne Lang, Esther Brennan. Also four grandchildren. Funeral service at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Essex Fells, Saturday at 10:30 AM. Friends may call at the Dancy Funeral Home, 9 Smutl Ave, Caldwell, today 2-4 & 7-9 PM.

WASENIUS—Theresa (nee Pira). Formerly of SAE and now with AP. Beloved wife of the late Allan. Devoted daughter of Angelo and Mary. Loving sister of Jennie Kinney, Joseph Salvatore, Carl and Marie. Also survived by 8 nieces, 1 nephew,3 great nieces & 1 great nephew. Reposing at William E. Law Funeral Home, 1 Jerusalem Ave, Massapequa, L.I. Mass of the Resurrection Saturday 10:15am at Maria Regina RC Church, Seaford L.I. Interment St. Charles Cemetery. Visiting hours 2-5 & 7-9:30. In lieu of flowers please make donations to The American Cancer Society.

WEISBURGH—Herbert, of Bedford, N.Y. The members of Rockrimmon Country Club are saddened at the passing of their esteemed member.

Morton Sweig, President

WEISBURGH—Herbert Lloyd, of Bedford Village, NY, NYC and Tulsa, Oklahoma. On May 17, 1979. Survived by his wife Yetra, his children Sally Froelich and Leon Weisburgh. Contributions to The Heart Fund.

WEISS—Lillian H. Beloved wife of the late Henry Lee. Devoted mother of Roslyn Chidekel and Elaine Schwab. Dear sister of Max and Martin Harnick. Loving grandmother of Susan and Charles. Services today 10AM at the "Colonial Chapels" of I.J. Morris Inc. 46 Greenwich Street, Hempstead L.I.

YANOWITZ—Murray. The Board of Regents and Administration of the Long Island College Hospital mourn the death of Murray Yanowitz, Director of Internal Auditing. In his six years at the hospital he contributed greatly to it's efficient fiscal operation and continually expressed concern for his fellow men. He will be gravely missed by all his coworkers.

James M. Kingsbury
Chairman, Board Of Regents
Long Island College Hospital
Harold L. Light, President

Unveilings

KAYE—Frances. G. Unveiling May 20th at 11:30AM at Beth David Cemetery, Elmont, LI. Golub section 6-2 Path 9.

Memorial Services

REILLY—Paul G. A memorial Mass of the Resurrection will be held on Friday, May 18th at 11 A.M. at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, 55th Street and First Avenue, New York, New York.

Deaths

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Guiding Light A.M. sorrowfully passing of their rams and extends anily their sincere

DiNapoli, Master lbreich, Secretary

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as a special consultant.

Mr. Sagner requested negotiators for the striking tugboat crewmen and their employers to meet this morning at the authority's office in the World Trade Center along with Mr. McDonnell and Robert E. Kennedy, maritime coordinator for the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Meanwhile, Mayor Koch sent a letter to Vice Adm. Robert I. Price, the Coast Guard commander for the Atlantic area, asking that he make available Coast Guard crewmen to man three tugs that the city has chartered to help cope with the accumulating garbage problem resulting from the strike.

The Coast Guard is already assisting the city with three of its own vessels that have been towing garbage-laden barges from Manhattan to a landfill in Staten Island. But a Sanitation Department spokesman said the Coast Guard tugs were able to handle only one-third of the garbage moved by water when commercial tugs are operating.

of the Empire State Petroleum and Fuel Merchants Association, said gasoline deliveries had been hampered throughout the metropolitan area and Long Island along with shipments to upstate points.

The contract dispute is between Local 333 of the United Marine Division of the International Longshoremen's Association and the Marine Towing and Transportation Employers Association. The 2,800 officers and deckhands involved operate about 250 tugs, barges and tankers based in New York Harbor.

A key issue in the dispute is the geographical area in which employers would have to use vessels operated by Local 333 members. The union contends its members have, in fact, operated from Eastport, Me., to Norfolk, Va., but the employers say the union's scope, as defined in the previous contract, meant the Port of New York and vicinity although they have agreed that "vicinity" means more than surrounding area.

Judge Upholds Owner of Yacht Over Insurance

By WALTER H. WAGGONER

Gene DeMatteo, the 46-year-old owner of a large construction company in New Haven, is a man who recognizes the truth in J. P. Morgan's reply when asked how much it cost to own a yacht: "If you have to ask how much it costs to operate, you can't afford to keep it."

Until three years ago Mr. DeMatteo, who lives in New Canaan, had a luxury cabin cruiser, used for both pleasure and business, and he was to learn that it would cost him as much as $100,000 in maintenance and repair bills in less than four years, not to mention the anguish.

The story of his troubles unfolded yesterday in an order by a Federal District Court judge to the Insurance Company of North America. He told it to pay Mr. DeMatteo, a policyholder, $300,000 toward the cost of his practically new 68-foot, $374,270 Chris Craft cruiser, which burned and sank off the New Jersey coast on July 3, 1976.

Adding to the anguish was the fact that the vessel, named Counterpoint, was supposed to have arrived triumphantly the next day for the Bicentennial Operation Sail ceremony in New York Harbor.

Defects Listed by Judge

Judge Milton Pollack's order for the insurance award recited a list of breakdowns and defects and "maintenance and cosmetic maladies" that occurred between November 1972, when Mr. DeMatteo bought his yacht, and the day the engine caught fire, the captain and mate took to a dinghy and the vessel sank near the mouth of the Delaware River.

Earlier, George Murphy, the former Senator from California and film actor and a director of Mr. DeMatteo's Contractors Realty Company, was aboard when the Counterpoint, heading north from Florida, limped into Wilmington, N.C., for engine repairs that were to cost $10,000. Mr. Murphy and several other guests decided at that point not to continue the voyage by sea, according to Mr. DeMatteo.

In disputing Mr. DeMatteo's claim, the Insurance Company of North America argued among other things that the policy did not cover "any loss, damage or expense arising in consequence of wear and tear, gradual deterioration, marring, denting, scratching, weathering or willful misconduct." Judge Pollack ruled that none of this applied to the vessel, which Mr. DeMatteo said was a "hull No. 1," or prototype, and had been "one problem after another" from the day of delivery.

"It was a beautiful-looking boat," he said in an interview, "but I don't think the same person worked on it two days in a row."

The insurance company's lawyer said he had not yet decided whether to appeal the judge's ruling.

Dionisije Milivojevich; Serbian Church Bishop

LIBERTYVILLE, Ill., May 17 (UPI) — Memorial services for Bishop Dionisije Milivojevich, the spiritual leader of thousands of members of a sect of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the United States and Canada, were scheduled for today through Saturday.

The Bishop died Tuesday at St. Sava's Serbian Orthodox Monastery in suburban Chicago. He was 80 years old.

He presided over a sect of the church that split from the church's Holy Synod in Yugoslavia. Church leaders there ordered him deprived of his rank and sought control of the millions of dollars of property owned by the church in North America.

In the following years, he fought a series of court battles in an effort to retain control of the properties. Earlier this year, the Illinois Supreme Court rejected one of his appeals, but he retained control of his monastery. Several property-control suits are still pending.

Memorial masses were scheduled for today, tomorrow and Saturday in the monastery. Saturday's service is to be followed by a burial mass and burial in the monastery cemetery.

LOUIS SCATURRO

Dr. Louis Scaturro, an assistant professor of nuclear engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, died Wednesday of a heart attack at his home in North Andover, Mass. He was 28 years old.

Dr. Scaturro was a member of M.I.T.'s Plasma Fusion Center, where researchers are seeking to develop a controlled fusion reaction that would provide almost limitless energy. He was considered a pioneer in the study of the details of power loss from plasmas, the hot fuels inside fusion devices.

He is survived by his wife, the former Joyce Basile, an 8-month-old son, Louis; his parents, Albert and Anne Scaturro of Brooklyn, and a sister, Nanette Caruso, also of Brooklyn.

JOSEPH G. SUTTON

Joseph G. Sutton, manager of publications for the New York Botanical Garden, died yesterday at St. Agnes Hospital in White Plains after a long illness. He was 64 years old and lived in Scarsdale, N.Y.

He is survived by his wife, Ethel; a daughter, Caroline, and a sister, Alma Sutton Mercer of Sussex, N.J.

Mother of General Haig Dies

Regina A. Murphy Haig of Pennington, N.J., the mother of Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., died Tuesday at St. Frances Medical Center in Trenton. She was 88 years old. In addition to the general, who is Supreme Commander, Allied Forces in Europe, Mrs. Haig is survived by a daughter, Regina Haig Meredith, and another son, the Rev. Frank R. Haig.

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Morton Halbreich, Secretary

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DR. W.B. GROISSER, President
DAVID SEIDMAN, Secretary

ALPER—Abe, M.D. The Medical Board and Staff of Peninsula Hospital Center Far Rockaway, N. Y. regret the passing of Dr. Abe Alper, a gastroenterologist on the staff of Peninsula Hospital for 32 years. Deepest sympathy is extended to his family.

ALPER—Abe, M.D. The Board of Governors and Membership of the Seawane Club sorrowfully records the passing of our beloved former member and express our heartfelt sympathy to the family.
THE SEAWANE CLUB

BAUER—Jean F. May 16, 1979. Beloved wife of Adam and mother of Henry. Reposing at Andrett Funeral Home, 353 2nd Ave (20-21 St.) Saturday and Sunday, 2-5 and 7-9pm. Services at Christ and St. Stephen's Church, 120 W. 69 St. Monday 9:30am.

BOXENBAUM—Irene, nee Bermack, of No Miami Beach, Fla. on May 14. Beloved wife of Harry, devoted mother of Bernard and Betty Bader, adored grandmother of Diane, Karen and David Bader and Abby & Steven Boxenbaum. Services Friday at Sunset Chapel, Northern Blvd, Manhasset at 10 AM

BROWN—William N. May 16, in Detroit, Michigan. Beloved husband of Winifred (nee Hoopes). Dear father of M. Diane W. Tynan and M. Kathleen Brown. Brother of Mary Beth Capitelli and Anne Tilton. Uncle of Joan McCann. Private service and burial. Family suggests a contribution to the University of Notre Dame.

BRUSH—Edmund J. Formerly of Kings Point L.I. Suddenly on May 13, 1979. Beloved husband of the late Edna. Devoted father of Mrs. Caryl B. Hooper of Port Washington, L.I. Theodore T. of Chagrin Falls, Ohio. Funeral service was held May 15, 1979. Donations to the Book of Memory, All Saints Episcopal Church, 855 Middle Neck Road, Great Neck, L.I. would be appreciated.

CHASEN—Aaron, cherished husband of Ida, loving son of the late Ida and Harry Chasen. Beloved father of Glenda Levine and Muriel Kaye. Devoted father-in-law of Harold Levine and Dr. Stanley Kaye. Adored grandfather of Eileen and James Blake, Steven and Amy Levine, Michael and Jon Kaye. Dear brother of Dora Glassman, Bessie Frank, William Chasen, and Esther Cure.

COOTES—Adele Sibley. Widow of F. Graham Cootes. On May 16, in NYC. Memorial Service in the chapel of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church (73rd St entrance), 11:30AM Tues. June 5. In lieu of flowers contributions to the Blue Ridge School, Inc., St George, VA. would be appreciated.

CORINO—Elvira F. on April 2, 1979 Memorial Service Sunday May 20, 2:30 pm at Frank E. Campbell Madison Ave at 81 St. In lieu of flowers contributions to the Arthritis Foundation, 221 Park Ave would be appreciated.

deRHAM—Frederic Foster. Suddenly May 16th in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Survived by his wife Rebecca, two sons Frederic F. deRham, III and Michael Meredith de Rham. Also three grandchildren. Memorial service Wed., May 23, 12 noon, St Mary's in Tuxedo Park, NY.

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Ethel Banov, President

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MEISTER—Selma (nee Pavell) Beloved wife of Edward W. Dear mother of Suzanne Meister. Dear sister of Theresa Zass and Edward Pavell. Graveside services will be held Sunday, May 20 at 11AM at the Mayfield Cemetery, 2749 Mayfield Rd. Cleveland Hts, Ohio. Family will receive friends at the residence of Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Colbert, 13705 Shaker Blvd through Monday evening only. Friends who wish may contribute to The Temple or the American Cancer Society. For further information contact: Bernett Bocksitz-Cleveland Temple Memorial, Cleveland Hts, Ohio.

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RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Social Democrats, U.S.A. mourns the death of a great leader, a lifelong Socialist, a towering figure of our time.
Bayard Rustin-Chairman
Carl Gershman-Exec Dir.

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The board of Directors, Officers & Staff of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York deeply mourn the passing of A. Philip Randolph, one of the original signatories to the Certificate of Incorporation that brought HIP into existence more than three decades ago. Mr. Randolph was a great union leader, a fighter all of his life for justice and humanitarian causes, and a constant source of strength to HIP during the Plan's formative days. We honor his memory and his vast contributions to the cause of humanity.
Robert L. Sisko, President
Health Insurance Plan of Gr. NY
Barry Feinstein, Chairman,
Board of Directors

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED TO 564-9600 UNTIL 5:30 P.M. FOR WEEKDAY EDITIONS, UNTIL 2:30 P.M. ON SATURDAY FOR SUNDAY EDITION, IN MANHATTAN, OFFICES 8:00 A.M. TO 4:30 P.M. MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY; NEW JERSEY (201) MARKET 3-9600; WESTCHESTER CO. AND NORTHERN NEW YORK STATE COUNTIES (914) WHITE PLAINS 9-9600; NASSAU CO. (516) 747-0600; SUFFOLK CO. (516) 666-1600; CONNECTICUT (203) 348-7707.

nity. Whatever progress has been made in civil rights is linked forever with the name of A. Philip Randolph.
MURRAY H. FINLEY — President
JACOB SHEINKMAN — Secretary Treasurer
SOL STETIN — Senior Executive V.P.
WILLIAM M. DuCHESSI — Executive V.P.

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. We mourn the loss of a great labor leader, founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a man who dedicated his life to the Civil Rights Movement. An indefatigable champion of democracy and human rights and a compassionate humanitarian, he brought many benefits to the entire American labor movement. He was an ardent friend and staunch supporter of Histadrut and the state of Israel. He will be sorely missed by his many friends and colleagues.
National Committee for Labor Israel
Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, President
Bernard B. Jacobson, Exec V.P.
American Trade Union Council for Histadrut
Matthew Schoenwald, Chairman
Gregory J. Bardacke, Nat'l Consultant

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The Architect of the Civil Rights revolution, leader of the March on Washington and the man who broke the race barrier in employment and the Armed Forces. A democratic socialist his moral stature made it possible for him to bring together men of good will of diverse ideologies. As a leader of black trade unionists, he was the spokesman for the common interests of black and white workers. With rancor toward none, he waged the battle for all who suffer under totalitarianism, exploitation and injustice. Our memorial to him is to build a world of freedom, equality, peace and plenty.
Jacob Sheinkman, President
Emanuel Muravchik, Exec Dir
Jewish Labor Committee

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Dedicated to the trade union movement and to the pursuit of civil rights for all Americans.He is mourned by all trade unionists who have benefited from his farthright and imaginative leadership. His life personified total commitment to the cause of civil rights and civil liberties within the civil liberties framework of democratic ideals. He built an enduring monument in his service to all workers, black and white.
Joyce D. Miller, President
of the Coalition of Labor
Union Women and Vice President
Amalgamated Clothing and
Textile Worker's Union

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The Board of Directors and the 2,839 cooperative families of Mutual Redevelopment Houses, Inc. (ILGWU Houses) express profound sorrow at the passing of our distinguished resident and fellow cooperator, A. Philip Randolph. We take pride in the fact that the final home of this vital American was in our housing community.
The Board of Directors,
Mutual Redevelopment Houses Inc.
New York City

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Members and Leaders of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee mourn the death of A. Philip Randolph; long time spokesman for democratic socialism, peace, justice and human rights.
Mike Harrington, Chairman
Jim Chapin, National Director

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. A word of tribute in memory of my friend and fellow worker of many years.
Adelaide Schulkind

RHYNE—Ezra M., beloved husband of Minerva. Service private

SCHERZ—Carole, beloved wife of Malcolm. Loving mother of Scott, Janet and Rachel. Devoted daughter of Irving and Pearl Kornblum. Services today 2PM at "Gartick's", 1700 Coney Island Ave at Ave N, Brooklyn.

SCHRECK—Shirley The Joint Commission on Social Action of The United Synagogue of America extends its heartfelt sympathy to our Co-Chairman, Dolly Moser and her family on the loss of her beloved mother.
Jerry Wagner, Co-Chairman
Muriel Berman, Director
Joint Commission on Social Action
Benjamin Z Kreitman, Exec. V.P.
United Synagogue of America

SCHWARTZ—Samuel. Beloved husband of Beatrice. Devoted father of Peter Schwartz and Lois Steinhart. Adored grandfather, dear brother of Irving and Harry. Services at "Boulevard-Park West", 115 W 79 St., NYC, Friday at 2pm.

SEARLES—Ralph. Beloved father of Harry, David and Max. Devoted brother of Rose Belsky. Dear father-in-law of Shirley and Sondra. Survived by seven grandchildren and one great grandson. Services were held Thursday.

SERCUS—Harry S. Beloved husband of Irene. Devoted father of Owen and Shirley, Marshall and Faith. Adored grandfather of Paul, Erica, Karen, Barry and Julie. Dear brother of Mary Streit, Rose Berens and the late Charles Sercus. Harry Sercus, restaurateur, was affiliated with the 21 Club for 35 years until his retirement to Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Funeral services will be held at the Riverside Memorial Chapel on 76 St & Amsterdam Ave at 1:30 PM on Friday, May 18.

SHAW—Theresa B. Beloved mother of Rev. Richard M. Adored grandmother of Christopher and Gilbert. Sister of Dr. Sydney Bressler. Services today 12:45 PM. "The Riverside" 76 St and Amsterdam Ave.

RAMS—Oscar. Guiding Light Lodge, 1151 F.& A.M. sorrowfully announces the passing of their brother Oscar Abrams and extends to his bereaved family their sincere sympathies.
Michael DiNapoli, Master
Morton Halbreich, Secretary

PER—Dr. Abe. Beloved husband of Francine. Devoted father of Leslie Bockstein, Cathy Jurist and Jimmy. Loving grandfather of Keith Bockstein. Dear brother of Rose Coven. Services at "BoulevardPark West" 1450 Broadway, Hewlett, L.I. Sunday at 10:30AM.

PER—Dr. Abe. Temple Israel of Lawrence, L.I., mourns the loss of its member, Dr. Abe Alper, beloved husband of Francine Alper; father of Leslie, Jimmie and Cathy. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family.
DR. W.B. GROISSER, President
DAVID SEIDMAN, Secretary

PER—Abe, M.D. The Medical Board and Staff of Peninsula Hospital Center Far Rockaway, N. Y. regret the passing of Dr. Abe Alper, a gastroenterologist on the staff of Peninsula Hospital for 32 years. Deepest sympathy is extended to his family.

PER—Abe, M.D. The Board of Governors and Membership of the Seawahe Club sorrowfully records the passing of our beloved former member and express our heartfelt sympathy to the family.
THE SEAWANE CLUB

AUER—Jean F. May 16, 1979. Beloved wife of Adam and mother of Henry. Reposing at Andrett Funeral Home, 353 2nd Ave (20-21 St.) Saturday and Sunday, 2-5 and 7-9pm. Services at Christ and St. Stephen's Church, 120 W. 69 St. Monday 9:30am.

OXENBAUM—Irene, nee Bermack, of No Miami Beach, Fla. on May 16. Beloved wife of Harry, devoted mother of Bernard and Betty Bader, adored grandmother of Diane, Karen and David Bader and Abby & Steven Boxenbaum. Services Friday at Sunset Chapel, Northern Blvd, Manhasset at 10 AM

ROWN—William N. May 16, in Detroit, Michigan. Beloved husband of Winifred (nee Hoopes). Dear father of M. Diane W. Tynan and M. Kathleen Brown. Brother of Mary Beth Capitelli and Anne Tilton. Uncle of Joan McCann. Private service and burial. Family suggests a contribution to the University of Notre Dame.

RUSH—Edmund J. Formerly of Kings Point L.I. Suddenly on May 13, 1979. Beloved husband of the late Edna. Devoted father of Mrs. Caryl B. Hooper of Port Washington, L.I. Theodore T. of Chagrin Falls, Ohio. Funeral service was held May 15, 1979. Donations to the Book of Memory, All Saints Episcopal Church, 855 Middle Neck Road, Great Neck, L.I. would be appreciated.

HASEN—Aaron, cherished husband of Ida, loving son of the late Ida and Harry Chasen. Beloved father of Glenda Levine and Muriel Kaye. Devoted father-in-law of Harold Levine and Dr. Stanley Kaye. Adored grandfather of Eileen and James Blake, Steven and Amy Levine, Michael and Jon Kaye. Dear brother of Dora Glassman, Bessie Frank, William Chasen, and Esther Cure.

OOTES—Adele Sibley. Widow of F. Graham Cootes. On May 16, in NYC. Memorial Service in the chapel of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church (73rd St entrance), 11:30AM Tues, June 5. In lieu of flowers contributions to the Blue Ridge School, Inc., St George, VA, would be appreciated.

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JACOB SHEINKMAN
Secretary Treasurer
SOL STETIN
Senior Executive V.P.
WILLIAM M. DuCHESSI
Executive V.P.

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. We mourn the loss of a great labor leader, founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a man who dedicated his life to the Civil Rights Movement. An indefatigable champion of democracy and human rights and a compassionate humanitarian, he brought many benefits to the entire American labor movement. He was an ardent friend and staunch supporter of Histedrut and the state of Israel. He will be sorely missed by his many friends and colleagues.
National Committee for Labor Israel
Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, President
Bernard B. Jacobson, Exec V.P.
American Trade Union Council for Histedrut
Matthew Schoenwald, Chairman
Gregory J. Bardacke, Nat Consultant

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The Architect of the Civil Rights revolution, leader of the March on Washington and the man who broke the race barrier in employment and the Armed Forces. A democratic socialist his moral stature made it possible for him to bring together men of good will of diverse ideologies. As a leader of black trade unionists, he was the spokesman for the common interests of black and white workers. With rancor toward none, he waged the battle for all who suffer under totalitarianism, exploitation and injustice. Our memorial to him is to build a world of freedom, equality, peace and plenty.
Jacob Sheinkman, President
Emanuel Muravchik, Exec Dir
Jewish Labor Committee

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Dedicated to the trade union movement and to the pursuit of civil rights for all Americans.He is mourned by all trade unionists who have benefited from his forthright and imaginative leadership. His life personified total commitment to the cause of civil rights and civil liberties within the civil liberties framework of democratic ideals. He built an enduring monument in his service to all workers, black and white.
Joyce D. Miller, President
of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Vice President
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. The Board of Directors and the 2,820 cooperative families of Mutual Redevelopment Houses, Inc. (ILGWU Houses) express profound sorrow at the passing of our distinguished resident and fellow cooperator, A. Philip Randolph. We take pride in the fact that the final home of this vital American was in our housing community.
The Board of Directors,
Mutual Redevelopment Houses Inc.
New York City

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. Members and Leaders of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee mourn the death of A. Philip Randolph; long time spokesman for democratic socialism, peace, justice and human rights.
Mike Harrington, Chairman
Jim Chapin, National Director

RANDOLPH—A. Philip. A word of tribute in memory of my friend and fellow worker of many years.
Adelaide Schulkind

RHYNE—Ezra M., beloved husband of Minerva. Service private

SCHERZ—Carole, beloved wife of Malcolm. Loving mother of Scott, Jaret and Rachel. Devoted daughter of Irving and Pearl Kornblum. Services today 2PM at "Garlick's", 1700 Coney Island Ave at Ave N, Brooklyn.

SCHRECK—Shirley The Joint Commission on Social Action of The United Synagogue of America extends its heartfelt sympathy to our Co-Chairman, Dolly Moser and her family on the loss of her beloved mother.
Jerry Wagner, Co-Chairman
Muriel Berman, Director
Joint Commission on Social Action
Benjamin Z Kreitman, Exec. V.P.
United Synagogue of America

SCHWARTZ—Samuel. Beloved husband of Beatrice. Devoted father of Peter Schwartz and Lois Steinhart. Adored grandfather, dear brother of Irving and Harry. Services at "Boulevard-Park West", 115 W 79 St., NYC, Friday at 2pm.

SEARLES—Ralph. Beloved father of Harry, David and Max. Devoted brother of Rose Belsky. Dear father-in-law of Shirley and Sandra. Survived by seven grandchildren and one great grandson. Services were held Thursday.

SERCUS—Harry S. Beloved husband of Irene. Devoted father of Owen and Shirley, Marshall and Faith. Adored grandfather of Paul, Erica, Karen, Barry and Julie. Dear brother of Mary Streit, Rose Berens and the late Charles Sercus. Harry Sercus, restaurateur, was affiliated with the 21 Club for 35 years until his retirement to Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Funeral services will be held at the Riverside Memorial Chapel on 76 St & Amsterdam Ave at 1:30 PM on Friday, May 18.

SHAW—Thelma B. Beloved mother of Rev. Richard M. Adored grandmother of Christopher and Gilbert. Sister of Dr. Sydney Bressler. Services today 12:45 PM. "The Riverside" 76 St and Amsterdam Ave.

port and devotion to the work of our Center has helped enhance the quality of life for our patients and residents. We extend heartfelt sympathy to his wife and children, Gladys, Joyce, Arnold and Myron.
JULES RAYNES, Chairman
MIRIAM HALBERSTADT, Pres.
GERALD GOTTLIEB
Executive Director
Daughters of Jacob Geriatric Center

STEINBERG—Max. The Officers and Members of the Bronx Realty Advisory Board deeply mourn the passing of Max Steinberg, one of the founders of our organization in 1946. A devoted board member and officer for many years, he was currently our Treasurer Emeritus. We wish to convey our heartfelt sympathies to his beloved wife Rose and his family. His dedication and significant contributions to our industry have earned him our respect and gratitude.
RUBEN KLEIN, President

STEINBERG—Max. On May 16, 1979. The employees and associates mourn with profound sorrow the passing of their employer, friend and associate. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family.
STEINBERG & POKOIK

STEINBERG—Max. The Jewish Center of Atlantic Beach records with profound sorrow the passing of its distinguished member and builder and extends heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family.
Samuel Borenstein, President

six years at the hospital he contributed greatly to it's efficient fiscal operation and continually expressed concern for his fellow man. He will be gravely missed by all his co-workers.
James M. Kingsbury
Chairman, Board Of Regents
Long Island College Hospital
Harold L. Light, President

Unveilings

KAYE—Frances. G. Unveiling May 20th at 11:30AM at Beth David Cemetery. Elmont, L1. Golub section 6-2 Path 9.

Memorial Services

REILLY—Paul G. A memorial Mass of the Resurrection will be held on Friday, May 18th at 11 A.M. at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, 55th Street and First Avenue, New York, New York.

In Memoriam

JAVITS—Benjamin A. In loving memory of him, who in our hearts and minds lives on vibrantly continuing to touch us with his humanity, his warmth, his unforgettable sparkle and his fervor for making a better world. From the family.

KLOTZ—Louis. On this your birthday and every other day you are terribly missed. Your family.

VANCE—Beverly Dabney, May 18, 1978. Always in our hearts. Grandmother Janie, Uncle Cliff and Aunt Irene, Uncle Quentin and Aunt Myrtle, Grand-uncle Biggie and Grand-aunt Beatrice.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

JEWISH

Rodeph Sholom
7 WEST 83rd ST.
Gunter Hirschberg, Rabbi
Seth Bernstein, Asst. Rabbi
Ephraim Biran, Cantor
Sabbath Services
Fri. Eve. May 18th at 8:15
Rabbi Hirschberg on
"The Right to Live and The Right to Die"
with special reference to the current Broadway hit "Whose Life Is It Anyway?"
Sat. Morn. May 19th at 10:15
Rabbi Bernstein
will speak
Please inquire concerning our schools—the Religious School, the Rodeph Sholom Nursery and Day School (Grades K through 6), New York's only Reform Jewish Day School, offering a fine secular and Jewish Education. CALL 362-8800.

METROPOLITAN SYNAGOGUE
40 East 35 St.
DR. JUDAH CAHN, Rabbi
NORMAN ATKINS, Cantor
Tonight (May 18) 8 P.M.
DR. RUSSELL BARBER
Producer, NBC The First Estate, Religion in Review
and
RABBI JUDAH CAHN
A Dialogue Sermon
"COMMUNICATIONS MINISTRY IN OUR SOCIETY"
Sat. (May 19) 10:45 A.M.
SABBATH SERVICE and ADULT EDUCATION
RABBI CAHN will speak
Office: 10 Park Ave. OR 9-8580

PARK AVENUE SYNAGOGUE
50 East 87th Street
Dr. Judah Nadich, Rabbi
Harlan J. Wechsler, Asst. Rabbi
David Lefkowitz, Cantor
Daily chapel services at 5:45 p.m.
SABBATH SERVICES
Tonight at 5:45
Saturday morning at 9:30
RABBI HARLAN J. WECHSLER
will preach on
"OVERCOMING ANXIETY"

JEWISH

The Congregation Shearith Israel
The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue
Founded 1654
Central Park West & 70th St
Morning & Evening Services Daily
SHABBAT SERVICES
Fri 6:45 PM; Sat 8:15 AM & 7:30 PM
SEPHARDIC FESTIVAL & FAIR
Sunday, May 20th, 10AM-5PM
Admission: Adults $1; Children 50c
Rev. Dr. Louis C. Gerstein, Sr. Minister
Rev. Dr. M.D. Angel, Minister
Rev. A. L. Cardozo, Hazan

The Chelsea-Greenwich Jewish Comm. Center
Congregation Emmanuel of Israel
236-38 WEST 23rd STREET
Celebrating our 125th Year!
Rabbi Meyer H. Leifer
Cantor Misha Alexandrovich
will be the Guest Cantor on Shabbat Parshat Behar-Bechukotai-Sat, May 19th at 9AM.
All welcome-collation follows
Fri.Eve Services-7:00 PM
Sat.Morning-9:00 AM
Torah Class-Sat.at 7:15PM
Sat.Eve Services-8:00 PM

PARK EAST SYNAGOGUE
Congregation Zichron Ephraim
163 East 67th St.
Arthur Schneier, Rabbi
Alfred Oppenheimer, Cantor
Daily Services 7:45 AM, 6:30 PM
Sundays 9:AM
Tonight Friday, May 18, 6:30 PM
Saturday, May 19, 9:00 AM
RABBI ARTHUR SCHNEIER
will speak at 10:45 AM
"THE CENTRALITY OF JERUSALEM"
Registration Park East Day School
Park East Religious School, Park East Summer Day Camp.
737-6900

SPS
Sutton Place Synagogue
Jewish Center for the United Nations
225 East 51st Street
DAVID B. KAHANE, Rabbi
REUVEN CASPE, Cantor
Rabbi Kahane will speak
Sat. 10:45 am
"JERUSALEM OF GOLD"

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED TO 264-9800 UNTIL 5:30 P.M. FOR WEEKDAY EDITIONS, UNTIL 2:30 P.M. ON SATURDAY FOR SUNDAY EDITION. IN MANHATTAN, OFFICES 8:00 A.M. TO 4:30 P.M. MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY; NEW JERSEY (201) MARKET 3-2800; WESTCHESTER CO. AND NORTHERN NEW YORK STATE COUNTIES (914) WHITE PLAINS 9-5300; NASSAU CO. (516) 747-0800; SUFFOLK CO. (516) [illegible]; CONNECTICUT (203) 348-7187.

The Afro American

A. Philip Randolph

It is almost a fitting reminder, although certainly a sad one, that the death of A. Philip Randolph should occur on the anniversary eve of the 25-year Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation by law in the nation's public schools.

For it was this man who had campaigned for economic justice and desegregation of public schools and other institutions long before Martin Luther King Jr. led the Montgomery bus boycott or the famous Brown decision that outlawed school segregation.

It was he who conducted not one, but five national marches on Washington—including the famous 1963 march which became a large factor in the passage of the nation's 1964 Civil Rights Act.

No wonder then that Mr. Randolph has been titled, "The Father of the Modern Mass Project March."

But he is equally well remembered for his role in promoting unionism among blacks in this country. As far back as 1917 he organized his first labor union among black elevator operators. Later his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters became the first black union constituent of the AFL-CIO and Randolph himself its first black vice president.

Wherever he found himself, he did not think of his own security and welfare. He thought first of the low pay and insecurity of his fellow-workers. He did more than just think. He knew that if workers were to have strengths and win rights and better pay, they had to organize. They had to be organized and he will be remembered for his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It was during World War II, however, that A. Philip Randolph "took on" the entire American government and American industry. It was in 1941 that he rallied black Americans and their friends to the idea of "fair employment practices;" that he threatened the first "March on Washington," and that he wrested from President Roosevelt Executive Order 8802, which established the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice—forerunner of all equal employment laws and programs.

As all great men, Mr. Randolph had his detractors, including some from within our own race. Those who favored more violent processes than marches and unions had their own names for this man. But he never turned against them in attack. As Bayard Rustin once said of him, "He is the only man I know who has never said an unkind word about anyone, even though it may be true."

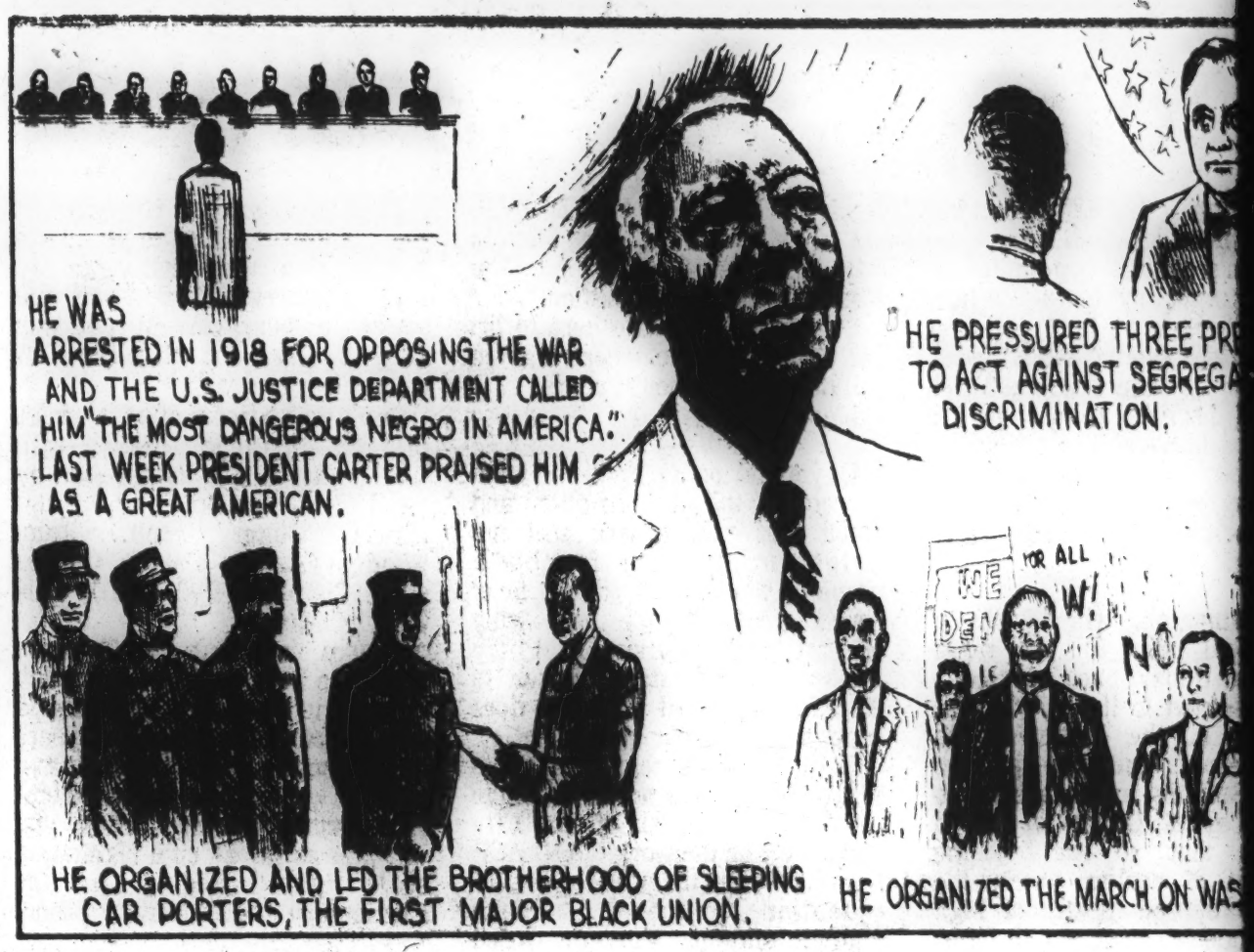
Certainly the white power establishment had its own and unfavorable opinion of Randolph. The postmaster general threw his magazine, the Messenger, out of the mails. The FBI ransacked his office, even breaking up his furniture. And white labor officials once offered him $10,000 (in days when that was more like a million dollars) to drop his plans for black unionists. The courts put him in jail—the first black ever—for advocating that young people should oppose the draft.

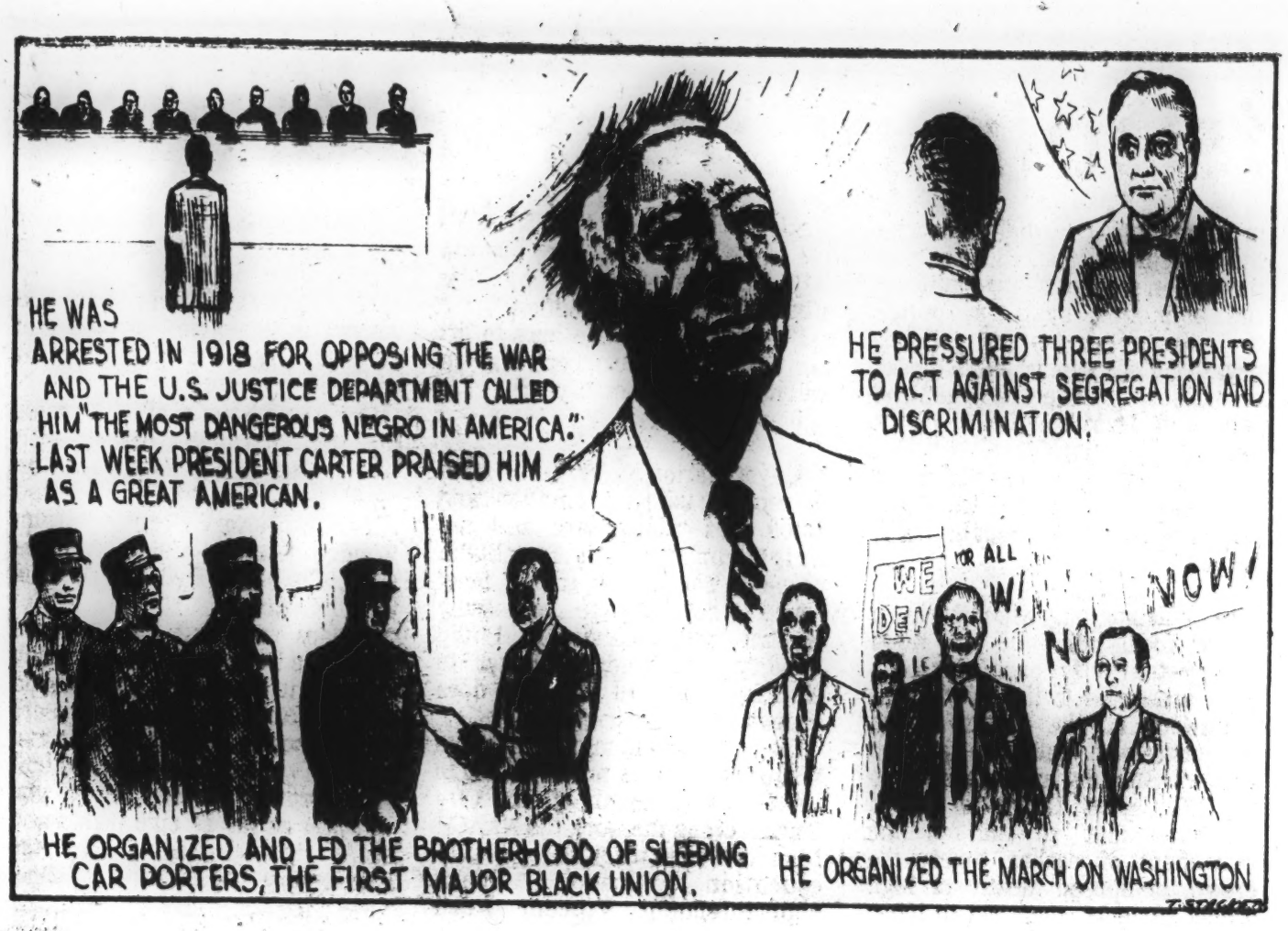
But none of it deterred this man of persistent faith and great vision. He went on to receive honorary doctorates, although he had never graduated from any college. He went on to open up war industries to black workers during the Truman administration. And he continued until he was instrumental in desegregating the armed forces in 1948.

Even after his death, his efforts for both economic and political non-violent progress continue through his A. Philip Randolph Institute. This New York-based foundation especially continues to be responsible for voter registration efforts throughout the nation.

At 90 years of age when he died, Mr. Randolph was a signal genius, combining the elements of civil rights activist and unionist. Yet he was a man of tenderness and love. After the 250,000 departed from the Lincoln Memorial in 1963, A. Philip Randolph was discovered alone at the base of the statue, weeping for joy and the future.

His tears, like his commitment, were not in vain.




HE WAS ARRESTED IN 1918 FOR OPPOSING THE WAR AND THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CALLED HIM "THE MOST DANGEROUS NEGRO IN AMERICA." LAST WEEK PRESIDENT CARTER PRAISED HIM AS A GREAT AMERICAN.
HE PRESSURED THREE PRESIDENTS TO ACT AGAINST SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.
HE ORGANIZED AND LED THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, THE FIRST MAJOR BLACK UNION.
HE ORGANIZED THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
NOW!

ıts join protest in Brown demonstration

proclamation essentially decries the segregation that still exists in the nation's schools, inequality in the economic systems, police brutality, unfair housing policies, negative stereotyping, reduction of services to the underprivileged and poor, and discrimination in major lending institutions.

It called for "all citizens to rededicate themselves to the ideals and principles of equality and justice."

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In Washington, which was a major focal point for the mass demonstrations, proclamations were presented to the mayor and members of the congress, as demonstrators gathered at the District Building and marched to the U.S. Capitol. Instead of the old spirituals that so marked the movement of earlier times, the crowd, composed mostly of high school students, marched to tunes

Region VII director of the NAACP, called the occasion a "very historic day paralleled only by the Emancipation Proclamation."

Burns said, "We are here to lift our voices with one accord that we will not wait another 25 years . . . to achieve equality."

—

Mayor Marion Barry was on hand to receive the proclamation and noted that "things are still not alright in America for black people." The mayor took a brief pause to acknowledge the passing of civil rights activist A. Philip Randolph and pledged himself to ensuring that full equality does happen in the District.

City - Councilmember Nadine Winter presented a proclamation to Dr. Burns on behalf of The City Council citing the work the NAACP has achieved in the fight for quality education. School Board Superintendent Vincent Reed

After the group had assembled at the Capitol Building, the proclamation was read again by actor - playwright Ossie Davis who vowed to "struggle until all our children, black and white, have an equal opportunity."

Davis was master of ceremonies in the historic March On Washington in 1963. Legislators on hand for responses included Howard Baker (Tenn.), John Rhodes (Ariz.), Cardis Collins (Ill.), Claiborne Pell (R.I.), Carl Perkins (Ken.).

Rhodes said that "In 25 years much has been done . . . but much remains to be done." Rhodes said that although the preceding years had not been perfect, they also had not been wasted. Perkins noted that "the Brown decision freed you (blacks) as far as civil rights and equal rights." Adding that the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1954 and the Vocational Education Act of 1975 would never have been passed were not for the groundwork established by the Brown decision. Perkins praised himself as being the first congressman south of the Mason - Dixon line who voted for civil rights legislation.

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Senator Baker called the day one of celebration and mourning, alluding to the death of A. Philip Randolph, and stated that in no place else has so much been done to improve the human lot (as in the Brown decision).

Our success (in implementing Brown), he said, "will measure the greatness of this republic in the years ahead.

Congressional Black Caucus Chairperson Collins observed that "most schools in the country, including 75 to 80 percent of the schools in Illinois, are segregated." All of the legisl pledged to lend their support t that the provisions of the B ruling were fully realized.

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STORYTIME

Brown demonstration

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In the final analysis, the Brown decision has undoubtedly played a major part not only in the fight for qualitye education but in the fight for across the board improvements in the conditions of all black Americans. As Dr. Montigue Cobb, NAACP National President noted, "all major decisions have taken time . . . (this) is only the beginning. "The struggle for full equality and rights for all Americans is far from over.

During the week long observance of the 25th anniversary of the ruling, the constant theme has been "much gained . . . much remains."

Where We Stand

BY ALBERT SHANKER
President
American Federation of Teachers

A. Philip Randolph
April 15, 1889 — May 16, 1979

It may be said — I think without exaggeration — that no American in this century has done more to eliminate racial discrimination in our society and to improve the condition of working people than did A. Philip Randolph, who died this week at the age of 90.

For A. Philip Randolph, a man of quiet eloquence with dignity in every gesture, freedom and justice were never granted people. They had to be fought for in struggles that were never-ending. And progress was something that had to be measured in terms of tangible improvements in people's lives, in the condition of society generally, and in the quality of human relationships.

Randolph never allowed himself to be distracted from his central purpose or to indulge in self-delusion. He distinguished himself in his early years by his refusal to accommodate his ideas to the national mood of resistance to racial progress. He dissented from three trends that were then popular among different elements of the black population: Booker T. Washington's resigned acceptance of inferior status for blacks; Marcus Garvey's escapist "Back-to-Africa" movement; and W.E.B. DuBois' elitist approach of educating "the talented tenth" among blacks. Randolph looked to "the masses," as he would say, and devoted all of his energies to bringing them into the struggle for racial equality and economic betterment.

Through his accomplishments, he not only ushered in the modern civil rights movement, but also transformed the labor movement into a powerful ally of the drive for racial equality. His first great achievement was the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1937. It was a 12-year struggle against tremendous odds. But having won it, Randolph did not stop there. The once-servile porters, he said, would become "the spearhead which will make possible the organization of Negro workers." From his base with the porters and his position within the American Federation of Labor, Randolph pressed forward the cause of organizing black workers and eliminating segregation from the union ranks. Significantly, he never joined the CIO with John L. Lewis (as the obituary in *The New York Times* mistakenly said he did). He took the position that since the fight for integration was in the AFL, that was where he belonged. Year after year he pressed the point that only a fully integrated labor movement would be a strong and united labor movement, and in the end he prevailed. The labor movement not only supports apprenticeship and equal employment programs, but has been a major force in the fight for civil rights legislation and against the Haynesworth and Carswell nominations to the Supreme Court. It also supports the A. Philip Randoloph Institute, which strives to mobilize black workers as a political force — one of Randolph's life-long objectives.

Randolph also understood that the porters "constituted the key to unlocking the door of a nationwide struggle for Negro rights." The Brotherhood was not just a union but a network of organizers who could carry the message of racial equality to all corners of the land. Though no one had ever before organized a massive civil rights demonstration in America, President Roosevelt took seriously Randolph's threat to do so if blacks were not granted equal opportunities in the defense industry. Roosevelt complied with Randolph's demand and signed an executive order outlawing discrimination in defense plants in 1941. Seven years later, in 1948, Randolph once again successfully used the tactic of mass protest when he forced President Truman to issue an executive order integrating the armed forces.

These gains, and the experience with the effective use of mass pressure, set the stage for the civil rights movement. It was entirely fitting that the March on Washington in 1963, which was the culmination of the civil rights movement, was organized by Randolph and his colleague, Bayard Rustin. With this march, and with the subsequent passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, the legal foundation of segregation in American life was dismantled once and for all.

Randolph's effectiveness as a leader was the result of the forcefulness of his personality as well as the consistency of his commitment to human freedom. While his struggle was for black freedom, he saw this as part of a common effort to improve society on the basis of common, universal principles of equality and individual rights.

He stuck to his principles even when it meant going against the current in the black community. In 1966 he opposed the firing without due process of a white principal at IS 201 in Harlem. It was this same issue of due process which led him to defend the UFT in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict of 1968. When criticized for his position by some of his long-time admirers, he responded: "I could not very well refuse to support the teachers' right to due process and job security since it is not only a basic part of our democratic life, but is indispensable for the ability of workers to hold jobs."

In other words, this was a right which could not be applied selectively. If it could be denied to whites, then it also could be denied to blacks. As a trade union and moral principle, it had to be applied equally and fairly to everybody, or it had no validity at all.

Randolph's strength lay in the universality of his vision and in the moral integrity of his outlook. In terms of uplifting the economic conditions of blacks in our society and breaking the chains of segregation and poverty, his achievements are unsurpassed. But his most precious legacy to us — to *all of us* — is his vision of a just society, a society in which every individual's rights are respected, regardless of his race.

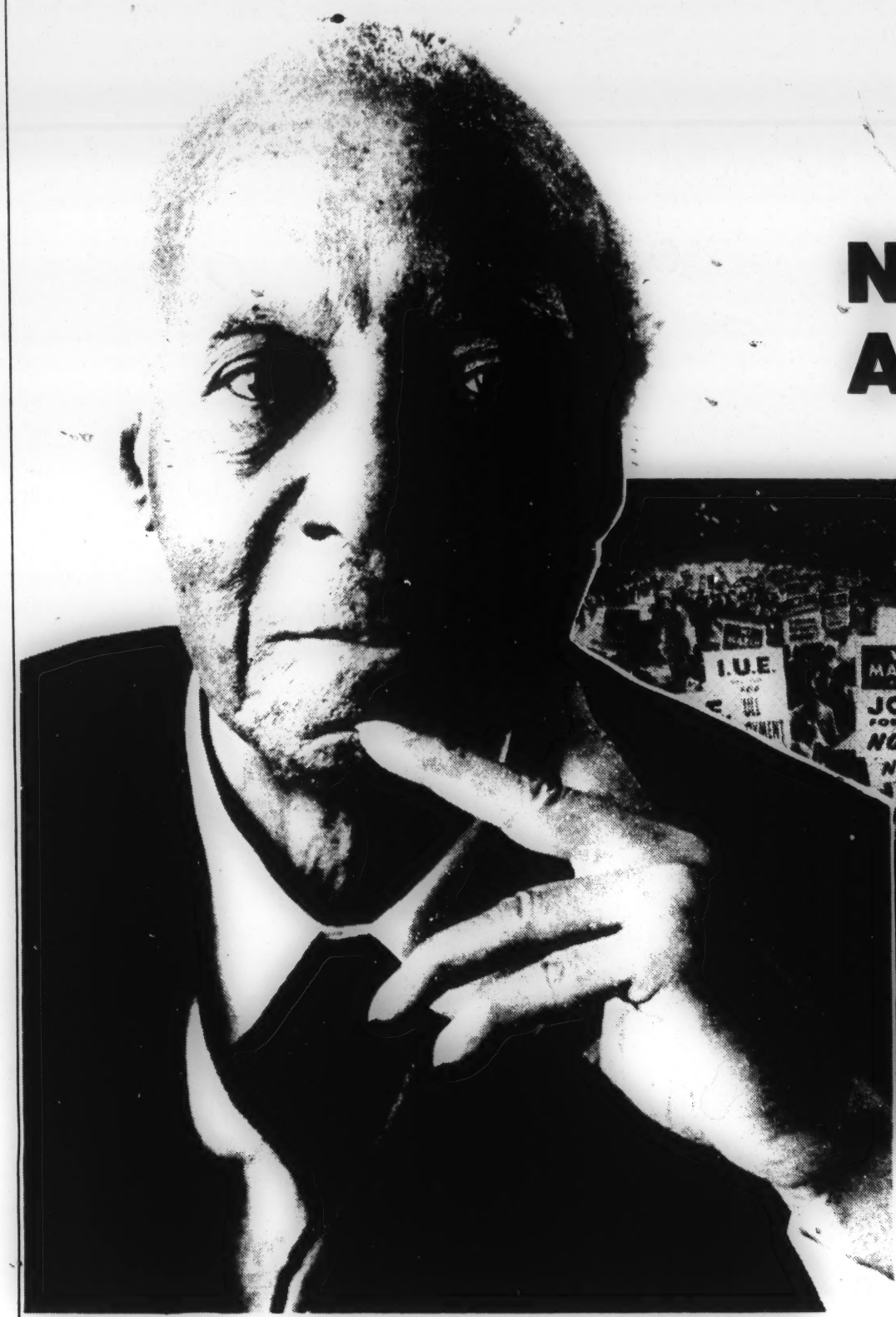
He was a friend and a counselor to me, as well as a teacher and a leader. The proudest moment in my life was when he nominated me to serve on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. For some of us, myself included, his death is a personal loss. But all of us have been affected by what he did. Our society, and the world, is a better place because of A. Philip Randolph.

Copyright 1979 by Albert Shanker

Mr. Shanker's column appeared as a paid advertisement in "The New York Times," Sunday, May 20, 1979.

New York City proclaimed 'A. Philip Randolph Day' in October 1974. Standing in the front row with Randolph (third from left) are (right to left) John Burnell, NYC labor aide; Mayor Abraham Beame; Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer; Frederick O'Neal, president of Actors Equity; David Dubinsky, president emeritus, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Albert Shanker, AFT and UFT president. (Photo by Sam Reiss)

Nation Mourns A. Philip Randolph



A. Philip Randolph (at right) joined hands with Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney Young, director of the National Urban League; Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights, labor and liberal figures, to lead the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963.

NEW YORK CITY — Tributes from men and women, black and white, in all walks of life, are providing living testimony to the unique position occupied in American life by Asa Philip Randolph who died here on May 16 just a few weeks after his 90th birthday.

"It may be said — I think without exaggeration — that no American in this century had done more to eliminate racial discrimination in our society and to improve the condition of working people than did A. Philip Randolph," wrote AFT President Albert Shanker in his May 20 column in the *New York Times* (see page 6, this issue).

During a lifetime of commitment to the twin, and in his view, inseparable goals of racial equality and justice for workers, Randolph combined high idealism and down-to-earth practicality. His idealism was based on the vision of universal brotherhood built into the democratic socialist principles he held during his entire adult life. The practical methods he employed drew on the experience of American labor to develop effective tools for a non-violent mass protest movement for civil rights.

In 1925, after years as a socialist, anti-war and civil rights orator, editor and organizer in Harlem, Randolph set out to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. His painstaking efforts resulted in the first major union victory in America for black workers when the Pullman company finally signed an agreement in 1937. Randolph quickly moved to the first rank of American labor leaders. From that position he waged dramatic and effective campaigns for black rights, upsetting the political status quo while stirring the nation's conscience.

In 1941, Randolph's threat to organize a massive march on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from America's defense industry led to President Roosevelt's declaration that "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." To enforce this decree, Roosevelt established the nation's first fair employment practices agency.

Seven years later, Randolph again set about mobilizing a mass demonstration, this time to combat segregation in the armed forces. Again, the President of the United States, Harry Truman in 1948, bowed to pressure from A. Philip Randolph and the civil rights movement: segregation in the armed forces was eliminated by executive order.

Randolph served on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO from 1955, when the labor movement merged, to 1974 when he retired. As he had done in the AFL before merger, Randolph ceaselessly exhorted the labor movement to live up to its own highest principles by rooting out all vestiges of discrimination in the unions. By 1963 the last explicit ban against blacks in a union had been eliminated. More importantly, however, the labor movement had responded to Randolph's steadfast arguments by joining in a close alliance with the civil rights movement.

This labor-civil rights-liberal coalition, organized in the Civil Rights Leadership Conference, lent powerful support to the important Civil Rights legislation of the 1960's. In 1963, under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King, Jr., more than a quarter of a million black and white Americans demonstrated in Washington for jobs and freedom. The March on Washington stands as one of America's most dramatic expressions of the moral and political forces unleashed by the civil rights movement.

On Randolph's 80th birthday the A. Philip Randolph Institute was established to carry on his life's work — the political and economic enfranchisement of America's black workers and youth. Through voter registration and education, the Institute, with strong backing from organized labor, seeks to strengthen minority participation in the mainstream of American political life.

Throughout his career, Randolph rejected efforts to separate black workers from other workers. His commitment was to an interracial society in which human rights were safeguarded for all.

Even while he was working zealously to reform the labor movement's attitude toward black workers, he never lost sight of the basic identity of interests among all workers.

In a joint statement AFL-CIO President, George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland hailed Randolph as "a great and good man," a friend who "can never be replaced."

Randolph's death, the AFL-CIO leaders said, "summons all who believe in equality and human dignity to reaffirm their commitment to achieving civil rights and social and economic justice for all people."

Walter F. Mondale, vice president of the United States, declared that Randolph "consistently called upon America to live up to its own ideals."

Thomas Hobart, NYSUT president, termed Randolph's passing "a loss not only to the labor movement and minorities, but a loss to every American."

Randolph, Hobart continued, "was a great symbol of human rights for everyone. He saw the labor movement in America as the appropriate forum for his pursuit of justice for the working class."

Bayard Rustin, Randolph's close friend and co-worker and president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, called him "a teacher, a friend, even a prophet."

"I say this," Rustin said, "because he, like the great prophets of the Old Testament, always perservered in boldly witnessing to the truth. Like the ancient prophets, his message was sometimes scorned and ridiculed because he said unpopular things, visionary things, even radical things. And also like the classic Hebrew prophets, Mr. Randolph's personal life radiantly reflected the truths and ideals which he so eloquently preached."

'The Vision of A. Philip Randolph' Reprints Available

In honor of A. Philip Randolph's 90th birthday, the *New York Teacher*, in its April 15, 1979 issue, printed a special four-page section titled "The Vision of A. Philip Randolph."

The section contains material about Randolph and the civil rights movement, suggested class projects on Randolph's life and work and a list of source materials on his life, the civil rights movement and the role of blacks in the labor movement.

Reprints of the section are available from the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

welded metals, cement and

Randolph A Living Legend

Dear Editor:

In the passing of A. Philip Randolph, the civil rights movement has sustained the grievous loss of its patriarch. Long before many of those now in leadership positions were born, Mr. Randolph was defiantly and bravely challenging racism in this country.

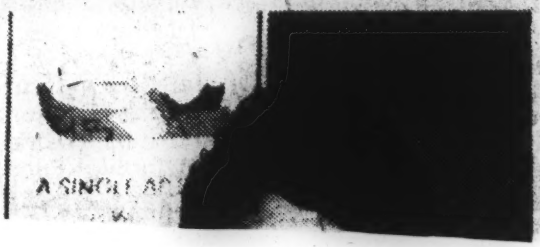
It mattered little to him that he was often called a radical, that his views ran contrary to most of the public opinion of his day. He was convinced in his mind and soul that the wrongs inflicted on Black America must be set right, and to that end devoted his entire life.

The brillance of his mind, the clarity of his thoughts, the magnificence of his voice and his refusal to succumb to pressure, made him into a living legend.

He was an effective and dedicated leader who helped change the course of American history. When others cautioned retreat, Mr. Randolph counseled attack. When others found their faith wavering, Mr. Randolph drew on his inner resources to keep the faith alive.

His courage and his unwavering integrity were a constant inspiration to people who only knew him by name and reputation. To those of us who were fortunate to know him personally, he was a fountain of wisdom and compassion whom we respected and loved.

All of us, Black and white alike, are fortunate that such a man as A. Philip Randolph walked among us. — **Vernon E. Jordan, President, National Urban League.**



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVE. S. 6HT FLOOR 2
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

CHARLOTTESVILLE-ALBEM

TRIBUN

VOLUME XXV, No. 3 | Charlottesville, Virginia 22903 | THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1979

A. Philip Randolph's Death: A Great Loss To All

By Michael Kerper

A. Philip Randolph, the dean of the American civil rights movement, died at his Manhattan apartment on Wednesday afternoon, May 16. Mr. Randolph, who celebrated his 90th birthday on April 15, led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He also played the key role in organizing the historic March on Washington in 1963.

Bayard Rustin, a long time friend and associate of Mr. Randolph, said that the veteran black leader died peacefully at home. "Mr. Randolph was blessed with a peaceful death, he did not sutter," Rustin said.

Mr. Randolph's remains were cremated shortly after his death. The A. Philip Randolph Institute is making arrangements for a public memorial service to be held in Harlem within a month. Details of the service will be announced in approximately two weeks. Those who wish to honor Mr. Randolph's memory are urged to send contributions to their favorite civil rights organization in lieu of flowers.

In a personal tribute broadcast on WNET in New York, Rustin remarked that he could think of "no greater gift and no greater joy than from Mr. Randolph was that "the struggle for the freedom of black people is intertwined with the struggles of all people for freedom and justice."

Norman Hill, Executive Director of the Randolph Institute, recalled the tremendous impact that Mr. Randolph's life has had on local civil rights and labor activists.

"Mr. Randolph's ideals live on in the thousands of Institute members across the country who volunteer their time in voter registration, labor support activities, and political action," Hill said.

Shortly after the announcement of his death, messages of condolences began to pour into the A. Philip Randolph Institute from labor, civil rights, political and religious leaders.

One of the most moving tributes came from the AFL-CIO Executive Council which several days earlier passed a resolution honoring Mr. Randolph on his 90th birthday. The AFL-CIO expressed "Its sincere thanks to Brother Randolph for his continuing and outspoken support for the goals and values which he and the labor movement have shared for so many years." Mr. Randolph served as a vice president of the AFL-CIO from 1955 to

Dorrier Names Van Clief As Treasurer

Daniel C. Van Clief

Albemarle County Supervisor, Lindsay G. Dorrier, Jr., candidate for the Commonwealth's Attorney of Albemarle County, announced today that Daniel G. Van Clief will serve as Treasurer for his campaign.

Van Clief is a former member of the House of Delegates, representing the 24th House District for three terms, from 1968 to 1974. He operates a thoroughbred racehorse and cattle farm in Southern Albemarle, Nydrie Farm and Stud.

In accepting the responsibility as treasurer, Van Clief stated: "Lindsay Dorrier is a native of Albemarle County, who knows its people and its heritage. He has represented the Scottsville District on the

Summer Youth Employment Program

Summer employment will again be available to young people in the Thomas Jefferson Planning District through the Monticello Area Community Action Agency's Multi-Purpose Service Center. The Summer Youth Employment Program provides supervised, structured, and useful work experience; basic education; and institutional or on-the-job training for youth from economically disadvantaged homes.

The 1979 summer program will differ in some ways from those of previous years, according to Drewary Brown, Center Director. One important new aspect is skills training offered through the Opportunities Industrialization Center and the Vocational - Technical Education Centers of the several county public school systems. Training will be offered in agriculture, auto mechanics, brick masonry, carpentry, clerical, and food service. The participants will have the opportunity to explore vocational interests, and be exposed to different work settings by rotating jobs during the summer.

There are three hundred and thirty openings for youth in this summer's program. Participants will be enrolled for nine weeks, beginning June 18, for up to thirty-five

Richmond's Mayor Marsh Breakfast" Local N.A.A.C.P.;

RICHMOND'S MAYOR HENRY MARSH SPEAKIN BEFORE CHARLOTTESVILLE'S NAACP "FREEDO FUND BREAKFAST," AT HOLIDAY INN, SOUTH, 9 a.m Saturday, May 19. -- Tribune Photo

By Tribune Staff Reporter

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TESVILLE-ALBEMARLE IBUNE

SERVING THE PEOPLE OF CHARLOTTESVILLE AND ALBEMARLE COUNTY COMMUNITIES

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Charlottesville, Virginia 22903 THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1979

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"For me," he said, "Mr. Randolph was many things -- a teacher, a friend, even a prophet. Millions of people knew him as a prophet. I say this because he, like the great prophets of the Old Testament, always persevered in boldly witnessing to the truth. Like the ancient prophets, his message was sometimes scorned and ridiculed because he said unpopular things, visionary things, even radical things. And also like the classic Hebrew prophets, Mr. Randolph's personal life radiantly reflected the truths and ideals which he so eloquently preached."

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Vernon Jordan, President of the National Urban League, praised Mr. Randolph as "a man of brilliance, eloquence and integrity who chose to mount the barricades and attack racism, segregation and discrimination with every fibre of his being."

"His death," Jordan continued, "removes from our age a living legend whom we honored, respected and loved."

The top leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called Mr. Randolph an "incorruptible servant of the cause of all people who never waivered nor compromised a single iota in the continuing fight for full opportunity."

Centel To Refund $1.6 Million In September

Central Telephone Company of Virginia will refund approximately $1.6 million to its customers in September, now that the company's rate case is concluded.

The refund is necessary because the amount Centel has collected through a 9.6 percent surcharge authorized in December 1976 by the State Corporation Commission, exceeds the total allowed by the Commission following public hearings and appeals to the Virginia Supreme Court.

Last month, the high court declined to act on Centel and SCC motions for reconsideration of the company's appeal of the SCC's April 1978 rate order. However, in a ruling earlier this year, the court reversed part of the SCC order, resulting in additional revenue for the company.

When the surcharge ends June 1, Centel will have collected approximately an additional $6.4 million during the previous 30 months. Based on the actual $1.85 million additional annual revenue authorized by the SCC, the total amount to be refunded is estimated at about $1.6 million.

Dave Bohmer, general regulatory manager, said actual refunds would begin early in September, since about 500 hours of computer time will be needed to calculate refund adjustments. Other features of the company's refund plan include:

- Refunds will be issued as credits on customer bills. Checks will be mailed to forwarding addresses of customers who have since moved from Centel service areas.
- Refunds will include 8 percent simple interest.
- The amounts customers have paid in taxes also will be refunded.

Centel will file revised tariffs with the SCC May 15 outlining changes in its rates for local telephone service and other offerings. These changes will be announced after approval by the SCC.

Changes for City's Trash Collection

The City's Public Service Division has announced the following changes in the refuse collection schedules for the Memorial Day Holiday on Monday, May 28.

The collection regularly scheduled for Monday, May 28, will be made on Tuesday, May 29. The collection regularly scheduled for Tuesday, May 29 will be made on Wednesday, May 30.

Delegates, Rep... 24th House District for three terms, from 1968 to 1974. He operates a thoroughbred racehorse and cattle farm in Southern Albemarle, Nydrie Farm and Stud.

In accepting the responsibility as treasurer, Van Clief stated: "Lindsay Dorrier is a native of Albemarle County, who knows its people and its heritage. He has represented the Scottsville District on the Albemarle County Board of Supervisors with ability and dedication and has made sound decisions on the many controversial issues confronting the Board. I am sure that Lindsay will be an outstanding Commonwealth's Attorney for Albemarle County and will continue to function as a part of the total County government team. His experience as a prosecutor for the Town of Scottsville, as a law clerk for a federal judge and his years of practice in the local courts will make him an effective, professional Commonwealth's Attorney."

Dorrier said, in appointing Van Clief, "I am proud to have Danny Van Clief as Treasurer of my campaign. I have known Mr. Van Clief and his family for many years and they are dedicated and concerned citizens of Albemarle County. Mr. Van Clief will offer the same guidance and leadership to my campaign that he offered to the citizens of the 26th House District during his six years in the Virginia General Assembly."

MACAA Workshop

A Workshop in Community Leadership will be held on Saturday, May 26, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. at the Federal Executive Institute on Emmett Street.

Topics to be covered are Community Identification, Legal Aspects of Citizen Participation, and Strategies of Community Organizing. People who want to learn how to be effective leaders in their community are invited to attend. There will be no charge to participants.

The workshop is sponsored jointly by the University of Virginia Office of Afro-American Affairs, and the Monticello Area Community Action Agency. For reservations or more information, call Debbie Cobb at 295-3174, or Dr. William Harris at 924-7923.

offered in agriculture, auto mechanics, brick masonery, carpentry, clerical, and food service. The participants will have the opportunity to explore vocational interests, and be exposed to different work settings by rotating jobs during the summer.

There are three hundred and thirty openings for youth in this summer's program. Participants will be enrolled for nine weeks, beginning June 18, for up to thirty-five hours per week and will be paid the Federal minimum wage of $2.90 per hour. Participants must be between the age of 14 and 21 years old. All applicants must be certified by the Virginia Employment Commission before enrolling in the program. Youth wishing to enroll must make an appointment by calling 977-5492.

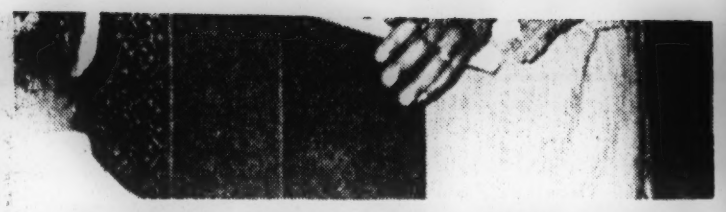
Robinson Opposes Standby Gas Rationing Proposal

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Seventh District Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson opposed the Carter Administration's proposed standby gasoline rationing plan in the U.S. House of Representatives last week.

In a statement he issued following House rejection of the measure, Robinson noted:

"Insufficient assurance was provided by the Administration that rural residents and farmers would be able to get necessary supplies delivered to their farms or places of business, or that sufficient gas would be provided for farmers to get their produce and livestock to market for consumers.

"The blatant inequity of this ill-advised regulatory scheme can be seen by the fact that it promised more gas to residents of the District of Columbia than to the people of Virginia. This is ridiculous when you realize that the world's most expensive subway system is located in D. C., financed by all of the nation's taxpayers, while no such public transit system exists for the use of rural Virginians, who must travel far longer distances to get to work or to conduct essential business."



RICHMOND'S MAYOR HENRY MARSH SPEAKING BEFORE CHARLOTTESVILLE'S NAACP "FREEDOM FUND BREAKFAST," AT HOLIDAY INN, SOUTH, 9 a.m. Saturday, May 19. -- Tribune Photo

By Tribune Staff Reporter

Richmond's Black Mayor Henry Marsh, appearing as principal speaker before the Charlottesville Branch NAACP "Freedom Fund Breakfast" last Saturday morning at Holiday Inn, South, told area politicians, NAACP members and sixteen (16) of the 1955 desegregation plaintiffs that racial discrimination in education and employment continues and has become a part of what is regarded as "subtle racism."

Marsh, who is serving his second term as Richmond's Mayor, was a member of the Hill, Tucker, Marsh Richmond-based law firm that waged many federal court battles in local and state-wide racial desegregation suits in the Old Dominion during the 1950-60's desegregation struggle. He said that Virginia still denies black students full access to higher education while it is "spending millions of dollars annually to support elitist institutions that benefit the few."

Noting that there were three area State politicians among the breakfast guests—Virginia State Senator J. Harry Michael, Jr., and Delegates Thomas J. Michie, Jr. and James B. Murry, Marsh said he wanted to convey his message, loud and clear that there is much they

LIFE MEMBERS and su
Jack Gravely, Executive Secr
Mae Brown, Mrs. Virginia Ca
Charles Fowler as they appe
Breakfast held at the Holiday I

can do to alleviate the situation facing blacks in Virginia.

Among City Council members present were Mayor Laurence Brunton, former Mayor and now council member, Ms. Nancy O'Brien, and Councilman Francis Buck, all of whom, including the three members

GUESTS AT CHARL
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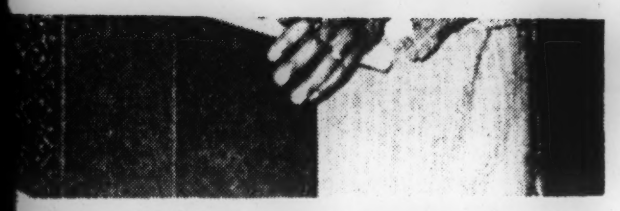

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LIFE MEMBERS and subscribing life members of NAACP - Pictured left to right is Jack Gravely, Executive Secretary, Virginia Conferences of Branches, NAACP; Mrs. Lilly Mae Brown, Mrs. Virginia Carrington, Mrs. Frances Brand, Mrs. Commora Snowden, and Charles Fowler as they appeared at the Charlottesville Branch NAACP Freedom Fund Breakfast held at the Holiday Inn, South at 9 a.m. Saturday, May 19. -- Tribune Photo

can do to alleviate the situation facing blacks in Virginia.

Among City Council members present were Mayor Laurence Brunton, former Mayor and now council member, Ms. Nancy O'Brien, and Councilman Francis Buck, all of whom, including the three members of the Virginia legislature, rose as their names were called and acknowledged the recognition extended them by Mrs. Grace L. Tinsley who introduced Special Guests at the breakfast.

John J. Gaines III, serving as Master of Ceremonies for the event, introduced Jack Gravelv. Executive Secretary of the Virginia State Conference NAACP following the introduction of special guests by Mrs. Tinsley. Gravely lost no time in reminding his listeners that although the Supreme Court had outlawed racial segregation in education,

(Continued On Page 9)

GUESTS AT CHARLOTTESVILLE'S NAACP "FREEDOM FUND BREAKFAST" held at the Holiday Inn, South, at 9 a.m. Saturday, May 19. -- Tribune Photo

Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune

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CARDS OF THANKS OR MEMORIAMS, $2.00 minimum charge up to TWO column inches; $1.00 per column inch for each column inch over 2 column inches. CASH OR CHECK MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER. Each column inch will average about 6 words per line. Allow about 8 such lines to a column inch. All checks to be made payable to C.A. TRIBUNE.

Brown vs. The Board Of Education...25 Years Later

It would go down in the annals of U.S. History as one of the landmark decisions of all time. The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 in the litigation brought by a little black school girl named Brown against the Topeka, Kansas Board of Education would change the course of race relations, civil rights and education for every American.

The implications of those changes and their impact are still being felt some 25 years later. Blacks gained and blacks lost as a result of the Court decision. Yes, blacks gained entry to previously all-white schools. Yes, blacks gained entry and service at drug store lunch counters. Yes, blacks gained entry to previously all-white motels and the front seats of buses, planes and trains. In contrast, blacks lost black principals, black named high schools, and patronage at many black-owned businesses.

Black students who were to be the prime recipients of the decision's benefits, became the insidious victims of the decision. Instead of seeking every grain of information and education made possible by the legal struggle, black youth, in a few short years, missed the educational boat and boarded the social boat of middle class America's somewhat questionable values of marijuana or pot-smoking, fast cars, and a devil-may-care attitude about academic prowess. A local result has been a 60% plus failure rate on Competency tests administered to our city's black 10th graders. Another result has been the total loss of identity of black youths with positive black leaders in the form of principals and teachers that care—white or black.

Slowly but surely, there has been an erosion of those gains in the sixties under the leadership of Martin Luther King, A. Phillip Randolph, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, Medgar and

To Be Equal

Senate Considers Direct Elections

By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

The U.S. Senate will soon vote on a proposed constitutional amendment that would change the way we elect our president. Instead of the present Electoral College system, in which the candidate with the most votes in a state gets all of that state's electoral votes, it would mandate a direct election, in which the candidate who gets the most votes nationwide becomes the winner.

On the surface, the change seems democratic. But the result would actually be less democratic, in that blacks and other minorities would have their already limited influence diluted.

The impact on black voting power would be considerable. The bulk of the black population is concentrated in nine states—California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas.

Those states also have the largest number of Electoral College votes. Taken together, they have 245 electors, just 25 short of the number needed to elect a President.

This means no major presidential candidate can ignore those states. Even if he has strong support elsewhere, he can't be elected without winning at least some of them. And that means the black vote in those states takes on special importance.

The bottom line is that the importance of the black vote in key "swing" states is an effective barrier to candidates running a blatantly anti-black campaign, and it is a positive inducement to them to take vital black interests into account.

Now what happens if you end the Electoral College? All votes go into one pot. Black votes, instead of being crucial to winning several states just become ten percent of the national total, easy to ignore.

Candidates wouldn't need to pledge action on civil rights...

Our New Day Begun

By Benjamin L. Hooks

Death Penalty Revenge Or Justice

The national furor over the death penalty has abated for the moment. John Louis Evans 3rd was given a stay of execution on April 7 just a few hours before he was to have died in Holman Prison's electric chair in Atmore, Ala.

Given the fact that this is only a temporary lull in the fight to abolish the death penalty, it is well to consider the haunting question Evans himself posed as he adamantly fought efforts to save his life in the hope, he said, that his death would underscore his opposition to capital punichment. His words:

"Will our death bring back a life? Will it stop crime? Will it rehabilitate?" His rhetorical response was, "No way."

Mr. Evans maintained that by condemning him to die Alabama was seeking revenge not justice. To an extent, there does seem to be some merit to this charge.

The gray zone between revenge and justice is considerable; much depends on the authority imposing punishment, the justifiability of the charges upon which condemnation is based and the fairness of the trial. There are many other factors involved, of course, such a race, social class and the prevailing emotional climate in which sentence was

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The gray zone between revenge and justice is considerable; much depends on the authority imposing punishment, the justifiability of the charges upon which condemnation is based and the fairness of the trial. There are many other factors involved, of course, such a race, social class and the prevailing emotional climate in which sentence was handed down.

Evans, quite clearly had much of these factors in mind when he declared that he was bitterly opposed to the death penalty. But, why choose the ultimate mode of demonstrating his point rather than fighting his cause through the courts.

"I choose death to a hell on earth in prison," was his explanation. The much publicized inhumaneness of Alabama's prisons led him to believe that the finality of death was better than languishing in the state's hell holes.

The question, however, of whether the death penalty is just does not rest there. The NAACP is opposed to the death penalty because, for one thing, its administration historically has lacked one critical ingredient, namely fairness.

Non-whites and the poor have been the primary victims of capital punishment. Even now, as debate continues over this form of punishment, we find how glaringly lopsided has been the system of administration.

Recently available data show that there are 500 people on death row; 254 or 53.55 percent are white; 206 or 41.58 black; 18 or 3.65 percent Spanish-surnamed; 5 or 1.02 percent native Americans (Indians), and the remainder were unknown.

Thus, once more, we see that even though blacks represent 11 percent of the population, a disproportionately large number are facing the death penalty. And we are certain that many of them, were they white or wealthy, would not have been on death row now.

Furthermore, another glaring example of unfairness involves the fact that while 34 states and the Federal government have capital punishment laws, 24 have people on death row; and an overwhelming 80 percent of the condemned are in just three states alone: Florida, Texas and Georgia.

Are Americans expected to believe that Florida, Texas

Flight Of Black Capital From The Black Communities . . . By Blacks

RELIABLE SOURCES INDICATE THERE WILL BE MORE THAN 100 NATIONAL BLACK CONVENTIONS THIS YEAR, REPRESENTED BY UPWARDS TO 500,000 DELEGATES AND MEMBERS. EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THE ESTIMATED AGGREGATE MEMBERSHIP OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS A--- CONSERVATIVE 14 MILLION!

A LATTER FIGURE REPRESENTS MORE THAN 50% OF THE BLACK POPULATION, OR ROUGHLY 90% OF THE BLACK ADULT POPULACE.

Congressman Wm. L. 'Bill' Clay, D-MO.

Inconsistent Foreign Policy

American foreign policy describes the governments of Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam as so repressive that a total embargo of U. S. goods and services are required. The argument that individual rights in these countries are suppressed; political prisoners incarcerated

To Be Older Is To Be Blessed

educational boat and boarded the social boat of middle class America's somewhat questionable values of marijuana or pot-smoking, fast cars, and a devil-may-care attitude about academic prowess. A local result has been a 60% plus failure rate on Competency tests administered to our city's black 10th graders. Another result has been the total loss of identity of black youths with positive black leaders in the form of principals and teachers that care—white or black.

Slowly but surely, there has been an erosion of those gains in the sixties under the leadership of Martin Luther King, A. Phillip Randolph, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, Medgar and Charles Evers, Stokely Carmichael and others too numerous to mention, who marched in the streets and faced the prospect of death every moment of every day, not to mention the thousands who demonstrated and sacrificed for generations yet to come. While a few battles were won in the sixties, many were lost in the seventies under the Nixon Administration. Some will say the Bakke Decision represents a turning of the tide against minorities' struggle to obtain their civil rights under the U.S. Constitution. The war against injustice and racism is far from over. Organizations like the NAACP, the Seventh Congressional District Black Caucus, the Charlottesville-Albemarle Justice Committee, all need the help of every citizen to turn the tide, for many battles lie ahead and the war against racism and injustice has only just begun.

Black Leadership Faces Uphill Struggle

Probably the biggest drawback to the exercise of intelligent leadership by thinking Blacks is the distrust of the opposite race, some of whose members are prone to seek out the most gullible members of the ebony-hued group who will agree with it on the most touchy subjects. Hence, this segment of the power structure usually shapes its action on the basis of what it has been led to believe is best for the Black masses by those Blacks who, in fact, carry no weight with their own people.

Intelligent and moderate leadership of whatever racial group abhors upheaval of any kind in the struggle to achieve meaningful gains for those they represent. What they strive for is an equitable solution to the problems facing their people.

However, today, with the continued resistance of America's power structure to the pleadings of our more intelligent Black leadership, the rank and file of the race does not know which way to turn or whom to fully trust. Some think the advocates of total equality of treatment for blacks is right. Others, by their actions, embrace the 'settle for crumbs' from the table of complete equality is o.k. Still others have seemingly lost faith in everyone and everything and are merely floating with the tide. As a result, Blacks seem to be badly divided and continue to flounder in a state of indecision.

Our greatest weakness as a race seems to be our inability to work together for a common cause, plus the failure of many of us to take full advantage of those opportunities now afforded us. For example: Many of our parents with children in school just won't show up at PTA meetings; we fail to encourage our children to take part in school activities while bleating like sheep..."they don't want my child to take part, or they aren't teaching my child anything"...when at the same time there are just too many of us who are seemingly not interested in what happens to our children, know where they are or what they are doing. This attitude on the part of many Black parents accounts for the high rate of failure of Black children in the public school system of this country. So, if a child's own parents aren't interested in his welfare, who is?

This is painfully true since there are still too many Black so-called leaders seeking to be prima donnas, limelight and publicity seekers while accepting token favors from the power-structure for supposedly keeping the unsuspecting Blacks 'in line.' This is nothing more than 'Slave psychology' and has no place in present day America.

As we view the racial situation today, the only hope for Black advancement is to ask no special favors of the power structure, but start taking full advantage of every benefit already available to us as they are to all other Americans; to take a closer look at what is happening to our children, and see to it that they are encouraged to take full advantage of every educational offering which is as much available to them as any other racial group ... and stop whining about "they (meaning the opposite group) won't give us a fair shake" but get prepared and truly have something to offer if we hope for anything worthwhile in exchange. After all, many Blacks are doing o.k. despite the wailing of many others to the contrary. They have something to offer. So, let's more of us try to emulate them for a change.

short of the number needed to elect a President.

This means no major presidential candidate can ignore those states. Even if he has strong support elsewhere, he can't be elected without winning at least some of them. And that means the black vote in those states takes on special importance.

The bottom line is that the importance of the black vote in key "swing" states is an effective barrier to candidates running a blatantly anti-black campaign, and it is a positive inducement to them to take vital black interests into account.

Now what happens if you end the Electoral College? All votes go into one pot. Black votes, instead of being crucial to winning several states just become ten percent of the national total, easy to ignore.

Candidates wouldn't need to pledge action on civil rights enforcement or on jobs or other issues of basic importance to black voters. They could afford to ignore a small minority of the total vote in their pursuit of winning a majority of white voters nationally.

The Electoral College system acts as a brake to extremism. It forces candidates not only to appeal to the widest consensus among voters and regions, but it forces them to appeal to minority interests as well.

Direct election of the President would likely lead to fractured national politics, a decline in the role of the parties, and an erosion of even the limited political influence blacks have gained.

No one really knows though, because we've never had any other electoral system. But a leap into the unknown requires more justification than supporters of direct election have given us.

They claim that a situation could arise in which a president was elected with fewer votes than the loser. But that's happened only once in our history. And even that instance took place a hundred years ago. So why change?

Such clouded presidencies are just as likely in a direct election system. Let's say a candidate wins because he has a few more votes than his opponent. Can you imagine the difficulties that would cause? Just try conducting a national recount. It's tough enough on a local basis.

In an election involving over 80 million votes a small plurality for the winner would cast doubt on the legitimacy of his electoral mandate. At least the Electoral College, by magnifying the extent of the victor's success and by mandating he win a majority, avoids that problem.

Direct election is bound to mean a minority president, since it is unlikely that anyone would win a majority of the votes in a multi-candidate field.

The one flaw in the Electoral College system is the "faithless elector" -- the Elector who votes his personal feelings instead of for the candidate to whom he is pledged.

But that's easily fixed simply by mandating Electors vote for the slate they're committed to, or do away with Electors altogether and apportion Electoral College votes automatically.

The system's worked pretty well throughout our history, and there is no reason to change it just as blacks are beginning to find it a helpful tool in the struggle for democratic rights.

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sidérable; much depends on the authority imposing punishment, the justifiability of the charges upon which condemnation is based and the fairness of the trial. There are many other factors involved, of course, such a race, social class and the prevailing emotional climate in which sentence was just does not rest there. Th NAACP is opposed to th death penalty because, fo one thing, its administratio historically has lacked on critical ingredient, namel fairness.

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To Be Older Is To Be Blessed

By John Lewis

(John Lewis, a long-time human rights advocate, now serves as director of the domestic programs of ACTION, the federal volunteer agency. He formerly served as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s and directed the nonpartisan Voter Education Project (VEP) for seven years in the 1970s.)

May is Older Americans Month. It is a time to pay tribute to older Americans, a time to consider the plight of the elderly in our society, and to examine our own attitudes toward older people and the process of aging.

It is said that you can judge the character of a society by the way it treats its elderly citizens. If so, then we as a nation stand to be indicted as a selfish, uncaring and unappreciative society, for, in too many instances, we have turned our backs on older Americans.

As black people who have suffered the effects of racism, we must be careful that we do not discriminate, in attitudes or actions, against older people. The problem of ageism in America exists just as surely as racism and sexism. Ageism is that notion that people are different, somehow inferior, just because they pass a certain age. Ageism is perpetuated by stereotypes, fear, and ignorance.

Our mothers and fathers who are black, old, and poor suffer from triple discrimination. Poverty increases with age and poverty rates in minority communities are three times higher than in white communities. It is difficult to imagine how older people, living on fixed incomes or no incomes, cope with skyrocketing costs of food, shelter, health care, and energy.

Too many older Americans experience the anguish of abandonment, feeling that family members and society itself has no further need of them. The result of such loneliness and despair is that illness is accelerated, infirmity is hastened, and lives are dramatically shortened.

Instead of a time of loneliness, older Americans should enjoy the support of a loving and appreciative community. Instead of despair, there should be a celebration of a lifetime of experience. Instead of wasting away, there should be an opportunity for giving to others. Instead of being poverty stricken, older Americans should be guaranteed the resources to meet their basic needs.

The Older American Programs of ACTION -- Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), Foster Grandparents and Senior Companions -- have enlisted the energy and experience of 270,000 older volunteers who are a model of inspiration for future generations.

Foster Grandparents bring love and attention to abused, retarded, handicapped and neglected children. Senior Companions provide the attention that families once gave to the frail elderly. RSVP volunteers attack a multitude of local community issues ranging from crime prevention to economic self-sufficiency.

ACTION's older American volunteers accomplish the miracle of turning despair and anguish to hope and new ambition. While renewing their own lives, they give their most precious gift -- themselves -- to those who need love and attention most. They demonstrate that older people are not a problem, but a resource.

There are millions of older Americans who want to make a greater contribution to society. According to pollster Louis Harris, 53% of retired older Americans are desperately sorry that they retired. Eighty-six percent of all Americans want to be allowed to work as long as they want with no restriction to age.

As we shatter the negative stereotypes of aging, we must find new and creative ways to utilize the tremendous untapped human resources of older Americans. In a selfish, me-first society, the willingness of older Americans to share their wealth of experience comes like a breath of fresh air.

During older Americans Month, we should rededicate ourselves to the task of removing the stigma of age. We must create a climate of understanding and build a society where we are able to proclaim, "To be older is to be blessed."

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just does not rest there. The NAACP is opposed to the death penalty because, for one thing, its administration historically has lacked one critical ingredient, namely fairness.

Non-whites and the poor have been the primary victims of capital punishment. Even now, as debate con-

wealthy, would not have been on death row now.

Furthermore, another glaring example of unfairness involves the fact that while 34 states and the Federal government have capital punishment laws, 24 have people on death row; and an overwhelming 80 percent of the condemned are in just three states alone: Florida, Texas and Georgia.

Are Americans expected to believe that Florida, Texas and Georgia have more violence-prone residents than other states in the Union? Furthermore, why should it be that a person would be required to pay the ultimate penalty in 34 states but not the other 16?

In 1968, executions in the United States were halted as a result of challenges to the constitutionality of the death penalty. The U.S. Supreme Court banned capital punishment in 1972 on certain grounds, then four years later it ruled the death penalty constitutional.

There are many Americans who still feel that grounds can be found on which to win a constitutional ban against the death penalty. Life is God's most precious gift to man, who certainly is not infallible.

The pain of a family member seeking justice by death for the cold blooded murder of a loved one is understandable. But justice, while blind, should also be tempered with reason.

A heavyweight on a long wire set to swinging will appear to change the direction of its swing. In fact, it is the earth's rotation that moves the ground underneath the pendulum.

Inconsistent Foreign Policy

American foreign policy describes the governments of Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam as so repressive that a total embargo of U. S. goods and services are required. The argument that individual rights in these countries are suppressed; political prisoners incarcerated without notice of charges or trial; absolute denial of freedom of press, assembly and association mandate such a course of action. Therefore stringent economic and political sanctions must be imposed so the world will know this nation will not tolerate violations of basic human rights.

By coincidence the three countries are ruled by communist regimes that's extremely small. And they do not constitute important trading partners. But the Soviet Union and Mainland China are also Communist, have repressive governments which deny basic human rights and we see nothing immoral about our relations with them. Therefore, it must be concluded that communism and repression are not the universal dictates for abhorring governments who deny individual rights. Apparently the size and the influence of nations persuade our diplomatic policies.

Even more appalling are our relationships with other non-communist repressive governments such as South Africa and Rhodesia. At the same time we are denying necessary medical supplies to the people of Cuba, American banks are loaning money to South Africa and Rhodesia. These countries have the most abusive racially discriminatory practices and policies in the entire world. Eastman Kodak

(Continued On Page 9)

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Statement On A. Philip Randolph By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. President Nat'l. Urban League, Inc., May 17

In the passing of A. Philip Randolph, the Civil Rights Movement has sustained the grievous loss of its patriarch. Long before many of those now in leadership positions were born, Mr. Randolph was defiantly and bravely challenging racism in this country. It mattered little to him that he was often called a radical, that his views ran contrary to most of the public opinion of his day. He was convinced in his mind and soul that the wrongs inflicted on Black America must be set right, and to that end he devoted his entire life. The brilliance of his mind, the clarity of his thoughts, the magnificence of his voice and his refusal to succumb to pressure, made him into a living legend. He was an effective and dedicated leader who helped change the course of American history. When others cautioned retreat, Mr. Randolph counseled attack. When others found their faith wavering, Mr. Randolph drew on his inner resources to keep the faith alive. His courage and his unwavering integrity were a constant inspiration to people who only knew him by name and reputation. To those of us who were fortunate to know him personally, he was a fountain of wisdom and compassion whom we respected and loved. All of us, black and white alike, are fortunate that such a man as A. Philip Randolph walked among us.

Was killing racially motivated?

Senseless Slaying of Black Youth Upsets Residents of Local Communities

by Sam Slade

The senseless and conflicting accounts of the slaying of Richard Davis, age 14, by a Clark service station attendant, at 1620 So. Hanley Rd., Richmond Heights, has upset the Black residents of both Richmond Heights and Maplewood. The killing occurred this past Wednesday, May 16, 1979.

Davis, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt Davis of 7736 West Rankin Drive, Richmond Heights, was shot in the back with a .22-caliber rifle by William H. Eggers, 52, of the 3900 block of South Broadway.

One account given by police is that Eggers said he killed the Black youth in self-defense as Davis approached him with his hand in his pocket, as if reaching for a weapon.

Another account, given by several bystanders was that the youth was accused of trying to steal a bottle of soda and was shot in the back by Mr. Eggers.

Egger was charged late Thursday with second-degree murder and his bond was set at $75,000.

Davis and four companions had gone to the station on bicycles to buy soft drinks, police said. On duty at the time were Eggers and his stepson, Michael Bruenger, 17. Allegedly, they ordered the youngsters to leave because of recent problems they'd had with thefts from the soda machines, officers said. When the boys objected to leaving, Bruenger went to an outdoor telephone booth to call police while his father went into the station to get his rifle he kept there, police said.

Richard Davis
...shot for attempting to steal a soda?

In a taped statement, Eggers said the boys decided to leave but were ordered by Bruenger to stay until police arrived.

Eggers told police he thought he heard the youths threatening Bruenger as they passed the telephone booth. He said he first fired a warning shot, then fired at Davis as the boy approached with his hand in his pocket.

Continued on Page 4

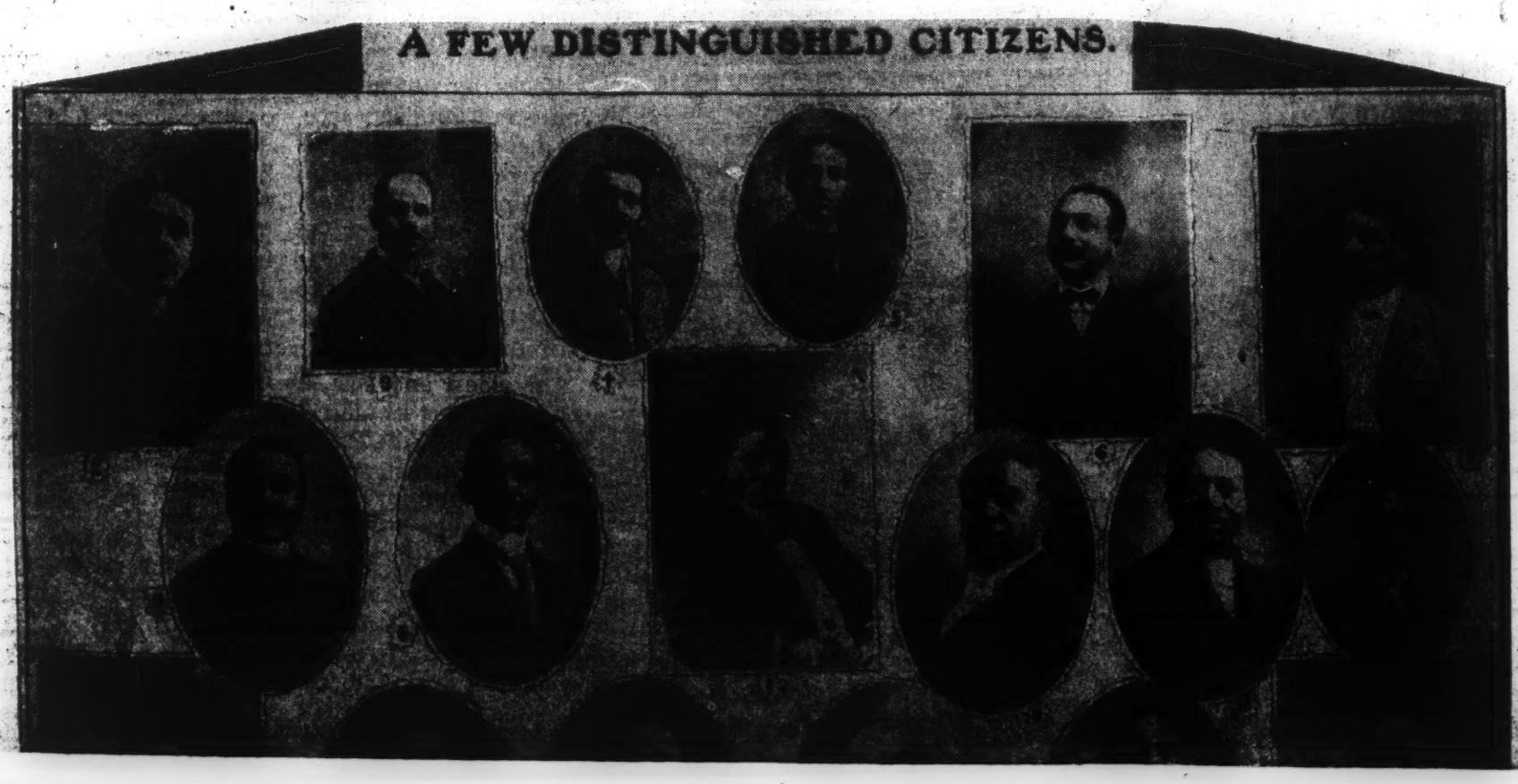
ST. LOUIS SENTINEL

WEEKLY CIRCULATION 36,000
CIRCULATION TO BE AUDITED BY VERIFIED AUDIT CIRCULATION

ST. LOUIS' MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WEEKLY

VOLUME 10 — NUMBER 20 | THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1979 — ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI | PRICE 15c | FIRST SECTION

St. Louis World's Fair — 75 Years Ago



EX-BIG RED STAR CHARGED WITH ASSAULT

Johnny Roland, star running back with the Big Red in the late sixties and early seventies, has been charged with assaulting his wife, Florence.

The former All-American at the University of Missouri, who resides in the 10300 black of Corbeil Drive, Creve Couer, faces a misdeameanor. Bond was set at $1,500.

According to police information, Roland and Florence engaged in an argument at McDonald's, 7224 N. Lindbergh Blvd., where they were attending a training session for restaurant managers.

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Continued on Page 4

GRAND JURY INVESTIGATING CITY LICENSE COLLECTOR'S OFFICE

Lawrence Woodson

The Federal Grand Jury has subpoenaed payroll and tax records of City License Collector Lawrence Woodson and his chief deputy Pete Webbe.

It is part of an investigation into the possible mishandling of money and the collection of the City's merchants and manufacturers tax.

There has been charges that some businesses have been given favorable treatment.

The License Collector failed to answer the St. Louis Sentinel's phone call before press time.

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MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WEEKLY

PRICE 15c FIRST SECTION

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EMPLOYEES RESUME STRIKE ACITON AT HEALTH CENTER

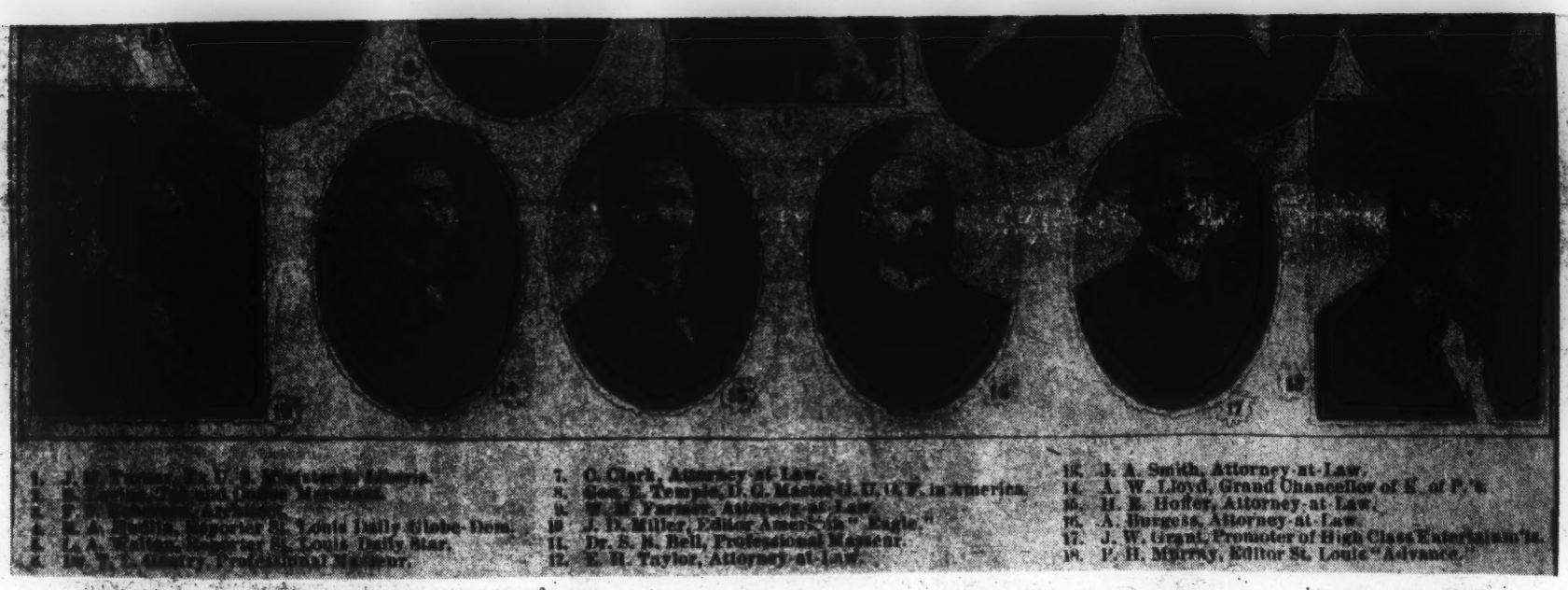
St. Louis Comprehensive Neighborhood Health Center, at 5471 Dr. Martin Luther King Drive, is under attack by Service Employees Union Local 50. Local 50 resumed their strike over alleged unfair labor practice Monday, May 21st.

The Union struck the health clinic April 23 through May 3, but then called off the picketing "as a gesture of good faith to get the other side to come to the bargaining table," said William Strodghill, president of Local 50.

Only after the center's board of directors refused to attend a negotiating session at the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in Clayton Wednesday, did Stodghill call for resumption of the strike.

In a letter to Stodghill by board Chairman David Outlaw, the board said its unanimous decision was that future negotiations would be futile awaiting legal clairfication of the dispute.

Morris Henderson, the program director for the non-profit organization, stated, that members of the clinic's board "perceived collusion between the mediator and union officials.



The above photograph courtesy of Mrs. Julia Davis

7224 N. Lindbergh Blvd., where they were attending a training session for restaurant managers.

Having recently resigned his Philadelphia Eagle's coaching job, Roland returned to St. Louis recently to enter the fast-food business.

Mrs. Roland accused Johnny of striking her several times during the argument, and told officers Roland struck her after throwing her to the floor.

At the request of Manager Michael W. Gladback, Roland left the

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HEALTH CENTER TO APPEAL LABOR BOARD'S 'UNFAIR AND INCOMPLETE DECISION'

The recent ruling by an Administrative Law Judge of the National Labor Relations Board upholding Local 50's AFL/CIO, unfair labor charges filed in 1977, against the St. Louis Comprehensive Neighborhood Health Center is "consistent with the posture it has displayed all along and was expected," Morris Henderson, Project Director said. "It is interesting to note that the Administrative Law Judge, who had a lengthy period of illness and apparently issued his opinion under union pressures, saw fit to ignore rebuttal testimony given by the Health Center representatives and failed to rule on some crucial issues for which testimony was given on behalf of the Health Center," he continued. "This unfair and incomplete decision will definitely be appealed."

"It serves to put into sharp focus one of the overriding considerations that has confronted the Center from the outset. As a not for profit federally funded agency, St. Louis Comprehensive is subject to fund allocations, as dictated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, on an annual basis. Conditions to the grant, as well as, general grant policy procedures, are unequivocal in delineating the scope of the grantees (SLCNHC) authority.

Continue to Page 4

POLICEMENT SURRENDERS IN ALLEGED WITNESS BRIBE ATTEMPT

...Allegedly Patrolman Dentman is charged with tampering with a key witness.

A St. Louis policeman wanted for allegedly attempting to bribe a witness in a murder trial has turned himself over to authorities.

Dentman is charged with offering a key witness in a murder trial of reputed drug king pin Dennis Haymon, $5,000 to forget about that case.

Haymon, an extremely likeable fellow and widely known in the inner city, is charged with the June 19 killing of Jerome Brown, 27. Authorities said they believed Brown owed Haymon for narcotics.

Haymon's trial opened Monday in the Circuit Couirt of James Gallagher. A jury is in the process of selection.

Patrolman Tommie C. Dentman, 38, of 4625 Grinstead Court, Norwood Court, assigned to the Ruskin Avenue District, turned himself into police headquarters downtown Monday.

Dentman has been suspended without pay.

An arrest order for Patrolman Dentman had been issued last Saturday afternoon by Circuit Attorney George Peach, after Dentman had eluded a police trap set for him at St. Louisan Motor Inn, Washington Avenue and 12th Boulevard.

Peach said Dentman is wanted for "tampering with a witness."

Dentman is alleged to have contacted Richard Ford, a key witness in Haymon's trial "and offered him $5,000 to "lose his memory" and not testify against Haymon."

The alleged attempted bribery was offered during the time Ford was in Homer G. Phillips Hospital recuperating from gunshot wounds inflicted during an assassination attempt. Ford told police that Haymon was his assailant.

According to police reports, Dentman hit on Ford and offered him an unspecified sum of money to "lose his memory" relative to the Haymon trial.

Ford told authorities about the conversation.

Immediately after Ford was released from Phillips, the Circuit Attorney's office shipped him off to Los Angeles, California to live until the rescheduled trail could begin.

Peach said no attempt was made to contact Ford in L.A.

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Mrs. Roland accused Johnny of striking her several times during the argument, and told officers Roland struck her after throwing her to the floor.

At the request of Manager Michael W. Gladback, Roland left the restaurant, police said.

Mrs. Roland was taken by a restaurant employee to Christian Brothers Hospital Northwest, where she was treated for Minor injuries, and a cut cheek that required 12 stitches, police said.

Roland ended his professional playing career in 1973 after a short stint with the New York Giants.

After his retirement, Roland served as an assistant coach under Dan Devine at Green Bay And Notre Dame.

According to close friends, the Rolands reunited after a long period of separation.

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in his Manhattan apartment and his body was found by his maid.

His death came one day before Thursday's 25th anniversary of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision ruling that racial segregation of public schools was unconstitutional.

Bayard Rustin, longtime friend and head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said the former AFL-CIO Vice president had been in declining health and apparently died of heart failure.

"No other living American has done more to seek justice for the poor, the workers and the minorities in our society, and throughout the world than has A. Phillip Randolph," Rustin said.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director of the National Urban League, said, "We've lost a great warrior. A. Philip Randolph is really symbolic of everything that the civil rights movement is about. He was a strong leader—strong in his convictions, unafraid."

Benjamin Hooks, head of the NAACP, said "It's so sad because there are so many young people today for whom that name means very little. And yet, for more than 40 years he was a tower and beacon of strength and hope to the entire Black community."

The son of an itinerant preacher, ASA Philip Randolph was born in Cresent City, Fla., April 15, 1889. He helped support his family by working as a tailor in Jacksonville, then moved to New York City as a young man.

While working odd jobs, he attended the City College

Continued on Page 4

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Editorials

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH

This past week, Black America witnessed the passing of two (2) historic events. First, the 25th Anniversary of the famous Brown vs. Board of Education case that outlawed segregation in our nation's public schools and Second, the passing of A. Phillip Randolph, the dean of the American Civil Rights Movement.

Mr. Randolph died at his Manhattan apartment on Wednesday (May 16, 1979). He had recently celebrated his 90th birthday on April 15.

Mr. Randolph is better known for his involvement in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and he led this organization from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. Also, he is credited with a key role in organizing the historic march on Washington, D.C., in 1963.

Vernon Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League said the following about the death of Randolph: "In the passing of A. Philip Randolph, the Civil Rights Movement has sustained the grievous loss of its patriarch. Long before many of those now in leadership positions were born, Mr. Randolph was defiantly and bravely challenging racism in this country. It mattered little to him that he was often called a radical, that his views ran contrary to most of the public opinion of his day. All of us, Black and white alike, are fortunate that such a man as A. Philip Randolph walked among us." WE ARE IN TOTAL AGREEMENT.

A LENGTHIER SPAN

Last Sunday, Cardinal John J. Carberry spent the day commemorating 50 years in the priesthood.

The presence and personality of His Eminence has been a stabilizing force in this complex, cosmopolitan community.

Further recognition of the outstanding contribution Cardinal Carberry has made to the brotherhood of mankind across the country was evidenced by the attendance of Pope John Paul II's Apostolic delegate to the United States, Archbishop Jean Jadot, five other American Cardinals and 66 American bishops at the Mass, complimented by 3,000 who jammed the St. Louis Cathedral to honor him.

To all St. Louisans, the Cardinal's message was a simple one:

"May you grow in faith."

The entire St. Louis Sentinel family joins the Pope's wishes for Cardinal Carberry - **"A Still lengthier span of life."**

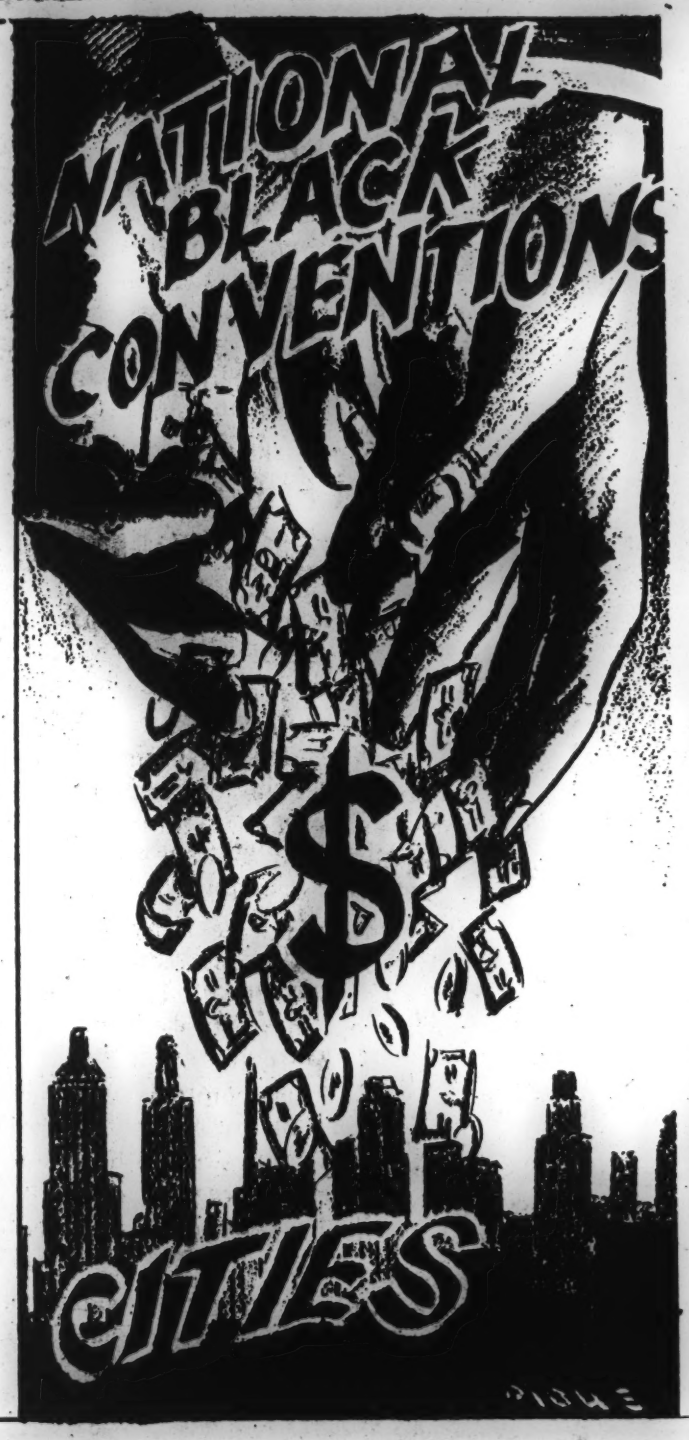
THE MYTH OF DECONTROL

by William L. Clay

President Carter has recommended the phasing out of price controls on domestic oil. His proposal is intended to make the United States less dependent on foreign oil producers. As noble as the idea may seem,

RELIABLE SOURCES INDICATE THERE WILL BE MORE THAN 100 NATIONAL BLACK CONVENTIONS THIS YEAR, REPRESENTED BY UPWARDS TO 500,000 DELEGATES AND MEMBERS. EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THE ESTIMATED AGGREGATE MEMBERSHIP OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS A--- CONSERVATIVE 14 MILLION!

A LATTER FIGURE REPRESENTS MORE THAN 50% OF THE BLACK POPULATION, OR ROUGHLY 90% OF THE BLACK ADULT POPULACE.



LETTER TO EDITOR

Mr. Mike Williams
The Editor
Metro-Sentinel
3338 Olive
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Mr. Williams:

Many thanks for the Sentinel's work in publicizing the recent 11th Annual Conference of the National Association of Black Social Workers. Roscoe Crenshaw's article in the May 3rd edition effectively captured the participant's mood at the close of the conference, and provided an excellent recap of Dr. Robert Hill's closing address.

The NABSW national steering committee met after

of policy: **ALL NABSW MEMBERS REFRAIN FROM USING THE TERM "MINORITY" TO DEFINE THE BLACK COMMUNITY.**

Adopted 21 April 1979
at St. Louis, Missouri

PUNISHMENT WITHOUT A CRIME

By Benjamin L. Hooks

Having lost his reelection bid last fall, Edward Brooke is no longer in the U.S. Senate. So the Senate Ethics Committee conclusion in March after a 10-month investigation that the Massachusetts Republican had committed no violation of Congressional conduct rules worthy of punishment was really moot.

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A DEGRADING MONSTER

What is it going to take to arouse Black St. Louisans to become a working unit of the community, participate handsomely in the overall governmental structures and show some initiative to making Black pride, Black dignity and Black concern, a demonstrative reality?

Black citizens don't vote in any significance numbers any more in general elections, special elections, school board elections or aldermanic elections.

Black voter apathy caused the shameful loss of the city's Comptroller's office, the second highest post in City Government.

Blacks lost the sheriff's office for a number of stupid reasons; white voters were primarily responsible for retaining Dr. Lawrence Nicholson on the School Board.

Black citizens, in St. Louis, can no longer use prejudice and white monopolization as the total excuse for the lack of progress among the Black community. We must accept the fact that the lack of interest or don't care attitude that exist among a large majority of local Black citizens is eroding the progress made by a few.

The negative pressures of prejudice and white favoritism are still big problems that local Black leaders must overcome, but they should not have to fight this degrading monster better known as Black apathy.

TO EDITOR

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Ethics Committee could find after so much effort was that he had misstated his personal finances. And the Senator himself had previously stated publicly that he had not given the proper details on all of his finances.

Thus, most of Mr. Brooke's problems, the committee found, were due to "the careless fashion in which the reports were prepared."

Thus, in effect, the committee cleared him of charges of wrongdoing. The conclusion in March, however, mattered little. Ed Brooke, who was considered a shoo-in before the scandal over his divorce from his long estranged wife Remigia erupted in the Boston papers, had lost his most-prized seat.

Some of Mr. Brooke's former colleagues who sat in judgement might argue that they had nothing to do with the bitterness of his divorce proceedings. But they certainly did not have to stoke the negative passions of Massachusetts voters. Furthermore, as mortals, it is a sure assumption that several of those who sat in judgement of the Senator were no less guilty of some of the sins for which he had been wrongfully charged.

As the Biblical admonition goes, "Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, let me pull out the mote of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own

THE MYTH OF DECONTROL

by William L. Clay

President Carter has recommended the phasing out of price controls on domestic oil. His proposal is intended to make the United States less dependent on foreign oil producers. As noble as the idea may seem, it rests on at least two false assumptions. Those assumptions completely ignore the needs, the life style and the psyche of the average citizen.

First, Mr. Carter believes that by arbitrarily driving up the price of oil and gasoline consumers will immediately drive less, insulate their homes and spend money on things other than energy. Second, he contends that higher prices will encourage more production at home and less imports. Thus, the reasoning is that the great mideast oil sultans will be forced to change their policy of price gouging.

This is the purest form of idealism. Driving the prices of gasoline and heating oil up, in my opinion, will not appreciably diminish consumption. People buy the necessities of life regardless of the cost. As long as necessary commodities are available in the market place, the well-to-do will purchase them. When those prices are increased to an unreasonable level, the poor are placed in the position of making impossible choices. With such limited budgets, do they feed their children properly and let them freeze to death? Do they stop driving to work and lose their jobs because public transportation does not provide services from the inner city to the factories and plants in the suburbs?

The second argument that higher prices will encourage more domestic production is pure folly. It sheds much light on Mr. Carter's lack of real knowledge about American oil mongers. They have not in the past and are not presently thinking about increasing production Even if they seriously attempted such, the best information available says that the increase would only hew an additional 800,000 barrels a day. In a market which consumes 20 million barrels each day, the rational is hopeless jaw boning.

What the policy of decontrol means is that the oil magnates will earn an additional $17 billion a year in profits. By allowing the industry to reprice "old oil" which presently sells for $6 a barrel and permitting it to rise to the world price which is $16 a barrel guarantees huge profits. There is a mighty stock pile of old oil because the oil companies have deliberately refused to pump it just waiting for decontrol.

Sorry to say, Mr. Carter has taken a bad situation and made it worse. If he is successful the price of energy will drastically increase, inflation will jump, the imbalance of payments will not abate and profits for the greedy will soar.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Many thanks for the Sentinel's work in publicizing the recent 11th Annual Conference of the National Association of Black Social Workers. Roscoe Crenshaw's article in the May 3rd edition effectively captured the participant's mood at the close of the conference, and provided an excellent recap of Dr. Robert Hill's closing address.

The NABSW national steering committee met after the conference, and adopted a policy statement rejecting use of the term "minority" to define the Black community and Black people, because various non-Black groups have seized upon the term, and have succeeded in diverting sorely-needed funds, jobs and other resources from Black people. We believe the police statement would provoke thought among your readers, and a copy is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Alice M. Windom
Conference Coordinator

An NABSW Policy Statement Regarding the Definition of the Term "Minority" as it is Used and Viewed by Federal, State and Local Governments in Reference to Black People.

Current data indicates that there should be a refocusing on the needs of the Black community. The data also suggest a redefinition of resource and assistance allocation based on critical need rather than minority status. The term "minority" has been bastardized to the extent that it has caused Black people to receive less than an equitable share of available resources.

We share the concerns of others classified as minorities; however, we cannot at this time support additional Black energy expenditures supporting allocations based on minority needs. Other ethnic and religious groups have piggybacked on our real and conceptual thrusts and like parasites have walked away with resources authorized by Congress and allocated by the President intentionally to benefit Black people. The present day system has created a widening of the socio-economic gap between Black people and non-Black people.

Our journey as a people through the years of assigned definitions, such as nigger, colored, and Negro to the point where we affirmed our personhood in Blackness suggests that we cannot allow our uniqueness to be swallowed up in the assigned term "minority." Our status in America has been determined by ideological, economic, cultural and socio-psychological factors. It is important that we not be re-identified to the extent of re-inventing the barriers to our progress.

Therefore, we recommend the following statement

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We pledge ourselves to the task of fashioning a community of justice, where none shall prey upon the weakness of others; a community of plenty with integrity and a community of brotherhood.

Having lost his reelection bid last fall, Edward Brooke is no longer in the U.S. Senate. So the Senate Ethics Committee conclusion in March after a 10-month investigation that the Massachusetts Republican had committed no violation of Congressional conduct rules worthy of punishment was really moot.

Nevertheless, the effect that the investigation had on ending the career of the nation's only black senator since Reconstruction a century ago, does cast a gloomy light on the timing and nature of the investigation.

Given the background of the vendetta and the facts that led to the charges being brought against Sen. Brooke in the first place, it should come as no surprise that many blacks felt that the hapless lawmaker had been treated unfairly by his colleagues and the national press.

It matters little that the Ethics Committee in the end exonerated him. The only questionable act that the

The BLACKSIDE of Washington

By Sherman Briscoe
NNPA

EEOC WINS OVER SEARS

The broadcast smile of Chair Eleanor Holmes Norton of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission since the $100 million job discrimination settlement with AT&T was there on her face in Jackson, Miss., Wednesday morning as she boarded a plane for Chicago to deliver a speech and hold a press conference.

Eleanor was smiling because the U.S. District Judge June L. Green in Washington had just dismissed Sears' suit against 10 federal agencies, blaming them for job discrimination against blacks and women in the private sector.

The decision may cost Sears nearly as much as it costs AT&T. However, well-intentioned Sears may have been, its case stood on very weak constitutional grounds. And coming after Bakke and along with Weber, the giant retailer's case gave the appearance of teaming up with those opposed to equal opportunities for blacks and women.

BLACKS IN 3rd PARTY?

As quiet as it is kept, one of the real motives behind the First Southern Regional Forum in Birmingham this week by the Congressional Black Caucus is to consider formation of a Third Party or a black voters' coalition for 1980.

Distrustful of Carter, although it may be more a fault of our inaccountability system than with Jimmy himself, afraid of the tight fisted GOP and its trickle-down theory, and not exactly certain of parlor liberals like Ted Kennedy, the black political leadership is in a quandary, and it doesn't want to get caught out on a limb.

And so it wants to reserve its options until the opportune moment. Then it would throw its vote in the direction that offers the biggest gains for blacks.

COMMUNIST TRAP

If America isn't careful, the communist are going to spring a trap that may catch us flat-footed.

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Certainly, President Carter, who had been squeezed into office two years earlier with a lopsided black voter support did not help Mr. Brooke's desperate fight by going to Massachusetts to campaign for the Democratic rival. Given the sensitivities in the situation, he very well could have found many good reasons to stay out of the contest. That would have been one fitting way of displaying a measure of political realism.

The BLACKSIDE *of Washington*

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If America isn't careful, the communist are going to spring a trap that may catch us flat-footed.

The trap is one word ALLOW. Both Russia and Vietnam are now saying they will ALLOW an almost free flow of Jews and Vietnamese to leave the two countries..

What can the U.S. and Israel do now, except to receive them. We have been blaming the communists for years of holding these people virtural prisoners.

Now these "refugees," who are ALLOWED to go, could flood our country which already has an unacceptably high level of unemployment, with blacks at the bottom of the jobless ladder. We smell a trap, and blacks, more than anyone else, are likely to be the victims.

WITCH DOCTOR TO WITCH DOCTOR

Are we beginning to have a new type of political leadership? Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, chemist, now heads the British government; Jimmy Carter, a neuclear physicist, is the U.S. President; Marion Barry, chemist, is mayor of Washington. And we could go on and on.

Civilization started out with witch doctors, then religious leaders, then rich landowners with armies highjacking the High Priest, then smart lawyers, who wrote and interpreted laws for their own advantage, took the generals in tow. Now come the scientists with a new vocabulary, not too different from that of the witch doctor, has come to the fore with his neuclear power plants, etc. Do you ever get the felling that we must have been here before----perhaps a billion years ago----and there was a mistake on Six-Mile Island?

BIG QUESTION

With the Alaska pipeline so close to California, why are the Californians so short on gasoline? Japan?

RANDOLPH

Continued from Page 1

of New York and studied political science, economics and philosophy. It was the study of socialist theory that stimulated Randolph's interest in labor affairs.

As editor of The Messenger, a magazine he and a group of associates began in 1917, he attacked the country's Jim Crow policies and Black participation in World War I. He was arrested in 1918 for opposing the war and the U.S. Justice Department called him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

In 1925, he organized the Porters' Union and, as its president, led a 12-year battle to win a labor contract with the Pullman Company. It was the first Black union to sign a labor contract with a white employer.

He once said, "My philosophy was the result of (the) concept of effective liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the Black working man."

Randolph's tactics impressed and irritated three presidents and led to end of segregation in armed forces and opened up job opportunities for Blacks in previously all-white job areas.

In 1941, he organized a march on Washington to protest segregation in the armed services and discrimination in the war industries.

Prior to the march, President Roosevelt summoned him to the white house. The president told Randolph he sympathized with his concerns, but warned the march could lead to violence and asked him to call it off.

Randolph politely refused and three weeks before the demonstration, Roosevelt signed into law the commission on fair employment practices.

In 1947, when he threatened to lead a massive movement in which Blacks would refuse to register for the draft unless its Jim Crow policy was ended, an irate President Truman called him to the White House.

Again, Randolph stood his ground. A month before the planned resistance, Truman signed an executive order prohibiting segregation in the armed forces.

Randolph was also one of four Black leaders who met with President Eisenhower in the mid-1950's to urge him to more rapidly implement the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation ruling.

In 1957, he became a vice president of the AFL-CIO.

In his mid 70's, he led the historic march on Washington in 1963.

Randolph has no known living survivors, Rustin said. His body will be cremated this weekend as was his wish.

SLAYING

Continue from Page 1

Statements by Davis and his companions indicate that the boys may have been confused by the conflicting orders to leave and stay.

Davis told police that Eggers came out of the station with his rifle and shouted to him and his companions to stay until police arrived, even though Bruenger was telling them to leave.

Davis told police he walked toward Eggers to get his bicycle and began wheeling it off the lot when Eggers fired a shot and told him to wait for the police. Davis said Bruenger then put his foot against the front bicycle wheel to keep him from leaving; at that point, Davis said, he heard the second shot from behind.

One of Davis' companions, Henry Buie, 14, of the 1400 block of Collins Avenue in Richmond Heights, told police that when Eggers ordered the boys to depart, Davis raised his arms in the air and said, "Shoot me, I'm not doing anything."

Two motorists in the station at the time added more conflicting twists to the story.

Robert M. Montgomery, a truck driver from Farmington, Mo., told police he saw the youths quarreling with Eggers and Bruenger. When Eggers returned with the rifle, Montgomery said, one of the youths started toward Eggers saying, "Go ahead and shoot me" and adding a racial slur.

The other motorist, Robert M. Mason, 30, of the 8000 block of Elinore Avenue in Richmond Heights, told police he saw Bruenger push Davis off his bike and then heard him tell Eggers, "Shoot that nigger—don't let them leave."

Mason told police that Eggers then fired two shots at Davis as he was getting up off the ground.

Eggers was holding the youths at gunpoint when police arrived. Davis was taken to St. Louis County Hospital, where he died at 2:45 a.m. Thursday. Police found no weapons in his pockets.

It was reported that before Davis died he told his father that Eggers shot him for nothing and that he was not trying to steal anything.

The service station is now closed.

POLICEMAN

Continued from Page 1

Authorities brought Ford back to town last Wednesday and held him up in the St. Louisan Hotel, 1155 Washington Avenue.

A monitoring devise was placed on the telephone in Ford's room. This is where the trap was set to catch Dentman, however, Dentman recognized the game and moved out quickly.

The Circuit Attorney had Ford to call Patrolman Dentman at the Rushin District. Dentman returned his call and Ford allegedly asked if the previous 5 grand offer was still in action.

Several calls evidently transpired. In one it was arranged for Dentman to come to the Hotel at 3:30 p.m. Saturday, give Ford the money and afterwards drive him to the airport.

Officers, seeking to position themselves, stepped off the elevator just as Dentman entered the hotel lobby.

Dentman recognized the officers immediately, said "how are you doing; did a smart about face and dashed out of the hotel."

Dentman made it to his "hog" (a red and white cadillac) and lost pursuing officers. They believed he headed for the Eastside.

Dentman joined the police force in 1966.

HEALTH CENTER

Continue From Page 1

"One such condition requires that contracts receive HEW approval before implementation," Mr. Henderson continued.

At the time the issues which the Administative Law Judge finally ruled on was litigated (February, 1978), the Center and Local 50 had not started the process of collective bargaining. At the time when negotiations halted abruptly, when the union filed one of its unfair labor charges based upon frivolous events (as is its custom), virtually the entire package had been worked out, including economic issues," Henderson said.

"During the strike of April 23 - May 3, union officials were quoted at speaking of economic issues. Signs displayed by pickets depicted the same tone, yet, the only area where there was not agreement was on the compulsory unionism which encompassed the three alternatives presented by the Union. Contrary to union statements, there has been no effort by the union to replace these issues on the
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FROM BLACK LE

Washington—President Jimmy Carter has called on black political and civil leaders from Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma to help support Administration legislation now before Congress that affects the lives of minorities.

The President, speaking to some 150 leaders in the State Dining Room of the White House, asked for support on hospital cost containment, extra funds for urban centers, windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Fund and
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At the time the issues which the Administative Law Judge finally ruled on was litigated (February, 1978), the Center and Local 50 had not started the process of collective bargaining. At the time when negotiations halted abruptly, when the union filed one of its unfair labor charges based upon frivolous events (as is its custom), virtually the entire package had been worked out, including economic issues," Henderson said.

"During the strike of April 23 - May 3, union officials were quoted at speaking of economic issues. Signs displayed by pickets depicted the same tone, yet, the only area where there was not agreement was on the compulsory unionism which encompassed the three alternatives presented by the Union. Contrary to union statements, there has been no effort by the union to replace these issues on the table. Our Board of Directors are firm in the opinion that people should not be forced to pay fees in order to work here. The precedent, of course, is established already in the U.S. Postal Service, the U.S. Government, etc., where union membership is optional.

"On what union claims are the remaining issues, which includes bulletin boards, shop stewards and grievance procedurals, we have substantially reached agreement. Only the wording has to be worked out.

"The Health Center Labor Relations Committee, composed of five members of our volunteer Board of Directors, are faced with the problem also of defending the agency against the myriad of unfair labor practice charges which Local 50 files on an almost daily basis. That activity encompasses not only a large part of the union's time, but is time consuming and costly for the Health Center in the preparation and excution of its responses.

"It is pertinent to point out approximately 73 of the Center's employees constitute the bargaining unit, "Mr. Henderson said. "Around 25 participated at one time or the other in the recently concluded labor dispute. Health services continued without significant interruption.

"Although we are extremely anxious to avert another strike and are expending an enormous amount of energy in that direction, our health delivery services will continue without interruption." he added.

CARTER SEEKS SUPPORT FROM BLACK LEADERS

Washington—President Jimmy Carter has called on black political and civil leaders from Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma to help support Administration legislation now before Congress that affects the lives of minorities.

The President, speaking to some 150 leaders in the State Dining Room of the White House, asked for support on hospital cost containment, extra funds for urban centers, windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Fund and funds for black colleges. The group was at the White House to be briefed by Administration officials on the status of programs and legislation of particular interest to the black community.

"Hospital costs have gone up at twice the rate of all other inflationary increases, doubling every five years," Carter said. "Many people have profited from this at the expense of the poor, and we are trying to control these costs, because... there are very few restraints on the part of those who own the hospitals, the doctors who assign patients there," he said.

The President said the Administration is trying to put a windfall profit tax on the oil companies, "which lets them keep about 29 cents out of every dollar to explore for new oil but which creates an Energy Security Fund that will let low income families be relieved of the increased costs of energy."

Carter also stressed the need to protect extra funds requested of Congress for the urban centers. He said the need for the funds are being fought over in Congress everyday and "it (the money) is in danger." He said under the fiscal 1979 budget spending for the poor was increased and under the fiscal 1980 budget spending for the poor was increased and under the fiscal 1980 budget spending will again increase. "We have not cut out budget for the poor. But it is in danger.

"I am concerned about our predominately black colleges. We have allocated $120 million to help those colleges stay strong and viable," the President said. "But, we need to protect those funds to give young students loans, grants and work study program opportunities."

This was the second meeting the President has had with black leaders from various states. the first was last October with leaders from North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi.

EYEWITNESS NEWS

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[USPS 911940]

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VOLUME 9 No 6, June 6, 1979 SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 909 PITNER AVENUE, EVANSTON, ILL. 60202 PHONE: [312] 328-3238

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

Shirley Chisholm to address NU graduates

U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm will be among the convocation speakers Ave., Evanston.

Rep. Chisholm, who ran unsuc-

Memorial services held for N-Shore crash victims

Memorial services were held for two Evanston Women, a Wilmette family of four, and several other North Shore residents who perished in the crash of a DC-10 jumbo jet during takeoff, May 25, from Chicago's O'Hare Airport.

274 persons lost their lives on the ill-fated American Airlines Flight 191 bound for Los Angeles. There were no survivors and most of the bodies were either dismembered or burned beyond recognition.

The two women are Mrs. Victoria Chen Haider, 34, of 517 Sherman Ave., and Mrs. Judith Bennett, 35, of 1104 Michigan Ave. Both were writers and were on their way to the American Booksellers Association convention in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Haider, who has a one-year-old son, was an executive of Playboy Magazine. Her husband, Syed, is a social worker at a boy's school in Chicago. She was born in Shanghai, China, and was raised in

VICTORIA CHEN HAIDER

JUDITH BENNETT

Friday, June 1, at the First Unitari-an Church of Hyde Park, Chicago.

Services were also held May 29,

resident of that village, who was a passenger on the plane. He was the publisher of Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, and was also on his way to

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

Shirley Chisholm to address NU graduates

U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm will be among the convocation speakers at Northwestern University's 121st annual commencement exercises on Saturday, June 16. She will speak at the College of Arts and Sciences convocation at 11:15 a.m. at McGaw Hall, 2705 Ashland Ave., Evanston.

Rep. Chisholm, who ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, is the only woman and the only Black American to sit on the powerful House Rules Committee. In addition, she is secretary of the House Democratic Caucus and vice Chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Patricia Neal, a 1947 graduate of the School of Speech, will be coming back to Northwestern from her home in London to speak at the

Please Turn to Page Five

Public tribute planned for late A. Philip Randolph

MR. RANDOLPH

NEW YORK—Special to the Examiner—A public memorial service is being planned for mid-June in Harlem as the nation's tribute to A. Philip Randolph, veteran civil rights leader, who died May 16, one month after his 90th birthday.

Mr. Randolph, popularly regarded as the dean of the American civil rights movement, was president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He also was vice president of the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1968.

Bayard Rustin, a long time friend and associate of Mr. Randolph, said that the veteran Black leader died peacefully. "Mr. Randolph

Please Turn to Page Two

Ave., and Mrs. Judith Bennett, 35, of 1104 Michigan Ave. Both were writers and were on their way to the American Booksellers Association convention in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Haider, who has a one-year-old son, was an executive of Playboy Magazine. Her husband, Syed, is a social worker at a boy's school in Chicago. She was born in Shanghai, China, and was raised in Park Forest, Illinois. Services were held for her, Wednesday, May 30, at the First Unitarian Church of Evanston.

Mrs. Bennett, the mother of a 14-year-old daughter and an 8-year-old son, was the wife of Henry Bennett, vice president of an industrial manufacturing firm. She came to the United States from her native Budapest, Hungary, in 1958, and was nearing completion of her first book. Services were held for her on

VICTORIA CHEN HAIDER

JUDITH BENNETT

Friday, June 1, at the First Unitari-an Church of Hyde Park, Chicago.

Services were also held May 29, at Heritage Congregational Church, Winnetka, for a Wilmette family that was wiped out in the crash. They were Stephen Sutton, 39; his wife Carolyn, 38; and their two children, Colin 9, and Chris 7.

Mr. Sutton, a publishing executive with Rand McNally and Co., was also going to the convention. His wife was the secretary of Heritage Congregational Church.

Services were held in Winnetka for Francis R. Gemme, 45, a resident of that village, who was a passenger on the plane. He was the publisher of Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, and was also on his way to the convention. His wife Leila, who was to have accompanied him, cancelled her trip at the last moment.

Two executives of American Hospital Supply Corp. in Evanston, were also aboard the jetliner. They were Richard J. Fostrom, 37, and

Please Turn to Page Five

NU expert backs police radar

A Northwestern University traffic expert supports the use of radar in controlling traffic speed, although he advises police to present the "strongest possible evidence" in cases involving radar.

Noel C. Bufe, director of The Traffic Institute of Northwestern University, issued the opinion after a Dade County, Florida court, on May 18 dismissed speeding charges against a number of motorists because, according to the court, "radar systems are too inaccurate to support speeding convictions."

On May 9, a Broward County, Fla., court also dismissed radar cases, referring to the previous day's ruling in questioning the accuracy of speed radar.

Bufe said the issue should be examined in its proper context.

"While this particular lower court decision has received widespread media attention, care must be taken to view the decision in the light of past judicial action and the value of radar enforcement of speeding violations," he said.

Until now, Bufe said, courts have supported the premise that the concept of radar, which measures speed by bouncing radio waves off a moving object, is valid.

"In each radar case appealed to a state supreme or apellate court in which the issue of soundness of the scientific principle of radar has been raised, the courts have in every instance taken judicial notice that the scientific principle of radar was a sound method of determining the speed of a moving object."

Two distinct but related issues about the use of radar in speed control, rather than the basic concept of the device, are involved in the current debate, Bufe said. One is the design and quality control of a particular brand of radar instrument and the other is the extent to which an officer has been prepared in the use of the instrument.

As an enforcement tool, radar is effective in "well-managed programs of police traffic services" and serves as an aid for controlling drivers on particular roads. And driving speed, Bufe noted, is a factor in nearly 40 percent of all fatal motor vehicle deaths and in more than half of all motorcycle rider deaths.

In 1978, speed was a contributing

Please Turn to Page Two

Chessmen club voices concern over 'instability' at Evanston high school

BY THE CHESSMEN INC.
[Evanston, Illinois]

As an Evanston-based civic minded organization, the Chessmen, Inc., is now and has been deeply concerned with and involved in the future of high school youth in the Evanston Community. Over the years, our organization has contributed upwards of $15,000 in scholarships to Evanston High School graduates.

The Chessmen, Inc., now in its twenty-first year, has always placed a high priority on those things which are for the betterment of the Evanston Community. We, as an organization, are greatly concerned about the apparent deterioration in the relationship between the Board of Education and the Superintendent. In addition, the apparent divisions in the staff; the conflicts between teachers and students; the conflicts between Administration and staff, have all served to severely pollute the educational climate in the school. We believe that in a school there should be a

Please Turn to Page Two

Black stewardess was on ill-fated DC-10 jetliner

CARMEN L. FOWLER

A Black stewardess is among the 274 persons who were killed when an American Airlines DC-10 jetliner plunged to the ground on May 25, shortly after takeoff from O'Hare International Airport.

Ms. Carmen Linda Fowler, 36, a resident of San Diego California, was making the return trip home as a flight attendant after flying in to Chicago the previous day.

Although little else is known about her, the Examiner learned, through acquaintances in the Chicago area, that Ms. Fowler had been a stewardess with American Airlines for more than ten years.

A. Philip Randolph

Continued from Page One

was blessed with a peaceful death, he did not suffer," Rustin said. The remains were cremated.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, headed by Mr. Rustin, is making arrangements for the memorial service. Those who wish to honor Mr. Randolph's memory may send contributions to their favorite civil rights organization, Mr. Rustin said.

Shortly after the announcement of Mr. Randolph's death, telegrams and messages of condolences began to pour into the institute from government, labor, civil rights, political and religious leaders.

In a personal tribute, broadcast over a New York radio station, Mr. Rustin said one of the most important things he learned from Mr. Randolph was that "the struggle for the freedom of black people is intertwined with the struggles of all people for freedom and justice."

Howard M. Squadron, president of the American Jewish Congress, a human rights organization with headquarters in New York, said: "Our country has lost an outstanding citizen, a great chanpion of human rights, a tireless advocate of working men and women. Mr. Randolph was a man of integrity and courage, a true pioneer in the struggle for human dignity and racial justice."

The Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, religious leader and corporate executive, said: "A. Phillip Randolph was a great inspiration in my life and a great leader among men."

Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League, praised Mr. Randolph as "a man of brillance, eloquence and integrity who mounted the barricades to attack racism, segregation and discrimination." Jordan also said "his death removes from our age a living legend whom we honored, respected and loved."

The top NAACP leadership called Mr. Randolph "an incorruptible servant of the cause of all people who never wavered nor compromised in the continuing fight for full opportunity."

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, two weeks earlier, had passed a resolution honoring Mr. Randolph on his 90th birthday. Mr. Randolph served as vice president on the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1968.

His first march on Washington, in the 1940's, pressured President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, creating the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Twenty years later, in 1963, he headed another march on Washington, "For Jobs and Freedom." His threat to march on the Truman White House unless the Armed Services were ordered to give equal opportunities to Blacks, laid the foundation for a Jimmy Carter appointment of a Black Secretary of the Army, and several black generals and admirals appointed in the 60's and the 70's. His philosophy of non-violent direct action, adopted from Mahatma Ghandi, was taught and practiced while Martin Luther King Jr. was still a student in high school.

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VISIT YOUR SCHOOLS

Porter opens campaign office

The Porter for Congress Committee has established its headquarters at 9232 Skokie Boulevard, Skokie. The office will serve as the operations center to elect former State Rep. John Edward Porter to the U.S. House of Representatives from the 10th Congressional District.

Porter, of Evanston, announced his candidacy for Republican Party nomination on March 6. A special election is expected to be called by Gov. James Thompson later this year to fill the anticipated vacancy that will occur when Rep. Abner Mikva resigns his 10th District seat to accept an appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C.

Staff and volunteers of the Porter for Congress Committee will be at the headquarters daily. Joan Barr is field coordinator.

NU expert backs

Continued from Page One

factor in 21,000 motor vehicle fatalities.

Given the validity of radar as a scientific concept and its value in traffic control — as well as in preventing traffic deaths — Bufe and other experts at The Traffic Institute support its use by law enforcement agencies.

"There is a clear argument for its continued use," Bufe declared.

However, he said, "Police are urged to continue to present the strongest possible evidence in radar cases."

Factors involved include the proper selection of location, the elimination of possible interference to a radar unit from nearby sources, calibration of the instruments for accuracy both prior to and after use and the adequate training and experience of operators.

"It is also important to show how an operator corroborates the radar reading by personal observations of the moving vehicle being checked, Bufe said.

He said the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has contracted with the National Bureau of Standards to develop performance standards for evaluating radar instruments.

The Traffic Institute, founded in 1936 under the auspices of Northwestern University, is a national, non-profit organization which serves public agencies responsible for the operation and management of criminal justice and highway transportation systems.

Chessmen Club

Continued from Page One

climate for learning, not a climate of conflict, confusion, and fear.

We believe that you would agree that administrative stability is a key ingredient in the development and the maintaining of a nationally recognized high school. Since Dr. Lloyd Michael retired in the late 1960's, there have been three different superintendents, with interim administrators used when needed. This instability, more than anything else, has weakened Evanston High School. Futhermore we believe that with the rapid turnover in the superintendency, it has become increasingly difficult to hold persons accountable. Staff problems are intensified and allowed to go unresolved because of a lack of clear direction and follow-through.

We are concerned that the interest of high school youngsters will not be adequately served as long as Board-Administration-Staff conflicts and confusion continues. Education today is difficult enough without the serious internal problems.

The Chessmen, Inc., sincerely wish that conflict and confusion would cease and that unity and cooperation would prevail. We feel that another change in the superintendency would only heighten the existing tension at Evanston High School.

WHAT'S SO SPECIAL ABOUT YOUR CHILD

Lisa Is The 'Other' Parent

By VERNEDA E. BLAIR

Not slighting my other lovely daughters, Robin, Lori, and Racquel, and their own merits, at this time I would like to give recognition to my daughter, Lisa Renee' Blair.

Lisa is 15 years old, the oldest of four girls. In our family of a one-parent household, she has been the substitute parent. Without her fortitude and role as the missing parent, our family's lifestyle would certainly have suffered.

Lisa has maintained an "A" average throughout her school years. She is now an 11th grade student at Cass Technical High school. She was selected as one of the "Outstanding Juniors" and because of this has received letters of possible scholarships from West Point Academy and Smith and Westchester colleges.

Some of her activities at Cass are: president of the Pre-Law club, parliamentarian, Pre-Law club; member, National Honor Society; member, Spanish club; staff member, "1980 Yearbook," and teachers' aide tutor.

In March, 1979 the Commission for the International Year of the Child, chaired by Jean Young, met in Detroit and Lisa spoke at one of its hearings. Her speech has been placed in the Commission's recommendations to President Carter. Mrs. Young, wife of UN Ambassador Andrew Young, has submitted Lisa's name as one of the nominees for 25 youths to be on the National Committee for the International Year of the Child.

Also, Lisa is one of the young persons chosen to serve on the board for the City of Detroit's International Year of the Child Committee. Her first official duty was that of attending a conference to present youth at McGregor Memorial Conference Center at Wayne State university, sponsored by the Council on Early Childhood Center For Urban Studies.

If one asks Lisa what she plans on becoming in life, her answer is "to be an ambassador of the United States of America."

I am happy to share with you some of the reasons why I am proud of my daughter, Lisa Renee' Blair.

LISA RENEE' BLAIR

Mrs. Diana Oliver Harper was

Randolph Tribute Dinner Is June 9

WILLIAM STODGHILL

A dinner, which was to be a 90th birthday tribute to the last A. Philip Randolph, will still be held during the tenth annual national conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), to be held here June 8-10 at the Detroit Plaza.

According to William Stodghill, president of the Detroit APRI, the dinner will be held at the "A Philip Randolph Memorial Tribute." The $100 - per- person affair will be set for June 9 in the hotel's Renaissance Ballroom.

"This sad event (Randolph's death on May 16) gives added significance to our conference," Stodghill said. "Mr. Randolph, who in Apiri

one of our country's greatest civil rights and labor leaders. Your participation will help make this a memorable and historic event."

Ticket information may be obtained by calling Detroit APRI at 871-8941.

Sunday, June 10 is Youth

Banquet At New Calvary

Corinthian Baptist church will sponsor a banquet on Saturday, June 9, at 6 p.m. at New Calvary Baptist church, 3975 Concord, when honors of "Youths of the Month" will be presented.

A Fairer Wa

Dear Editor:

The present affirmative action plan sh
only method to solve past discriminations
people and other minorities. There should b
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How about letting everyone interest
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organizations.

**There could then be a fair drawing
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Pettiford Telfair.

Establish Cen

The University of Chad and Northwestern university, through its program of African Studies, have agreed to establish a Center for Bilad al Sudan Studies in Ndjemena, Chad.

Teachers and researchers from the center will focus on the archeology, history, geography, economics and development of the people and cultures of Egypt, Sudan. Libya, Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon and Central Africa.

The Program of African Studies and the center will jointly support research missions of qualified personnel to organize seminars and teaching sessions to train Chadian research workers in these areas.

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MINORITIES

Approximately 66 percent of the Wayne County Dept. of Social Services employees are minorities.

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Of His Office
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Michigan Chronicle

Saturday, June 2, 979 Section A—Page 3

THE INSIDE STORY

A Fairer Way?

Dear Editor:

The present affirmative action plan should not be the only method to solve past discriminations against Black people and other minorities. There should be a fairer way for every human being concerned.

How about letting everyone interested, no matter what his color may be, apply for an opening and not include just those people sponsored by certain organizations.

There could then be a fair drawing of all eligible names entered, like a lottery, and selections could be made in this manner. The choices for the positions would then be made on the basis of luck and not color and it seems to me this method is much fairer.

The corporations, colleges, newspapers and what have you should sponsor essay contests to get new and different ideas which might just engender a fairer plan for affirmative action because the people who discriminate against deserving Whites are the same kind of people who would discriminate against deserving Blacks. — **Vivienne Pettiford Telfair.**

Meeting Thursday

The Michigan Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will meet at the Detroit Federal building, 477 Michigan Ave., Room 1090, Thursday, May 24, from 10:30 a.m. to 4 p.m., to discuss civil rights concerns within the state of Michigan.

The committee, chaired by JoAnn Terry of Detroit, assists the federal commission in collecting information and assessing civil rights matters within the state.

Composed of knowledgeable citizens who serve without compensation, it conducts fact-finding studies on civil rights related issues, holds informal hearings and submits reports of its findings and recommendations to the commission.

At this meeting, the Advisory Committee will welcome newly appointed members and discuss plans and projects for 1979-1980.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan factfinding agency of the federal government concerned with the rights of minorities and women.

Establish Center

The University of Chad and Northwestern university, through its program of African Studies, have agreed to establish a Center for Bilad al Sudan Studies in Ndjemena, Chad.

Teachers and researchers from the center will focus on the archeology, history, geography, economics and development of the people and cultures of Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon and Central Africa.

The Program of African Studies and the center will jointly support research missions of qualified personnel to organize seminars and teaching sessions to train Chadian research workers in these areas.

In addition, Northwestern will make available up to three tuition scholarships for Chadian students who wish to study at Northwestern, and will provide stipends for Northwestern doctoral students who wis to do research in Chad.

Woman's Day Observance

Davison Baptist church, 39 E. Dakota, observed annual Women's Day last Sunday when Mrs. Kathryn Murphy of Christland Baptist church was guest speaker.

Mrs. Betty Pitts was chairperson Mrs. Thelma Mitchell was co-chairperson and Rev. Herman Yarber is pastor.

Grads Sought

Members of the January and June, 1959, graduating class of Highland Park High school are planning a 20 year class reunion on Saturday, Oct 13.

MINORITIES

Approximately 66 percent of the Wayne County Dept. of Social Services employees are minorities.

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— JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY

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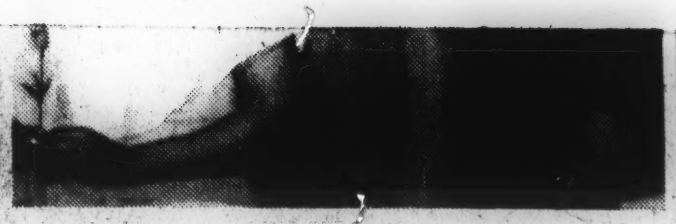

IN CONCERT — Ms. Diane Oliver Harper was presented in concert Sunday at Christian Temple Baptist church, 4101 Cadillac. The concert was sponsored by the Altar Circle. A member of the church since age 10, Ms. Harper aspires to become a nationally-known gospel soloist. Rev. Edward Brown (center) was master of ceremonies and Rev. D. N. Mersier is pastor.

To Recognize Students

Oakland university will recognize 1279 students in five separate commencement exercises June 2-3.

Following the tradition of recent years, each academic unit has established individual programs to pay personal recognition to the graduates.

The candidates include 952 undergraduates and 327 graduate students who have completed their course work in December of 1978 or in April, 1979.

A highlight of the commencement weekend will be the announcement of the Matilda R. and Alfred G. Wilson award winners. The awards are named for the university's deceased benefactors and go to graduates who have distinguished themselves academically and in their concerns for social issues. The awards are kept secret until the ceremonies. Winners receive a check for $200 and a medallion.

The $100 - per- person affair will be set for June 9 in the hotel's Renaissance Ballroom.

"This sad event (Randolph's death on May 16) gives added significance to our conference," Stodghill said. "Mr. Randolph, who in Apirl celegrated his 90th birthday, was a champion of the labor and civil rights movements all of his life, effecting major social and politial changes.

"He will long be remembered for his many great accomplishments and will be greatly missed. I know his memory will live on, not only through the work of the Institute, but through his many comrades in the labor movement."

Stodghill urged all citizens to "join us in paying tribute to

Corinthian Baptist church will sponsor a banquet on Saturday, June 9, at 6 p.m. at New Calvary Baptist church, 3975 Concord, when honors of "Youths of the Month" will be presented.

Sunday, June 10, is Youth Day. Ms. Valorie McCune will deliver the special feature for the Sunday School. Rev. Reuben Cooper of Nassau, Bahamas, will be the guest speaker at 11 a.m.

Rev. Joseph Jordan is pastor.

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The Men's Store (not at Grosse Pointe)
Use SearsCharge credit plan
Most Sears Stores Open WEEKDAYS 9 to 9 (Ann Arbor opens at 9:30 am) (Gr
• Macomb Mall 293-8000 • Oakland Mall 585-1000 • Southfield 55
• Twelve Oaks 348-9200 • Fairlane 336-0100 • Lakeside 247-15
CEDAR POINT
A Fun Day to Remember
A colorful and complete amusem entertainment center on Lake Er in Sandusky, Ohio
Tickets are available at

YOU CAN, TOO — That was the message from members of Wisdom Lodge No. 57, F&AM, who recently put on a skills-career seminar at Hosmer Elementary school that consisted of presentations and demonstrations of various skills and careers lodge members have. Purpose of the program was to show the students that they, too, can aspire to lofty goals and to advise them of the preparation they will need to attain them. Shown here with their teacher are some fourth grade students who enjoyed the seminar.

Black College Gains Are Labeled

By VERNON E. JORDAN JR.
(Executive Secretary, National Urban League)

Every time I see an analysis of the state of Black Americans there is always one supposed bright spot in an otherwise gloomy picture. More Blacks are going to college, and the proportion of Blacks in college is about equal to the numbers of college-age Blacks, and to the white rate of college attendance.

The only trouble with that bright spot is that it isn't true.

That's because all post-secondary education is lumped under the label "college." Surveys show more Black high school seniors aspire to a college education than do whites. But they don't get it.

Blacks in post-secondary education are far more likely than whites to be in vocational schools or in two year community colleges. Proportionately fewer wind up in four year colleges, and still fewer in universities. The opposite is true for white students.

Of special concern is the fact that the two year community colleges are playing a steadily larger role in educating Black youth. Almost half of all Black students attending colleges are going to those institutions.

And yet there has been no national strategy devised concerning just what the proper role of those schools should be. Too often they are restricted to providing terminal occupational training.

That may be fine for many of their students, who receive the skills and knowledge required for specific occupations. But many others are drawn to the two year colleges because they are cheaper, because they think they can eventually transfer to four year schools, or because they wrongly assume they can't do academic college-level work.

Black educators have expressed dismay that bright youngsters who should be getting university training are moving instead into community colleges and foregoing the career mobility and higher status occupations open to those holding higher degrees.

Thus, critics say, there is a danger that the two year colleges may become the ghetto of the college community, reservations for the disadvantaged. Meanwhile, the higher track colleges and universities would be free to cater to the needs of white and middle class students.

Such a development would be a cruel blow to Black educational aspirations. The two year community colleges have a tremendous potential to develop into important institutions integrated into the structure of higher education.

Properly funded and organized community colleges can fulfill the basic needs of their students and also serve as bridges to continued education. But so long as many four year coll transfers wit long as they a for remedial training, that

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NOW A NURSE —Stephanie Ann Glanton, daughter of Robert J. Glanton and Mrs. Peggy Lemons, has graduated from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, with a Bachelor of Science degree in nursing. She was president of Lambda Chi Alpha Beta chapter of Chi Eta Phi Sorority Inc., member of National Black Nurses' Assn and made Who's Who Among American Colleges and Universities 1978-79. Ms. Glanton will be on the staff of Mt. Carmel Mercy hospital.

Tribute To Millender Scheduled

In tribute to the enormous impact of his contributions to Detroit politics and public service by the late Robert L. Millender, a special memorial program featuring Mayor Young and Gov. Milliken will be held Tuesday, June 5, at the Community Arts auditorium of Wayne State university.

"Many of the Black officials now in positions of political power owe their careers to Bob Millender," said Mayor Young.

"Over the last two decades, profound changes have occurred in the character, the quality and the composition of Detroit's political leadership. Behind many of these changes

Apartment M Friends Ask,

"Why Curt?"

That was the question that sorrowing residents of the Cadillac Square Apartments were asking themselves following services last week for their neighbor, 24-year-old Curtis Burton, who was brutally slain last Monday because of, police believe, his refusal to sell his customized motorcycle.

Burton's blood-spattered body was found in a freight elevator of the apartment building, at 111 Cadillac Square, by a janitor. Gagged and handcuffed, he had been beated, stabbed and shot in the head.

Charged with the slaying is Rodney Dean Alston, 21, a security guard who was on duty at the apartment building the morning that Gibson was killed. Alston allegedly lured Burton down to a storeroom area next to the freight elevator, where Burton kept his bike, on the pretext that someone had been tampering with it.

Ralph Barner, assistant manager of the building, said Burton had been living there for approximately three years.

"He was a nice, quiet kid," Barner said. "He was friendly with the other tenants and we never had any problems with him. It just makes you wonder why."

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Such a development would be a cruel blow to Black educational aspirations. The two year community colleges have a tremendous potential to develop into important institutions integrated into the structure of higher education.

Properly funded and organized community colleges can fulfill the basic needs of their students and also serve as bridges to continued education. But so long as many four year colleges refuse to accept transfers with full credit and so long as they are viewed as centers for remedial work and for job training, that won't happen.

Too many Black students who want to attend four-year colleges and universities don't do so because they can't afford them. Financial aid to students is drying up, and what's left is being spread more widely instead of being targeted to those most in need.

Federal grants are limited to half the tuition costs. This works against Black students in two ways. First, more attend public colleges that charge lower tuitions. So they get minimum grants while those attending high-cost universities get several times as much in aid. Second, since most Black students come from poor and low income families, they need more help just to stay in school, regardless of tuition costs. They're not getting it.

So the raw numbers purporting to show that Blacks are holding on to college enrollment gains are illusory. The numbers of enrolled Blacks are slipping, they are concentrated in the least-favored sectors of higher education, and the gap between whites and Blacks is growing in education, as in other fields. Those who are searching for bright spots will have to look elsewhere.

Apartment Murder Victim's Friends Ask, 'Why Curt?'

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Ralph Barner, assistant manager of the building, said Burton had been living there for approximately three years.

"He was a nice, quiet kid," Barner said. "He was friendly with the other tenants and we never had any problems with him. It just makes you wonder why."

"Curt was such a fine young person," one middleaged tenant said. "He always spoke and offered to help you with your packages. We are so hurt over this." All I can say was that he was a genuinely fine young man."

Burton, who was a driver for a company that conveys canceled checks between banks, purchased his cream-colored motorcycle in April. Police said that Alston had taken a fancy to it and allegedly had pestered Burton to sell it to him.

On the night of the murder, Alston and Burton were observed by a building resident leaving the regular elevator and heading in the direction of the storeroom shortly before authorities estimate as the time Burton died.

After the slaying, Alston reportedly returned to his post in the building lobby b but left early, before his midnight shift was over, with the bike. Officers who arrested him at his northeastside home, said they confiscated the motorcycle after Alston produced an alleged forged bill of sale.

They said he also had the bike's registration and insurance papers.

Alston was ordered held without bond, following his arraignment on first degree murder charges, pending a pretrial examination scheduled for this Wednesday in Recorder's Court.

Services for Burton were held Friday at St. Mary's-Redford Catholic church, Grand River at Mansfield. Serving as pallbearers were some of the apartment residents and the building's tenant council contributed $100 toward a headstone on his burial plot, while individual members pledged to personally pay the rest of the cost for a large stone to show the esteem in which Burton was held.

Glanton and Mrs. Peggy Lemons, has graduated from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, with a Bachelor of Science degree in nursing. She was president of Lambda Chi Alpha Beta chapter of Chi Eta Phi Sorority Inc., member of National Black Nurses' Assn and made Who's Who Among American Colleges and Universities 1978-79. Ms. Glanton will be on the staff of Mt. Carmel Mercy hospital.

Black Publishers Are Citing Young

Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young has been chosen "Man of the Year" by the National Newspaper Publishers Assn. (NNPA) — the Black Press of America.

Announcement of the results of the mail balloting was made last week by John H. Sengstacke, president of NNPA and editor-publisher of the Chicago Daily Defender, New Pittsburgh Courier, Michigan and a half-dozen other newspapers.

The Distinguished Service plaque, honoring the "Man of the Year," will be presented to Ambassador Young during the 39th annual NNPA convention June 13-16 in Tulsa, Okla., at the new Williams Plaza hotel, said Sengstacke.

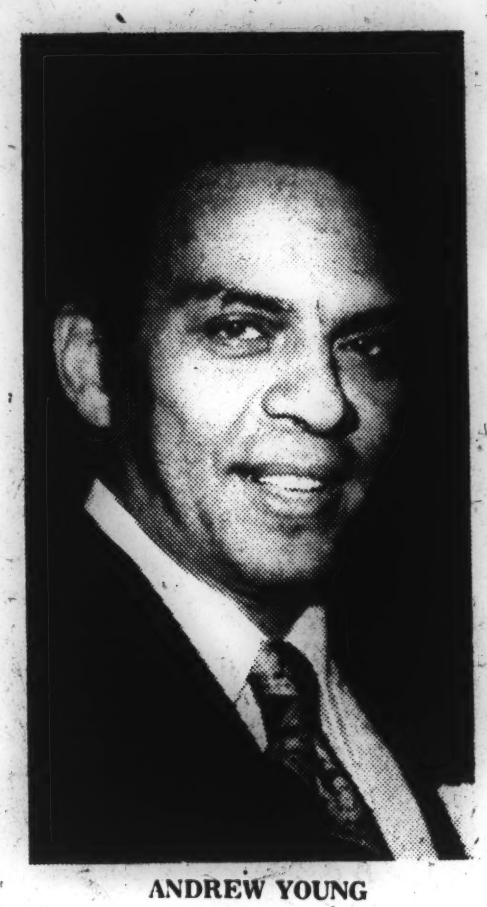
Other main highlights of the convention, the NNPA head said, will be addresses by former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin L. Hooks, Dr. Leon Sullivan of Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) and ITT Continental Baking Co. Vice President Robert W. Morrow.

But the focal points of the convention, Sengstacke emphasized, will be two symposia: "The Black Unemployment Problem" and "The Racial Implications of the Energy Problem."

Speakers on the unemployment problem will include Charles Brown, chairman of the board of AT&T; Lloyd N. Hand, president of the National Alliance of Business; Director Alexis Herman of the Women's Bureau, Ronald Brown, vice president of the National Urban League, and Rudolph Oswald, chief economic advisor of the AFL-CIO.

Blacks and the energy problem will be discussed by Cito Chmn. Robert Sellers, Hooks of the NAACP and Williams Co. President Barry Galt. The latter firm laid a large segment of the Alaska pipeline.

Others who will discuss the energy crisis will be Dr. Bernard Anderson of the Rockefeller Foundation, Wilson Goode, chairman of the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission, and Thomas D. Walker Goode,



ANDREW YOUNG

chairman of the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission, and Thomas D. Walker of Gulf Oil Corp.

Presentation of $20,000 in merit awards to publishers and newspaper staffers and plaques to six major advertisers in the Black press will climax the convention.

The advertising honorees are AT&T, Chrysler Corp., Heubelin, Kellogg's, Miller Brewing Co. and Quaker Oats.

Place Limitation

LANSING — A joint order has been issued by the Insurance Bureau-Michigan Dept. of Commerce and Michigan Dept. of Public Health limiting the license and operating procedures of a Lansing Health Maintenance Organization (HMO).

The Board of Directors of Health Central Inc., a health services agency with 22,000 members, consented to terms of the order.

Acting Insurance Commissioner Jean K. Carlson and Public Health Director Maurice S. Reizen said the action was "prudent, sound regulatory practice and in the best interests of Health Central, its members, creditors and the public."

Wayne State university.

"Many of the Black officials now in positions of political power owe their careers to Bob Millender," said Mayor Young.

"Over the last two decades, profound changes have occurred in the character, the quality and the composition of Detroit's political leadership. Behind many of these changes was the quiet but compelling guidance of Bob Millender. He was one of the first to recognize that our biracial city and our country would survive and prosper only with a sense of social values and a political structure truly reflective of all the people. His was the hand that guided many aspiring and deserving leaders into public service careers, and when they achieved high office his wise counsel continued to be indispensable."

The tribute program will include statements by some of the elected officials whose political campaigns were organized and directed by Millender.

These include Mayor Young, Secy. of State Richard Austin, Judge George W. Crockett J., Council president Erma Henderson and Cong. John Conyers. Also appearing on the platform will be Gov. Milliken, Supreme Court Justice G. Mennen Williams, Wayne State University President Thomas N. Bonner and U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Damon J. Keith.

Music will be provided by the Wayne State university Wind Quintet and Detroit vocalist Roz Ryan. A special film highlighting Millender's life will be shown.

The event will launch a drive for a $2000,000 scholarship fund to be administered jointly by the Robert L. Millender Sr. Memorial Fund and Wayne State university.

The fund will establish a Millender fellowship to enable outstanding young minority men and women to pursue public service careers. Also, a nationally distinguished activist will be designated annually as the Millender lecturer to focus public attention on critical issues in the areas of civil rights and urban political development.

The fund's Advisory Board includes George W. Crockett, Jr. Doug Fraser, Dwight Havens, Erma Henderson, Damon Keith, Rosa Parks, Max Pincus and G. Mennen Williams.

Tickets to the memorial tribute may be obtained at 800 Standard Federal building, or by calling Mill Barbara Lytell at 961-2550. Contributions to the fund are $25 for admission. Additional tax exempt contributions may be made by those who wish to be listed as patrons of founding members.

Curbing Crime

Simple precautions could substantially reduce retail business losses of nearly $10 billion a year to such crimes as shoplifting and employee theft, a federally financed handbook says.

The percentage of receipts lost to crime by small businesses is 24 times greater than the losses of businesses grossing more than $5 million annually,

of the building, said Burton had been living there for approximately three years.

"He was a nice, quiet kid," Barner said. "He was friendly with the other tenants and we never had any problems with him. It just makes you wonder why."

Minister

(Con't. from Page 1)

people, as a group, are being hemmed in and hobbled by adversary forces who are not content to just merely stop the clock of progress for Black people; on the contrary, they seek to turn it back. And what we do about it at this pivotal moment in our history," he stated, "is of crucial importance.

"It is as clear as day, or at least it should be," he continued, "that the NAACP — and I mean a strong, well-supported NAACP — is central to the success of any effort to thwart our adversaries and keep the clock of progress for Black people moving forward."

Noting that the 1979 Detroit branch NAACP membership drive committee was making an all-out, unprecedented effort this year to involve the Black clergy and Black church people in the NAACP membership drive, Dr. Jones reminded his fellow clergy that "Each of us has been personally invited by letter to become a part of this long overdue campaign to support the NAACP, our greatest defender, and make it secure.

"Those who say," Dr. Jones observed, "that we will never be taken seriously so long as the Black organization that has done the most for Black people — the NAACP — has to depend for its survival on the financial support of our sympathetic white friends, both corporate and trade union, are dead right.

"Our first step," he concluded, "is obvious. The Detroit Branch NAACP has only 12,000 members in a city of 700,000 Blacks. Tell the NAACP that your church will help in the 1979 Detroit branch NAACP membership drive; 32 have done so already."

Wins Scholarship

A $2000 scholarship from the Johns-Mansville Fund has been awarded to Hampton institute architectural student Brevetta O. Jordan of Front Royal, Va., under the 1979-80 American Institute of Architects-AAA Foundation scholarship program.

Established in 1978, the Johns-Manville scholarship is presented to a promising minority student in the fourth, fifth or sixth year at an accredited U.S. school of architecture. It was made possible through a donation from the Denver-based Johns-Manville Fund and awarded by the AIA Scholarship Committee.

Last year's winner was Paul Davis Young of Washington, D.C., a student at Howard university.

This year, 76 architectural students and one architectural educator were awarded scholarships totaling $98,500 under the institute's scholarship program.

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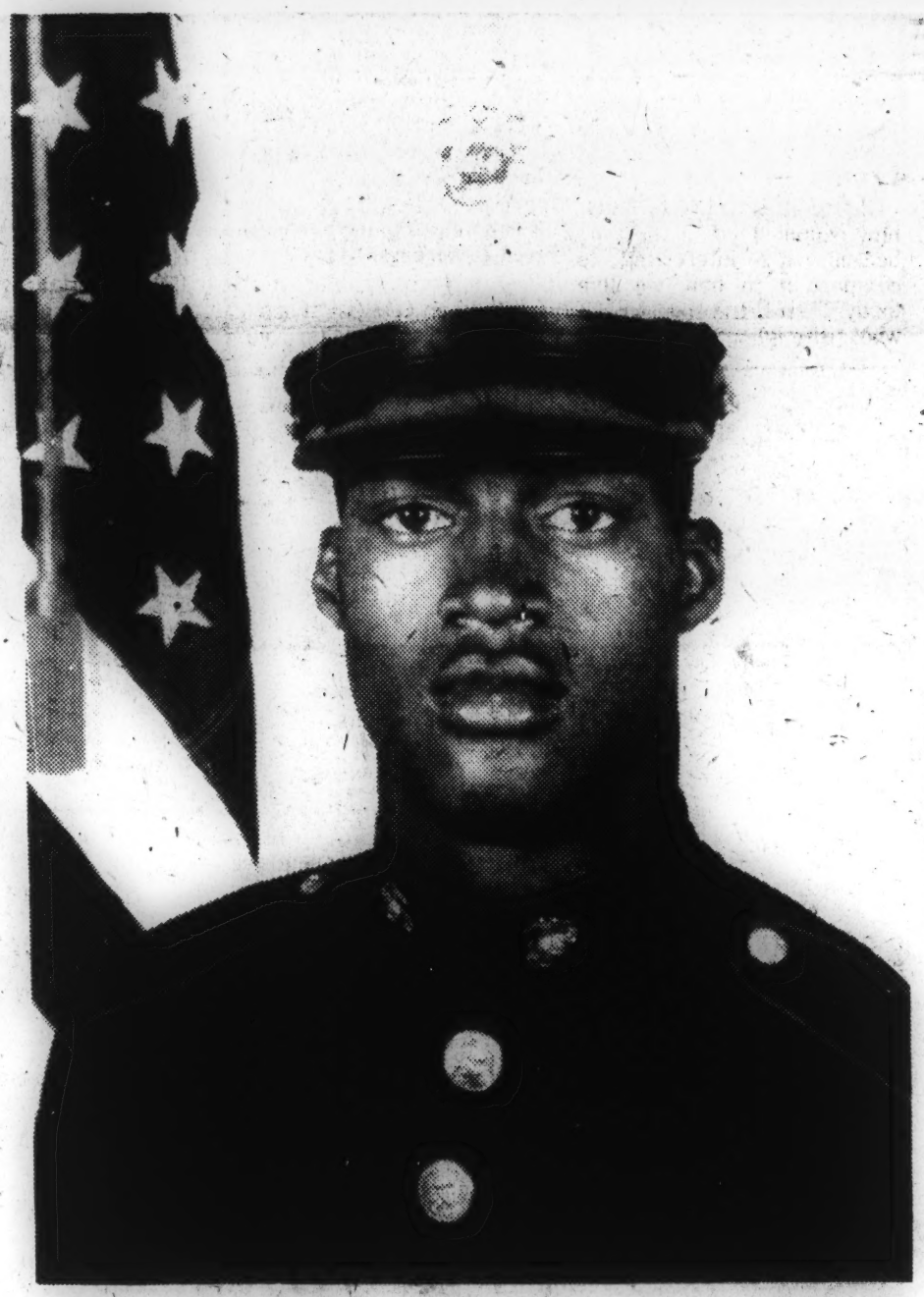

LEAVES SAN DIEGO — Marine Pfc. Kevin L. Nelson has completed recruit training at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego. A 1978 graduate of Kettering High, he is the son of Gene Nelson.

Copeland Honored

(Con't. from Page 1)

Tributes from the YMCA were given by Jack L. Otto, chairman, YMCA Board of Directors; Lynn R. Russell, Painsville, Ohio, and Dr. J. J. McClendon, board chairman of the former St. Antoine branch YMCA.

Dr. William G. Anderson, member of the Highland Park YMCA Board of Directors, gave the welcome address and Dr. Frederick Sampson, pastor of Tabernacle Baptist church, gave the invocation.

Patrice Rowlett, of Columbus College of Arts gave a musical tribute and John Hunter furnished dinner music. Louis Rowlett, chairman of the Board of Deacons at Tabernacle Baptist church, represented the church's official board, and Jerry Copeland Arnold represented the Copeland family.

Judge Damon Keith led the list of tributes from the civic and community areas. Also giving tributes were Mrs. Geraldine Bledsoe, Coordinating Council on Human Relations; Horace Sheffield, Detroit Council for Political Education; Elvin Carson, Booker T. Washington Business Assn., and Dr. Reginald Wilson, president of Wayne County Community college.

Lucius May, a former associate at the St. Antoine YMCA, was in charge of proclamations from elected officials, the state of Michigan, the city of Detroit and Wayne County. Thomas Briscoe made the presentation from the tribute committee and Mrs. Alberta Blackburn, general chairperson, presented the gift from the committee.

Copeland's response was accepted by a standing ovation from friends. Fred W. Noyes, member of the Metropolitan YMCA Board of Directors, gave the invocation.

Dinner committee members also included Robert Price, William Roccos, Charles E. Eising, Ed Davis, Dr. William G. Anderson, Fannie Tyler, Robert Dye, Marion Corwell, Hugh G. Harness, Albert J. Dunmore, Tom Fox, William Crews and Wardell C. Croft.

The World Service Council is a nationwide group of women of broad civic, philanthropic and religious interests, alert to changing world affairs and believing in the national and international work of the Young Women's Christian Association.

NAACP SUPPORT — Potentate Willie Wright of Masonic Temple Grand Lodge presents check for tickets to the NAACP's recent Freedom Fund dinner at Cobo Hall. Accepting it was O'Neil D. Swanson.

TICKET PURCHASE — Rev. Edgar Vann Jr., pastor of Second Ebenezer Baptist church, 3040 Cadillac, accepts ticket from O'Neil D. Swanson to attend the NAACP's Freedom Fund dinner held recently at Cobo Hall. Swanson was general chairman.

Support NAACP Campaign

US Ambassador Andrew Young and former Pennsylvannia State Secy. C. DeLores Tucker have been named chairpersons of a national fundraising drive for the NAACP.

Benjamin L. Hooks, in announcing the campaign, said the effort would be concentrated in 100 of the nations's top Black communities, and would enhance his organization's ability to deal with a multitude of current problems besetting Black Americans. He added that the theme of the campaign would be "an NAACP sustainer — till victory is won."

The executive director of the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization cited the rising tide of conservatism, the impact of inflation and the staggering cost of litigation as the major reason for his organization's financial crisis.

Hooks said he hopes "to raise $2 million from the Black community through the effort. This will augment our traditional membership support and the support expected from the current corporate campaign headed by American Telephone and Telegraph President William Ellinghaus."

Denby

By JOCELYNN BROW

Gail Maria Stephen graduating senior of D High school who says mother is totally respon for the success she demonstrated over the p years as a scholar, will end her high school care one of her school's outstanding graduates.

Recommended by Bainbridge, her couns Gail recalls her m "pushing me towards m positive efforts, always g me a strong feeling of fidence and teaching me to put things off."

The 18-year-old is pla to make her contributi society as either a bus administrator or a cert public accountant. At point, she has her choi schools narrowed dow either Detroit Institut Technology or Lewis Co of Business.

Gail finds herself draw these two profession particular due to a strong for calculating numbers.

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As class representa Gail is responsible for ke members of her clas

JUST ASK ALICE

By ALICE CLAIRE

Dear Alice:

I'm 29 years old and I consider myself a level headed young lady. I'm divorced, and I have a son and daughter that I am raising by myself. I consider myself a good catch. Without anyone's help, I finished college and I have a nice job and now have a nice apartment.

My problem is men. The kind of men that I am running into are really making me leary of trying to develop a relationship with them. Let me tell you what happened to me last week.

Saturday night I was at a disco that was well publicized as having "professionals" attend their parties. This one guy that I had seen at several parties before, came up to me and introduced himself. He also said that he had been seeing me before. We got along well. I even introduced him to all of my friends at the party. The next day, he called so I invited him over to my house.

The guy turned out to be a psychopath. Just because I didn't agree to go to bed with him right then, he wrestled and fought with me for at least an hour. Thank God my kids came home, and the guy got up and said that he would call me later.

Alice, for a few minutes, I thought that I was dead. The man was so furious and strong, all that I could think of was that I should get out of the house ... and even call the police.

After he left, I just said to myself forget it and hope that I never run into this "professional" again. But the truth is that I am now scared to meet anyone and invite them into my house. We divorced and single women have no protection, and I have to think about my babies.

I don't think that I did anything wrong, or came on wrong. I just think that men are going crazy. I would like to know what

First Black Sec'y Honored

Dr. Omega Ray Wilson of the Communications Dept. of Jackson State university, Jackson, Mich., and the university's radio station, WSU, are inaugurating a radio-documentary series planned for national distribution entitled "Family Tree."

The initial program, scheduled for June 1, details highlights of the life of the late Mrs. Martha Barksdale Goldman of Washington, D.C. who was the first Black secretary in the federal government in the nation's capital city.

Prior to this singular status in her professional life, Mrs. Goldman had worked as a court reporter in Superior court, Boston and later served on the staff of the treasurer of that state.

Copies of the radio tapes of the entire "Family Tree" series are being dedicated to Mrs. Goldman who collected the data on which the broadcasts are based. All tapes will be donated to the Amistad Research Center library-archives at Dillard university, New Orleans.

Branches of the Amistad Research Center around the nation will arrange for radio stations in their various locales to carry this series of tributes to heroes and heroines of the Black experience in America.

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Denby Honors Graduate

By JOCELYNN BROWN

Gail Maria Stephens, a graduating senior of Denby High school who says her mother is totally responsible for the success she has demonstrated over the past 12 years as a scholar, will soon end her high school career as one of her school's most outstanding graduates.

Recommended by Ron Bainbridge, her counselor, Gail recalls her mother "pushing me towards making positive efforts, always giving me a strong feeling of confidence and teaching me never to put things off."

The 18-year-old is planning to make her contribution to society as either a business administrator or a certified public accountant. At this point, she has her choice of schools narrowed down to either Detroit Institute of Technology or Lewis College of Business.

Gail finds herself drawn to these two professions in particular due to a strong love for calculating numbers.

"I love to find the answer to math problems," Gail said. "I feel if someone had the mentality to develop a problem, then I have the ability to find the answer."

As class representative, Gail is responsible for keeping members of her class informed as to what thoughts were exchanged at each of the board meetings. She then takes a survey to find out how they feel about the topics discussed.

The native-born Detroiter relates that being recognized as one of her school's top graduating seniors "will always leave a very meaningful mark on her remembrance of the past.

"I'll always have a positive achievement to look back on and inspire me to go further in life," said Gail while anticipating that her scholarly success will prompt others to emulate her perseverance.

A member of her school's gymnastic and cheerleading teams, Gail has several awards to her credit. They include attendance, scholastic and citizenship certificates, in addition to several for her performance as a cheerleader and gymnast.

A member of St. Philip's Luthern church on E. Grand Blvd., Gail plans to spend the summer by once again becoming active with the Girl Scouts.

"I want to motivate young girls to develop their skills," Gail said.

Her favorite pastimes are tennis, swimming and jogging.

'Heart Saver' Classes Set

Three free cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) classes, sponsored by William Beaumont Hospital-Troy, are scheduled for Thursday and Friday, May 31 and June 1, from 6 to 9 p.m., and Saturday, June 2, from 1 to 4 p.m.

These are Michigan Heart Assn. approved "heart saver" classes featuring a lifesaving technique used to help a person who has stopped breathing. A movie, lecture and practical application using manikins are included.

Motor Citian Gets Degree

A resident of Detroit received an Associate's degree during the recent 10th Annual Commencement ceremonies at Central Arizona College.

Jerome Akins of Detroit received an Associate in Arts in graduation ceremonies on the Signal Peak campus of Central Arizona College.

Akins was part of a graduating class that numbered 137 from 29 Arizona towns, 10 cities outside Arizona and Japan.

After he left, I just said to myself forget it and hope that I never run into this "professional" again. But the truth is that I am now scared to meet anyone and invite them into my house. We divorced and single women have no protection, and I have to think about my babies.

I don't think that I did anything wrong, or came on wrong. I just think that men are going crazy. I would like to know what we can to to protect ourselves.—H.V.D.

About the best advice that I can give you is to learn to be a better judge of character. You also owe to yourself and your children. You might also try meeting your prospective friends some place other than your home for (or their home). This way you can weed out the "crazies."

Believe me, you are not alone in describing all of the unusual and potentially dangerous things that you are subjected to when meeting new people, but keep in mind that it's not "all" men that are acting out. My hope for you is to never run into anything but the best.—Alice.

Please give me some sort of advice on this problem. This is a real letter and I really can't solve these problems myself.

Everybody thinks that I'm insane. That includes my boyfriend, my friends and even my mother. Here is what I mean.

I get a check every month for my baby girl and I give my mother some of it to put away for me. This month I gave her $92 and when I asked her for some of it, she said that I gave her only $50. I know good and well that I counted out $92. She's trying to make a fool out of me, because she thinks that I'm crazy enough to have forgotten just how much I gave her. If I bring things up to her, she blows up and we get into a big argument.

My boyfriend thinks that I'm crazy too. Everytime he tells me that he's coming over to see me, he never shows up. If that isn't enough, my boyfriend doesn't even bother to call me and tell me why he failed to show up. He does this a lot.

Alice, please give me some advice about how to put a stop to all of this "crap." I've just about had enough.—Chris.

Dear Chris.:

There's a world of difference between being insane and being guillible. Insanity refers to a specific mental disorder. Gullibility refers to being easily deceived. The actions that you described fall in the second category.

A gullible person for whatever reasons, actively participates in what happens He allows other people to victimize him or her.

If you feel that you are capable of handling your own life, your problem is well on its way to being solved. It's a simple matter of handling your own money, and in reference to your boyfriend, tell him that you have had enough, and mean it.—Alice.

Detroit PTA Council Dinner Dance June 5

The first annual Merger Day dinner dance of the Detroit Council of Parents and Teachers Assn. will be held at 6:30 p.m. Tuesday, June 5, at the Sentinel Bldg.

The day commemorates merger of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which took place on June 22, 1970, when the Supreme Court abolished school segregation. The Black PTA congress had been founded in 1926 by Selena Sloan Butler.

Mrs. Maggie McMurtry, Merger Day chairperson and newly-elected president of the Detroit Council of PTAs, promised "no long speeches, just an evening of fun."

Donation is $12.50 per person. Additional information may be obtained by calling Mrs. Aileen Selick, liaison administrator, 494-1399.

HE LEARNED BASICS — Marine Pvt. William M. Fields recently completed nine weeks of training at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego. The son of Florence and Robert Cobb Jr., he is a 1978 graduate of Cass Tech High.

Training For Retirement

OCEAN GROVE, N.J. — (UMC) — United Methodist Homes of New Jersey is scheduled to continue a unique program this spring with a second Black man or woman entering training for licensing and employment in retirement home administration.

A pilot program was completed in 1978 with the certification by the state of New Jersey of Melvin Perry Sr. Perry has been named aministrator of the new Bethany Towers retirement home in Mechanicsburg; Pa., the first minority person to hold a post in a predominantly white retirement facility related to the denomination.

MARINE HITCH — Marine Pvt. Pfc. Mark J. Felton, a 1975 graduate of Finney High, has completed recruit training at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego. He is the son of Lilton Felton and Mrs. Beatrice Felton.

What We Think

A. Philip Randolph

He Fought For Us All

In the whole turbulent history of the struggle for social justice and economic equity, no man has labored with deeper unselfishness, consistency and stoutness than A. Philip Randolph. He had the logic, the voice and the rhetoric with which to wage the fight to bring America's structure.

Though he devoted much of his early years to the quest for collective bargaining for the Sleeping-Car Porters — a fight he fought with undiminished vigor — Randolph's vision was larger than the question of union recognition. He took unto himself the colossal task of fighting not only for the admission of Blacks into labor unions but as well for a place for them in every sphere of the American society.

He was the first to awaken America to its civil rights obligations to the Black citizens. And he made that cause an inseparable component of his militant strategy. To the pursuit of that goal, he would marshal all the logic, all the analytical sharpness of his incisive mind.

He drew an imposing, enthusiastic audience whenever and wherever he spoke. Randolph was an intellectual in the best sense of the term. He put his brilliance at the service of the common man. His analysis of the American economic system, its foibles, misdirection and lopsided adventurism was at par with the observations of seasoned economists.

Randolph was the architect of the historic and never-to-be-forgotten March on Washington when Dr. Martin Luther King electrified the nation with his celebrated "I have a dream" speech. In the 1920s, there was nobody to match Randolph's eloquence and his knowledge of labor statistics.

He was a scholar, though he never earned a college degree; he spoke with a Harvard accent though he never set foot on the Harvard campus. A. Philip Randolph was a leader of whom it can truly be said: He now belongs to history.

Martin Luther King

The Irreplaceable One

The shot that shattered the calm of a sunny afternoon in Memphis in 1968, did not simply kill Martin Luther King Jr., it also killed the Civil Rights movement and the revolution that ignited it. No one since has risen to take King's place or to carry on the struggle with the rhetoric he commanded. No one can, no one has, probably no one ever will.

There are moments in history that cannot be duplicated. They can only be recorded for posterity. Cesar, Lincoln and Gandhi can only be commemorated. They can't be replaced. Like them, King was a towering figure born to lead and destined to martyrdom. There is a remarkable similarity. All four of these men were cut down at the crest of their careers.

The Civil Rights Revolution ran out of steam before achieving all of its objectives. School integration, housing, job promotions, seniority rights, economic and political equity are all unfinished business. There is a growing conspiracy to adulterate the gains made in the early '60s and reverse the trends in affirmative action. The things for which King fought with undiminished vigor and determination are slipping away from their mooring.

The Supreme Court is a reactionary court that leans toward the argument against affirmative action. Its opinions tend to give validity to the specious reasoning that underlies reverse discrimination contention. This is a fabrication of those unwashed racists who want to preserve at all costs the structural framework of a divided society.

All investigations, Congressional inquiries have fizzled out. But the doubts in the public mind of a conspiratorial plot against King have dissipated. Silent evidence, the logic, timing and circumstances of the murder support the widespread suspicion that the slaying was not the work of a single individual. The mystery may some day be unveiled, perhaps too late for retributive justice.

Meanwhile, Martin Luther King's name has been inscribed on imperishable stone.

What Others Think

Our Town Deserves Better Public Schools

In a city which is bearing the strainful burden of rebirth, schools carry a lion's share of that load. This week's comments initiate a series spotlighting notable signs of progress toward the educational excellence our town deserves and demands.

First, in order of review if not importance, is an innovative approach to the teaching of reading which was introduced last year in all elementary and middle schools. Called DORT—Detroit Objective Referenced Tests—this "reading management system" focuses attention on each pupil as a unique human being.

A key factor in the potential afforded by this promising new strategy is its belated but blessed adherence to dictates of the truism that learning is a highly individual thing. Educational theorists have been preaching that cardinal principle for years without widespread effect on practitioners.

Now, at long last, an increasing number of educators are facing up to the fact that children indeed differ from one another. Compatible with that reality is Detroit's systematic plan for assisting parents to become more effective

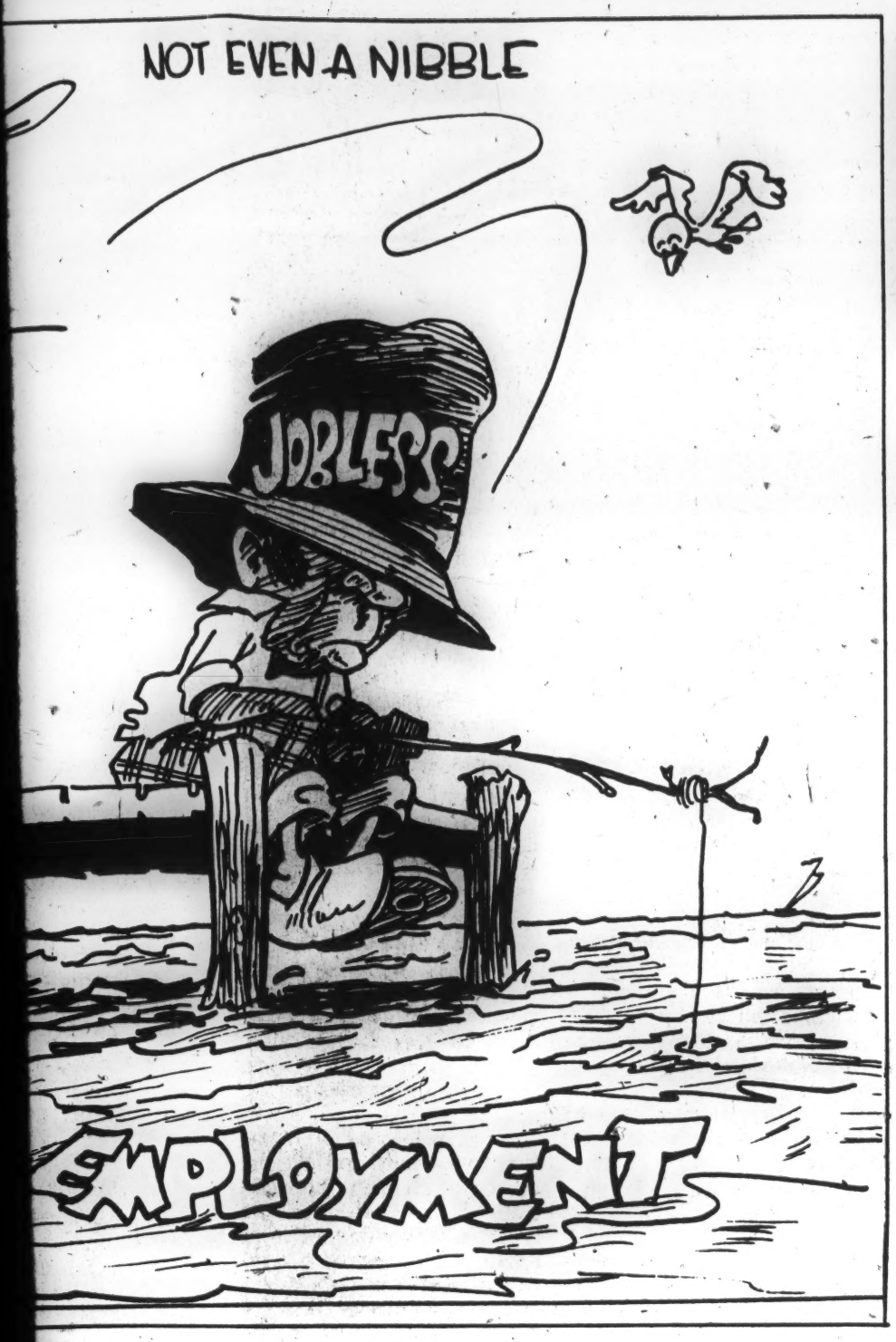
years has been a largely unmet need for more parental assistance aimed directly at children's homework.

More and more people are rediscovering that the key factor in a child's educational achievement is a more personalized and individualized strategy, Community participation in policy matters is important but in no way does it take the place of a parent's direct intervention in the actual learning process.

DORT requires—and assists parents in providing—that helping hand to the child at home. And, mindful of the support helpers themselves will need if they are to take fullest advantage of this opportunity, an exciting auxiliary resource is available—the Home Curriculum Program.

A number of Home Curriculum Specialist - Teachers and Assistants are employed in each region and assigned to the middle schools. Workshops are held at which parents are provided answers to their questions and a wealth of pertinent materials for home use.

But the delivery of service extends well beyond workshops and advisory



In My Opinion

By CHARLES ADAMS

Kirwood Hospital

KIRWOOD GENERAL HOSPITAL asked the city of Detroit to rezone property owned by the hospital for the purpose of expansion and development. The case was heard last Monday before City Council, gathered as an impressive and exalted tribunal to decide a sensitive question.

As one who was reared in Detroit, I could scarcely retain my pride as I looked upon the multi-ethnic faces of the distinguished members of the City Council. I was proud of their mingled and mixed hues, their intelligence, sensitivity, objectivity and command.

In the audience facing the Council were many residents of Russell Woods and many friends of Kirwood hospital. It would be quite a mistake to presume that all the residents in the Russell Woods community were opposed to the proposed hospital expansion.

Though the opposition against the hospital's redevelopment was loud and clear, it was by no means monolithically characteristic of the whole community. There were and are a considerable number of persons who live in Russell Woods who indeed want to see Kirwood General hospital grow, improve and expand.

It was my privilege and pleasure to be present and take part in a small, Black hospital's struggle to grow in order to survive. Kirwood is the last predominantly Black hospital left in Detroit. It is a living, thriving legacy to the faith, love and labor of the late Dr. Guy O. Saulsbury. The hospital was engaged in a battle for its life against bureaucratic definitions and regulations and some hostility in the community. This fight will continue though no efforts must be spared to make peace between all factions.

+ + +

THE FIRST QUESTION to be faced was whether or not the hospital could continue to exist without expansion. The answer is "no." Either Kirwood will expand or it will be killed off by state regulations and requirements which dictate the standards for hospital facilities.

The next question is whether or not the proposed expansion will have an injurious effect on the surrounding community. Some of Kirwood's surrounding neighbors answered "yes." It is quite understandable that residents who have made a lifetime investment in their homes will tend to resent and resist changes and variances in the zoning and use of their neighborhood's residential land. But one must look beyond one's fears and face the facts:

(1). The rezoning does not include nor pertain to any other land in the area outside the property owned by the hospital. The request does not open the door to a commercial-industrial "free for all" which would destroy the beautiful residential character of Russell Woods.

(2) The expansion, vitality and viability of other hospitals in the Detroit area have not hurt but helped the appearance of their communities, and enhanced the values of the surrounding properties.

Look at Henry Ford hospital, Mt. Carmel Mercy, Sinai on Outer Dr. and Providence of Southfield. Their development programs have not depressed but increased the values of their adjacent properties. On the other hand, the closings of hospitals in Detroit like Boulevard General, Highland Park General and old Providence have added to the desolation and disintegration of the community.

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What Others Think

A. Philip Randolph

It was part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979) that throughout his 70 years as a leader of Black Americans, he maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for Blacks as well as of the means by which it must be achieved. From his earliest beginnings, Mr. Randolph understood that social and political freedom had to be rooted in economic freedom, and everything he did sprung from his basic premise.

Even though it is in the sadness of his death, The Tribune is proud to salute Mr. Randolph, a man who will be remembered for his fight against bigotry, his fight for equality for all minority people and his role as an outstanding labor and civil rights leader.

Out of his belief that the Black American could never be socially and politically free until he was economically secure, Mr. Randolph became the foremost advocate of the full integration of Black workers into the American trade union movement.

One of his greatest achievements in the labor movement was the organization of the predominantly Black sleeping car porters — a venture begun in 1925 that was to make possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Black labor leader. For 10 years he battled the railroad companies, and finally in 1935, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining rights.

It was Mr. Randolph's perception of the economic basis of Black freedom which enabled him to develop the strategy of mass protest — a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Black movement — in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive march on Washington to protest the exclusion of Black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the march only after President Roosevelt issued 8802, banning discrimination in defense plants and establishing the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. Seven years later in 1947, Mr. Randolph was the moving force behind President Truman signing Executive Order 9981, ending segregation in the armed forces.

While it is true today that anti-discrimination clauses are practically standard in collective bargaining contracts, it is also true that discrimination still exists. There is still much to be done in training members of the minority groups for the higher skilled jobs that command higher pay and benefits.

Achieving the goal of full and fair employment now becomes more difficult due to the death of A. Philip Randolph at 90 years of age. In death, Mr. Randolph leaves a challenge to all of us to build a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself. — **Philadelphia Tribune.**

Meany Praises Randolph

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secy.-Treas. Lane Kirkland today made the following statement on the death of A. Philip Randolph, a vice president emeritus of the AFL-CIO:

"Phil Randolph's death, coming as it did so close to the 25th anniversary of the historic Brown vs. Board of Education decision, summons all who believe in equality and human dignity to reaffirm their commitment to achieving civil rights and social and economic justice for all people.

"Phil Randolph would not want us to mourn, but rather to move on to the tasks that remain undone. That is the way he responded throughout his career as a trade unionist and civil rights leader. Even in the darkest days, Phil never lost sight of the goals, the needs, the aspirations of the people he represented—workers, both white and Black, male and female.

"But we have a right to a feeling of great sadness and loss, because our Phil Randolph can never be replaced. We shall try to follow his example and reach his goals, but we shall miss him terribly. He was a great and good man; he was our friend."

by this promising new strategy is its belated but blessed adherence to dictates of the truism that learning is a highly individual thing. Educational theorists have been preaching that cardinal principle for years without widespread effect on practitioners.

Now, at long last, an increasing number of educators are facing up to the fact that children indeed differ from one another. Compatible with that reality is Detroit's systematic plan for assisting parents to become more effective helpers in a one-to-one teaching-learning process.

This adds a significant new dimension to the community's involvement in the education of its children, a concept which is so fundamental that it requires no justification. To be in favor of school and parent cooperation is similar to expressing approval for motherhood, apple pie and the American flag.

And indeed community involvement abounds in Detroit school affairs, and to a far greater extent than in other large cities. Advisory Committees make far-reaching policy decisions affection entire regions, and the advice and consent of these groups are crucially important in daily operations of local schools.

All of which was said neither to overvalue the broader aims of community participation, nor to discount its indirect benefits to children. Rather, the intent was to underscore what in recent

opportunity, an exciting auxiliary resource is available—the Home Curriculum Program.

A number of Home Curriculum Specialist - Teachers and Assistants are employed in each region and assigned to the middle schools. Workshops are held at which parents are provided answers to their questions and a wealth of pertinent materials for home use.

But the delivery of service extends well beyond workshops and advisory offerings which require the recipients' physical presence. Perhaps the best feature of the new program is its provision of assistance in the homes of those parents who, for one reason or another, are unable to attend the group sessions.

In an ongoing attempt to broaden the scope of this undertaking, a city-wide reading homework project was launched this school year. Once each week especially designed lessons were distributed among elementary and middle school students for home use related to "DORT Drama," a weekly TV series on Channel 56.

These activities, all of which exemplify praiseworthy extensions of a school system's commitment to meaningful community involvement, are directed by Dr. Cecil G. Good. Your words of approval, or suggestions for improvement, would be welcomed at his office. Call 494-1590 between 8:15 and 4:30.

Numbers By The Years

Johnny, a four-year-old, was visiting his grandmother in San Francisco when suddenly an earthquake struck. Johnny was in the backyard playing, and his alarmed grandmother ran to the door, screaming, "Johnny!"

He looked up at her innocently and protested, "I didn't do it, grandma!" — **Dairymen's Digest.**

THE MICHIGAN CHRONICLE

America's Fastest Growing Weekly

A.B.C. MEMBER OF THE MICHIGAN PRESS ASSOCIATION N.N.P.A.

(A Sengstacke Newspaper)

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The empty remains of old Providence remained an eyesore for ten years until Dr. Claude Young took that gaunt ghost and turned it into a splendid haven for senior citizens and others.

We are grateful to City Council for approving the request for the rezoning of the property owned by Kirwood hospital in order that precious institution might grow and live. We are glad that the hospital's board has approved and announced a new concept of partnership with the immediate community to allay their fears and fulfill their hopes for a beautiful, enhanced and improved neighborhood. We are grateful to all who will keep up the fight to keep Kirwood alive.

There is a need for indigenous, ethnic institutions of all racial, cultural and religious backgrounds. Let them all live! If the Catholics have their Providence, Mt. Carmel and St. Joseph, and if the Jews have their Sinai, and if the whites have their Ford, Hutzel and Harper, then let Black folks have their Kirwood! Long may it live!

Mama may have and Papa may have, but God bless the child who has his own.

The husband and wife went to a marriage counselor. You couldn't keep the husband down. He kept waving a paper in the air and yelling at his wife: "You and your suicide attempts — just look at this gas bill!" — **Funny Funny World.**

Tan Topics by CLAUDE HERRICK

Many Mourn Death of A. Phillip Randolph

Many mourned the death of A. Phillip Randolph, who passed away last week. A. Phillip Randolph Institute, 1501 E. 18th Street, along with labor organizations and civil rights movements in Kansas City, as well as over the country were very sadded, flying flags at half mast. The institute in this city is one of over 180 chapters in 38 cities.

"In our fight for racial equality, we intend to see that Mr. Randolph's philosophies are passed on to our younger generation so they can be aware of and hopefully follow his teachings," said Ed Lewis, president of the local chapter. Randolph spent a life time fighting unemployment and racism.

When A. Phillip Randolph died last Wednesday, May 16, at the age of ninety, he left an almost unbelievable legacy. Known by many as the Dean of Civil Rights Leaders, Randolph, more than anyone else is responsible for many of the rights enjoyed by all workers and others in our society today.

Born April 15, 1889, the son of an African Methodist clergyman in Crescent City Florida, Randolph left for New York at an early age, and attended City College of New York while working odd jobs. At age 28, in 1917, he began his first labor organizational work with a small union of elevator operators. 1917 was also the year that he published a well written and noted radical journal called the "Messenger", a product of socialism of which he was a party member for many years. He also ran for public office on the socialist ticket.

In 1925 he began and was president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which was a major step in labor unionization, and in ten years it was the first Black union with an international charter recognized by both the railroads and the American Federation of Labor, A.F. of L.

In the 1930s he was president of the National Negro Congress, a coalition of Negro, Liberal, and Labor groups. He became vice president of the AFL-CIO in 1951. Well known for his many successful marches on the Capitol, Mr. Randolph's first planned march was cancelled in 1941 when president Franklin D. Roosevelt issued a fair employment practices executive order, and formed the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to head off Randolphs protest against industries not hiring Blacks for defense jobs.

A most memorable march was the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which was lead by Martin Luther King Jr., and was directed by A. Phillip Randolph. The 1963 march was the largest demonstration in U.S. history. Randolph also served as Honorary Chairman, with much participation, in the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights, which was one resulting affect of the 1963 march.

Throughout his career as peoples advocate, Randolph always stressed the importance of fair labor for all races, and he believed that until there was equality for all, there would be none for anybody. He spoke of whites in the labor force backing equal conditions for their Black counterparts as the only way to secure proper rights for themselves.

Once listed by the federal as the "most dangerous in the United States", A. Phillip Randolph was considered to be one of the most important figures of U.S. history in this century. His achievements have personally affected the lives of all Americans, and he shall be sorely missed by all.

Plans Made to Employ 175,000 Black Youth

Benjamin L. Hooks, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has announced a nationwide program to secure jobs for over 175,000 unemployed Black teenagers. The goal represents almost half of the estimated 380,000 jobless Black youth in the nation.

The plan is based on fostering a working relationship between the National Alliance of Business (NAB), the nation's predominately Black colleges, and the NAACP. "We are calling for a tripartite relationship between three uniquely qualified American institutions," Hooks said. "First the business community, as represented by the NAB, which has already demonstrated their awareness of corporate resopnsibility and commitment to minority unemployment problems. Next, the historically Black colleges who have always provided the majority of this country's Black talent pool; and the NAACP whose traditional commitment to minority youth problems needs no elaboration."

Hooks said he was asking each of the top Fortune 1300 companies to either hire one Black youth for every ten million dollars in gross revenue, or to hire one percent of their domestic work force from within the minority youth community. He said it would be the role of the Black colleges to provide the leadership in working with these youngsters, "since their 180,000 member student body for the most part are directly tied to the targetted group through relationship or friendship."

The NAACP Executive Director said, "One of the problems that everyone admits to, is that the present system's failure to provide meaningful employment for Black youth has created a sense of total belief among today's teenagers that no one really cares. The NAACP's grassroots network of 1,700 branches, and over 450,000 members, to persuade them that the solution we propose is for real. We will also encourage standby and ongoing relationships not simply to get jobs but to create a climate in which there is real assurance of upward mobility."

"The program really has two basic parts," said Hooks. "The first is simply to make the jobs available. They are not available now, and the private sector can best provide them. Once the jobs are there, it will be up to the NAACP and Black colleges to render the supportive services to both the targetted groups and industry."

Exploratory Oil Drilling Continues Heavy

LAWRENCE—Exploratory oil and gas drilling continued heavy during the first three last three months of 1978. Of those 1,151 holes, 544 hit oil or gas, a success rate of about 47 percent.

llip Randolph

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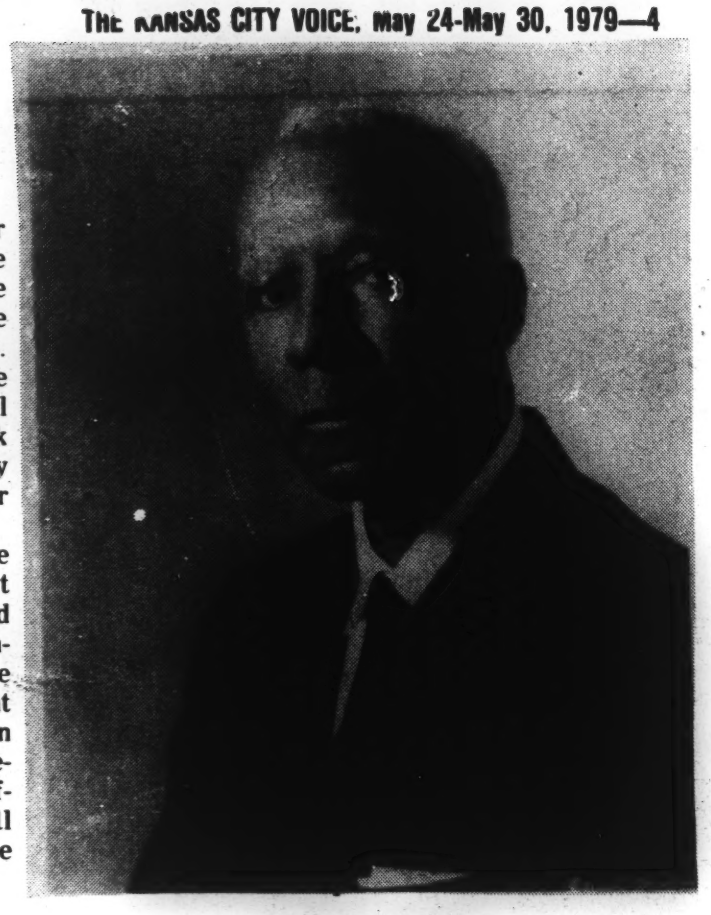

A. Phillip Randolph

0 Black Youth

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$5,000 Reward
Phyllis Muse Murder Case

371-2000, Ext. 339
Secret Witness Line
K.C.K.

Let Us Stop Crime

Exploratory oil and gas drilling continued heavy during the first three months of 1979, according to statistics compiled by the Kansas Geological Survey at The University of Kansas.

A total of 261 exploratory wells, or wildcats, were completed during January, February, and March of this year, said Survey geologist Shirley Paul.

Of those wildcats, 31 or about 12 percent, were successful, including 26 oil wells and five natural gas wells. A successful wildcat is a new discovery of a commercially recoverable amount of oil or natural gas.

Wilcatting totals were up slightly during the first quarter of 1979, compared with the last quarter of 1978. During the first three months of 1979, 261 wildcats were drilled, 12 more than October, November and December of 1978.

Ness County was the site of the most exploration, with 20 wildcats during the first quarter. Only one discovered oil.

Smith County, in north central Kansas, was the site of wildcat drilling for the first time in recent years. Two holes were drilled near the Kansas-Nebraska border; both were dry.

Other areas with notable activity were Thomas County with two successful exploratory oil wells and western Lane County, which had three successful wildcats, including one that produced 160 barrels of oil a day.

Total oil and gas drilling was down slightly for the first three months of 1979. Total driling includes development wells—those drilled in areas close to known petroleum or gas reservoirs—as well as wildcats and other wells.

Probably the most important first quarter development wells were two that were completed aroung the first of the year in northeastern Clark County. One well produced 1,600 barrels of oil a day, and the other tested at 984 barrels of oil and 374 thousand cubic feet of gas a day.

"Those wells are significant because of their unusually large potential for producing oil," said Ms. Paul.

Both wells went into the Morrow formation, a sand formation that stretches across most of southwest Kansas. Clark County also had one successful oil wildcat during the first quarter.

Kansas drillers put down a total of 1,151 wells from January to March, compared with 1,274 for the

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A Light That Must Not Die

A. Philip Randolph, whose vision and integrity nourished both the civil rights and trade union movements, died in New York on May 16 at the age of 90, mourned and honored by Americans in all walks of life.

He was a gentle man who fought fiercely for social justice and inspired others by his example.

To AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland, Phil Randolph was "a great and good man," a friend who "can never be replaced."

In a joint statement, RWDSU Pres. Alvin E. Heaps and Sec.-Treas. Frank Parker said:

"The members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union mourn the death of their fellow unionist, A. Philip Randolph. His was a voice of conscience for all America, beginning before World War I.

"A tireless fighter for the rights of working people, he forced the bitterly anti-union Pullman Company to recognize the union he organized, the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. By a combination of confrontation and persuasion he extracted Executive Orders from two Presidents that barred racial discrimination in employment and in service in the armed forces. His persistence culminated in the massive March on Washington in 1963 that produced the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Since then, as head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, he worked to implement that act through education and political activity.

"The meaning of this man can be summed up from words of his 90th Birthday Message to Americans, issued just a few weeks before his death: 'I can sympathize with those who despair . . . but I cannot condone or retreat. Please join the good fight.'

"It is by so doing that we can best memorialize A. Philip Randolph."

Randolph has served on the AFL-CIO Executive Council from the establishment of the federation in 1955 to his retirement in 1974. But he had been an increasingly influential voice within the labor movement and the black community for 30 years before the AFL-CIO's birth.

Randoph founded a fledging union of sleeping car porters in 1925. He nurtured it through the years when identification with the union meant automatic dismissal until he was able to bring the powerful Pullman Company to the bargaining table and achieve a first contract on Aug. 12, 1937, twelve years to the day from the creation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

At conventions of the American Federation of Labor, his was at first almost a lone voice calling for an end to all segregation and color bars in unions. His voice was never stilled, and after the AFL-CIO merger he prodded for still faster action to stamp out all vestiges of racial barriers.

But never, even at his most critical, did he lose faith in the trade union movement as the vehicle for economic and social justice.

To civil rights historians, Randolph's leadership made possible the first great breakthrough in equal employment opportunities—the executive order issued by President Roosevelt in 1941 declaring that "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and establishing a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

The order was the response that Randolph demanded and received for calling off a March on Washington that he told FDR would bring 100,000 black persons to the nation's capital.

In 1963, Randolph along with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., would address a peaceful, joyous civil rights march by a quarter million black and white Americans that

was inspired by his example and largely organized by Randolph's longtime associate, Bayard Rustin.

He believed in coalition, and the Civil Rights Leadership Conference reflects his philosophy.

He was honored by presidents and by universities. And on his 80th birthday, a veritable "who's who" of prominent Americans sponsored a dinner to raise funds for the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which was established in 1965 with a grant from the AFL-CIO to carry on his principles.

Randolph died at his Manhattan apartment on May 16, just a month and a day after his 90th birthday.

He was a widower, with no close survivors except for generations of friends and admirers. He had been in failing health in recent years.

Meany and Kirkland suggested that "Phil Randolph would not want us to mourn, but rather to move on to the tasks that remain undone." His passing "summons all who believe in equality and human dignity to reaffirm their commitment to achieving civil rights and social and economic justice for all people."

Bayard Rustin:

"Of the many gifts bestowed upon me in my lifetime, I can think of no greater gift and no greater joy than the years of friendship I have shared with A. Philip Randolph. For me, the Chief was many things—a teacher, a friend, a prophet.

"In youth I learned many fundamental principles at his side. I learned about nonviolent protest. I learned about the economic roots of racism, and I learned the meaning of personal integrity. But above all, I learned that the struggle for the freedom of black people is intertwined with the struggle to free all humankind. A. Philip Randolph taught all this by example, by action, and by reason.

"As a friend, the Chief was unwavering in his loyalty. He shared his friends' tragedies as he shared their triumphs. For him, friendship was never fleeting or self-serving, and he never knew meaning of selfishness.

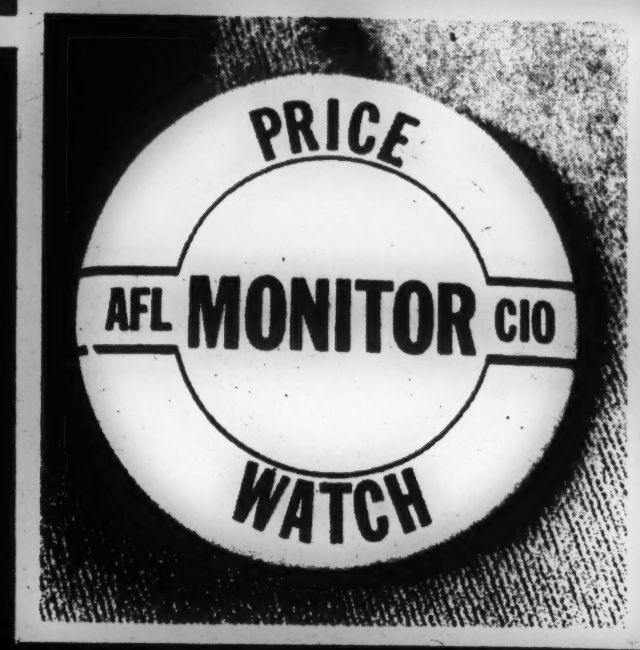
"While I knew the Chief as a friend and teacher, millions of people knew him as prophet. I use that term judiciously because today it is so frequently abused. But I cannot think of a better word to describe him.

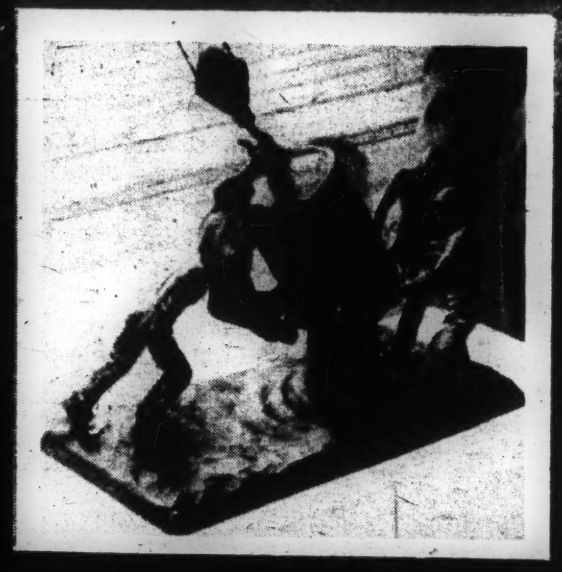
"I say this because the Chief, like the great prophets of the Old Testament, always persevered in witnessing to the truth. Like the ancient prophets, his message was sometimes scorned and ridiculed because he said unpopular things, visionary things, and even radical things. And like the Hebrew prophets, the Chief's personal life reflected the truths and ideals which he so eloquently preached.

"He is gone now. But his wisdom, his penetrating example, and his vibrant humanity will remain. Thus, we celebrate that he taught us so well to be warriors in the struggle for human rights for all people regardless of their color or creed or national origin. We celebrate a great and loving man, A. Philip Randolph."

Coretta Scott King with Randolph at his 80th Birthday Celebration in New York City.

LABOR PHOTO HIGHLIGHTS





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labor record

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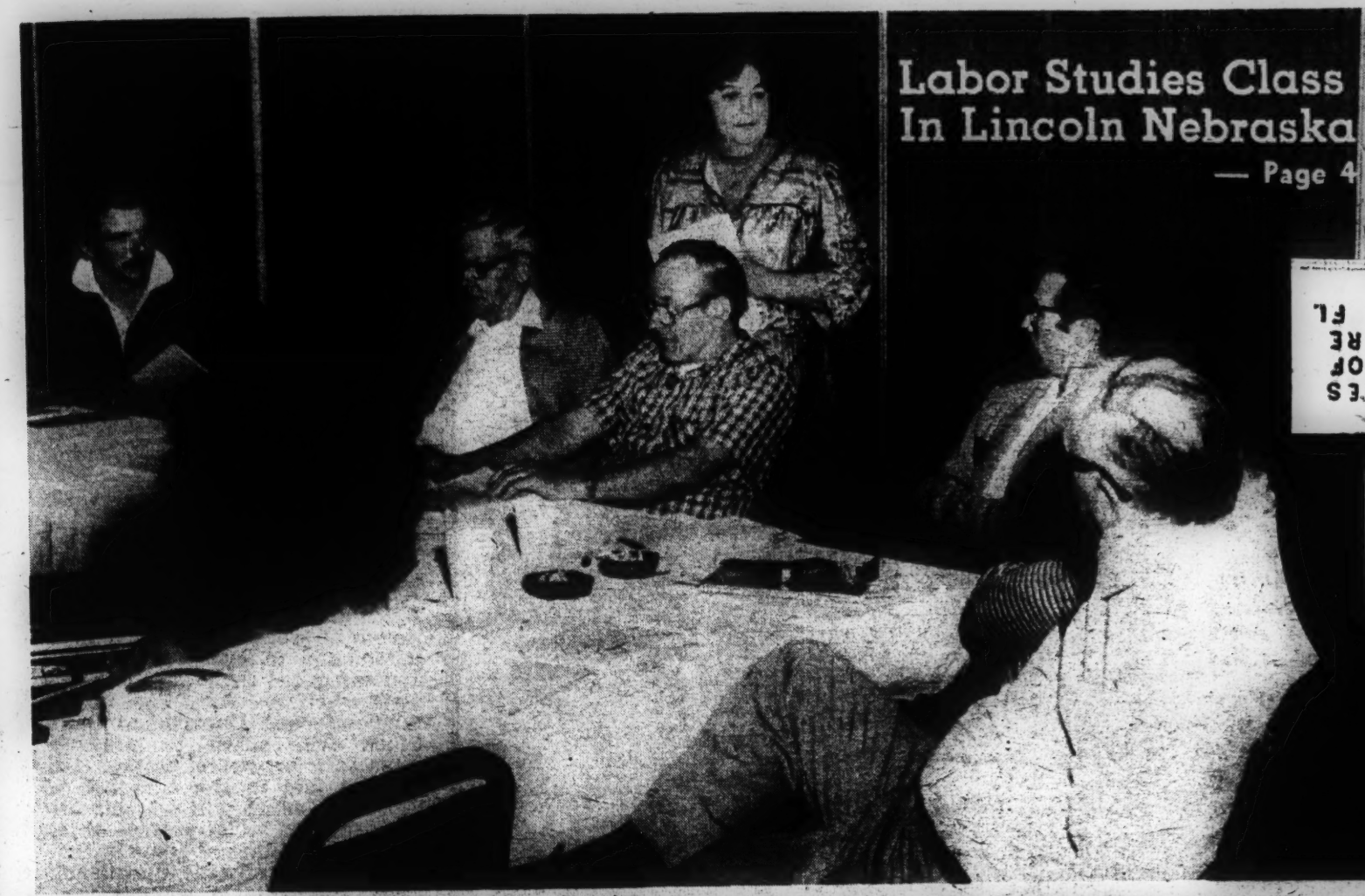
PORTERS BROTHERHOOD OF
SLEEP CAR AFL-CIO RE
260 PARK AVE SOUTH 6 FL
NEW YORK N Y 10010



Labor Studies Class In Lincoln Nebraska

— Page 4

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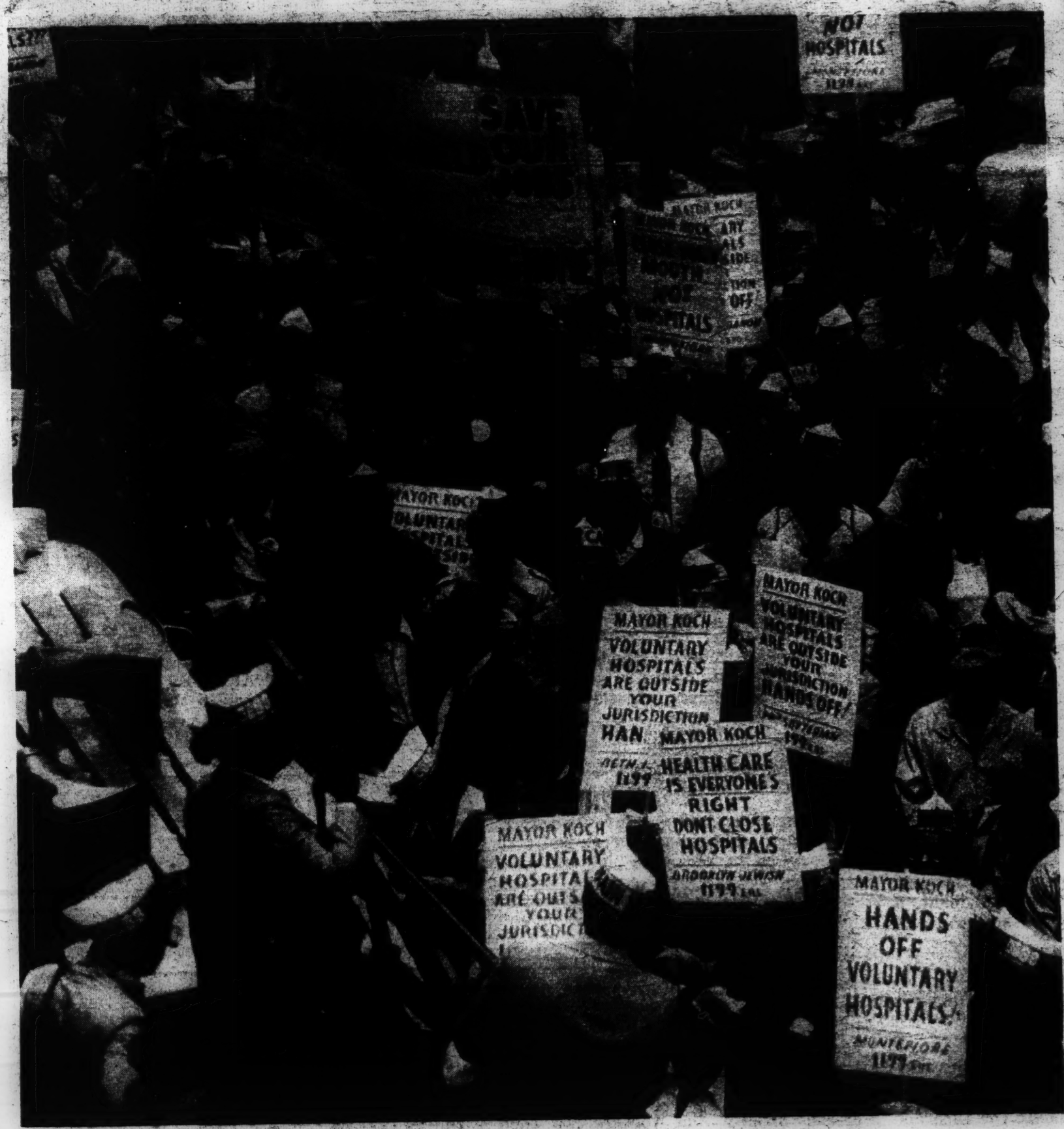
Educating The Mayor In New York City — Page 4



'Truth Pills' cure anti-union fever

— Page 6

Union-Busters from U.S. hustle business in Europe

— Page 10

DuChessi, 64, Led Union Political Action

AMSTERDAM, N.Y.

William M. DuChessi, ACTWU executive vice president died of cancer May 19 at the National Institutes of Health in Washington, D.C. He was laid to rest a few days later here in the Mohawk Valley in upstate New York in the shadow of the big red brick carpet mills where he began his working life 50 years ago at the age of 14.

DuChessi had been a union member since 1937 when he helped to organize the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co. where he worked and became a charter member of Local 1 of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, later to become the Textile Workers Union of America.

After several months' service as an executive board member of that local, DuChessi joined the TWOC organizing staff, which became part of TWUA when the latter organization was founded as a permanent union in 1939.

TWUA assignments took him throughout upstate New York in the ensuing years before his union work was interrupted in 1944 by World War II service in the United States Navy. By the time of his honorable discharge in 1946 he had completed a 28-month period in the Navy, most of it in the South Pacific.

Upon his return to civilian life in 1946 he became TWUA's first Oswego County (N.Y.) Joint Board manager. In 1947 he was named regional director for Maryland and West Virginia and, when these states became part of the union's Upper South Region in 1948, DuChessi was named assistant regional director. He also directed several large organizational campaigns in the Southern area of the country.

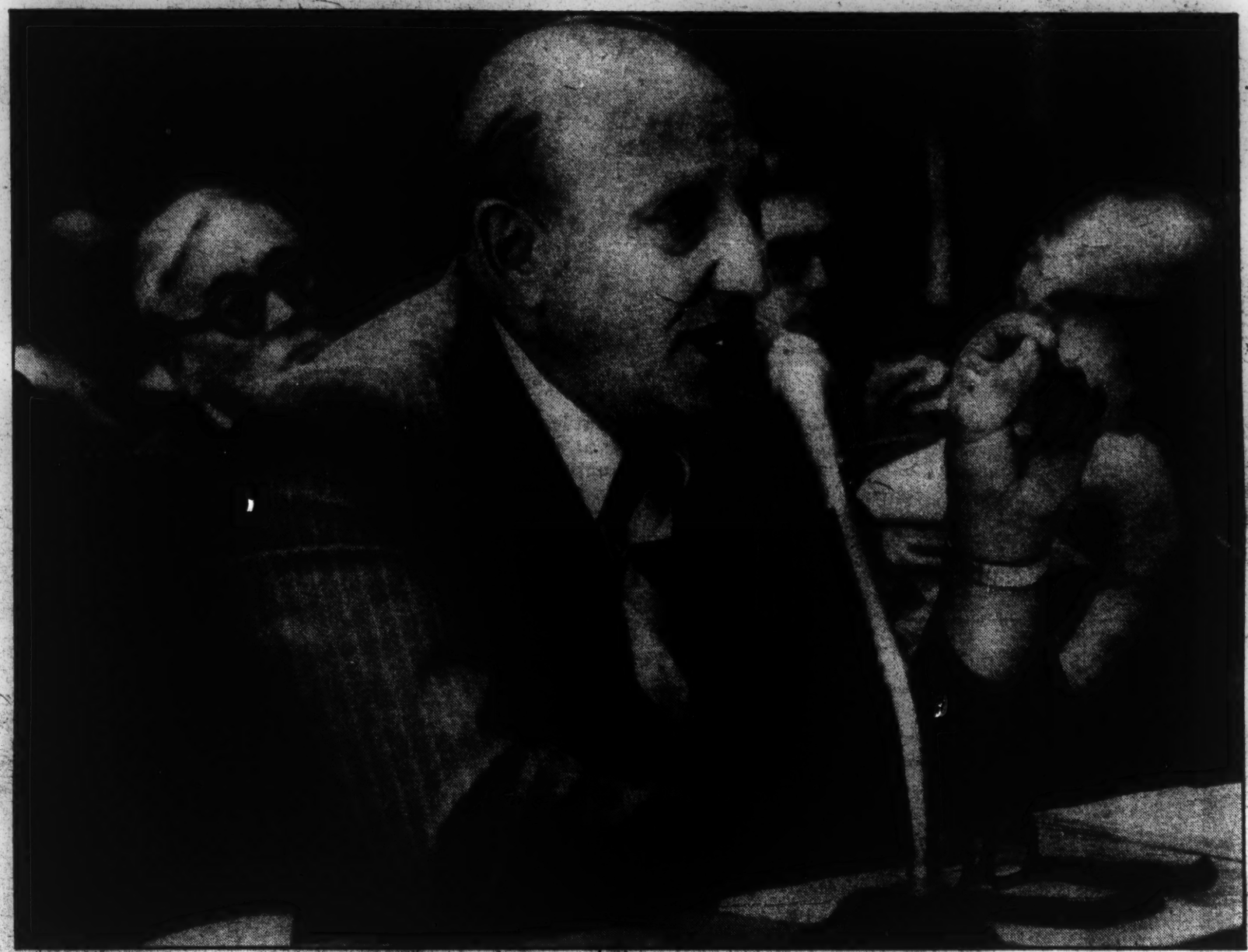
His next step upward came in 1955 when he was appointed carpet director. Later that year he was elected a vice president and member of the TWUA Executive Council and won re-election at each biennial convention.

In 1956 DuChessi added the duties of TWUA Committee on Political Education director, and in 1963 he was appointed legislative director. When the COPE and Legislative Departments were combined into one department he became its first director with offices in Washington, D.C. He was a campaign advisor, representing the trade union movement, to presidential candidates, starting with John F. Kennedy in 1960.

In 1976, he was appointed official AFL-CIO representative to the Carter campaign, and he travelled with the candidate on several campaign trips.

In June 1972 DuChessi was elected general secretary-treasurer of TWUA, succeeding Sol Stetin who moved up to the post of general president at that time. DuChessi was re-elected in May 1974.

In June 1976, conventions of the Textile Workers Union of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union voted to merge and DuChessi was elected executive vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. He was re-elected in 1978. In the merged union, he continued his legislative/COPE responsibility.



DuChessi testifying at a Congressional hearing last year.

In July 1976 Speaker Carl Albert of the U.S. House of Representatives appointed DuChessi one of seven public members of the Commission on Administrative Review of the House.

He also served as treasurer of the Inter-American Federation of Textile and Garment Workers and as a member of the General Board of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department and a member of the AFL-CIO National COPE Operating Committee. In addition, he served on the Executive Board of the League for Industrial Democracy.

DuChessi is survived by his wife, Shirley, a son, Mariano, two grandchildren, three sisters and three brothers.

A memorial service will be held June 14 at 11 a.m. at AFL-CIO headquarters, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. □

Randolph, Leading Black Trade Union Leader, 90

NEW YORK

A. Philip Randolph, probably the most prominent and influential black trade unionist in the history of American labor, died here on May 16 after a long illness. He had just celebrated his 90th birthday.

The founder and longtime president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a small but powerful black union, Randolph served on the AFL-CIO executive council from 1955 until he stepped down as president of his union in 1968. Throughout his career, he was a militant defender of the rights of black people, and helped organize numerous civil rights demonstrations including the massive March on Washington in 1963.

A. Philip Randolph

"His dignity and integrity, his eloquence, his devotion to nonviolence and his unshakable commitment to justice all helped shape the ideals and spirit of the civil rights movement," said President Carter in tribute to Randolph.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland said: "Phil would not want us to mourn, but rather to move on to the tasks that remain undone. That is the way he responded throughout his career as a trade unionist and civil rights leader. Even in the darkest days, Phil never lost sight of the goals, the needs, the aspirations of workers—both white and black, male and female."

Founded in 1925, the Brotherhood of Railway Porters did not win its first contract from the Pullman Co. until 1937. But that victory won something not just for the less than 20,000 porters. "The Brotherhood gave . . . the Negro workers as a whole, a sense of racial and class identity and pride," explained Randolph in his retirement speech in 1968. "It fought to break down racial barriers in labor unions, and it fought against Negro workers permitting themselves to be used as scabs against their white brothers on strike." □

Birthday Message:

Phil Randolph Stresses Stake Of Black Workers in Unions

THIS IS A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

I am happy to have this opportunity to address my brothers and sisters as I celebrate another birthday, this one being my 90th.

For most people, birthdays offer an opportunity for careful personal reflection. They are a time for taking stock, a time for evaluating the course of events. Now, as I mark the beginning of my 91st year, I wish to make a few brief comments about the difficult challenges confronting black people and all American workers.

In many important respects, today's challenges bear a striking similarity to the problems we have grappled with for decades. Essentially, they are problems of economics and problems of politics. And, most important, they are problems which cannot be solved in isolation from the overall society.

Consider for a moment the plight of our black youngsters. Throughout the nation, thousands upon thousands of black teenagers and young adults have no opportunity of obtaining decent employment. They are forced to waste their talents, to waste their youthful enthusiasm, indeed, to waste their lives. To make matters worse, some political leaders dismiss this scandal as a necessity, a permanent feature of our economic system.

Consider also the condition of low-wage workers throughout the so-called Sunbelt, and throughout America's great urban centers. Amid affluence and newfound wealth, thousands of workers—black as well as white—receive subsistence wages. And because so few have the protections of a union contract, they have no job security, no fringe benefits, and no rights in the workplace.

And consider the new political atmosphere in America, an atmosphere best characterized by crude conservatism and social defeatism. From every corner of the land, we hear demands for cuts in school budgets, social security payments, health care, and jobs for the unemployed. And we hear inflation blamed on the moderate wages of workers and the dismally low wages of those people forced to accept the minimum wage. Workers and poor people, the true victims of inflation, are everywhere scolded for their so-called excesses.

How do we deal with these problems? Who do we look toward for support and cooperation?

In my view, we have one reliable and steadfast ally—the trade union movement. And I make this statement based on 70 years of experience in the civil rights and labor movements.

Why the trade unions? The answer, I believe, is quite simple: The vast majority of black people are workers, and the trade union movement, even with all its imperfections and failings, is the most effective, and most powerful defender of the interests of all American workers, black as well as white.

At this very moment, for example, organized labor is spearheading the attack against the Administration's so-called austerity budget. It is the trade union movement that has fought to preserve the minimum wage, and to keep the CETA jobs program intact. And it is the trade union movement that has mounted a major effort to organize low-paid and exploited workers throughout the South.

In the area of organizing, I hasten to call your attention to three crucially important campaigns, campaigns which hold special significance for black workers. First, there is the ongoing strike by thousands of workers at the Newport News shipyard in Virginia. These workers, members of the Steelworkers, were forced to strike by a company which refuses to recognize their right to join a union and negotiate for better wages and working conditions. As the company cleverly evades the real issues by filing appeal after appeal with the courts, the workers at Newport News continue to suffer.

Similarly, J. P. Stevens & Co. and the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain continue to block their employees from freely organizing into unions. The injustices at these two companies are well known. Thus, I urge you to support the boycott of Winn-Dixie stores and the boycott of all J. P. Stevens products.

IN ADDITION to taking an active interest in the struggles of black workers, we must also intensify our activity in the political arena. Last November, for instance, black people in Missouri and Philadelphia dramatically demonstrated the power of the united black vote. In Missouri, black voters overwhelmingly opposed an anti-labor question on the ballot; and in Philadelphia, blacks united together in opposing a proposed change in the city charter. Yet despite these two impressive examples, black voters throughout the country seem to be withdrawing from politics.

While I can surely sympathize with those who despair of political involvement, I cannot condone surrender or retreat. To do so would be to grant a political "blank check" to our enemies. By withdrawing from the voting booth, we are, in effect, inviting our enemies to roll back every advance of the last 45 years.

We and our children, we and our grandchildren, cannot afford to abandon the fight. We must continue, indeed we must strengthen our political position by registering and voting in even greater numbers than ever before. Our participation in the upcoming political battles will, to a very large extent, determine the outcome of our long years of dedication and sacrifice. You, brothers and sisters, will make the difference between ultimate victory or bitter defeat. Please, join the good fight.

(10)

Welcome Delegates

Porterfield Wilson Mazda-Honda Dealer

18500 Livernois
Detroit, Michigan 48221
Phone: 861-4100

Welcome Delegates

Porterfield Wilson Pontiac, Inc.

18650 Livernois
Detroit. Michigan 48221

Detroit's Only Pontiac Dealer
Phone: 863-4100

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE

10TH NATIONAL
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INSTITUTE CONFERENCE

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

JUNE 8-10, 1979

William G. Milliken
Governor of the State of Michigan
presents this
Executive Declaration
in Observance of
June 4 - 10, 1979

as

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH WEEK IN MICHIGAN

Asa Philip Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Florida, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Before reaching the age of 30, he co-founded The Messenger, a black newspaper in New York, and was on his way to becoming a fighter and champion for the labor rights of black people. In 1925, he began organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). The BSCP's struggle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from railway companies, was won finally in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a black labor leader.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only way America would live up to its pledge of democracy and equality for all people was by focusing attention on the problem through non-violent, direct action. Thus, in the 1940s, Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest for an all-out assault on racism in this country and became known as "the American Gandhi."

He proposed school, streetcar and bus boycotts, and marches on city halls and the White House. With the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off this demonstration only after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. Again, in 1948, Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, large numbers of young black men would refuse induction. President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, banning segregation in the armed forces. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital, was directed by A. Philip Randolph.

In fitting observance of this leader's 90th birthday, the 10th National A. Philip Randolph Institute Conference will be held in Detroit, June 8 - 10, 1979. A banquet, attended by trade unionists and community leaders from across the country, will be held in his honor in Detroit on June 9, 1979.

Therefore, I, William G. Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan, do hereby declare June 4 - 10, 1979, as A. Philip Randolph Week in Michigan, in recognition of his great contributions to social justice and as a demonstration of Detroit's and Michigan's pride in taking part in this 90th birthday observance.

Given under my hand on this fifteenth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred seventy-nine and of the Commonwealth one hundred forty-third.

William G. Milliken

GOVERNOR

HISTORY OF THE UNITED BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS CHAPTER A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

Since 1969, the United Black Trade Unionists Chapter, A. Philip Randolph Institute has been a vital force within the black community of Detroit. The United Black Trade Unionists Chapter (Metro Detroit Chapter), under the leadership of William Stodghill, shaped its programs and policies in close accord with the values of A. Philip Randolph, America's foremost black labor leader. The Metro Detroit Chapter became affiliated with the National A. Philip Randolph Institute in 1974.

The Institute, as did Mr. Randolph, firmly believes that the movement for black freedom and equality must have an all encompassing focus; it must embrace the totality of the black experience in America. Subsequently, the Institute involves itself in issues relating to the workplace and the political arena.

In recognizing the process of change and reform, the Metro Detroit Chapter has conducted highly successful voter registration drives and get-out-the-vote campaigns in the Metropolitan Detroit area, having registered over 65,000 new voters since 1969. Working solely as volunteers in cooperation with labor organizations and community groups, Institute members help build essential alliances with civic, religious, civil rights and youth groups to increase the political effectiveness of the black community. In addition, the Metro Detroit Chapter has cooperated with the Teamsters, UAW and AFL-CIO in the area of voter registration, voter education and get-out-the-vote drives and played a major part in the 1976 Operation: "Big Vote".

Additionally, the Institute believes that blacks must become an integral part of the overall labor movement, and encourages black workers to take a more active role in their trade unions. To further the goals of racial equality and economic justice, the Metro Detroit Chapter has actively worked for the passages of legislation such as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the Labor Law Reform Act, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), national health insurance, increases to the minimum wage, and other pertinent bills relating to workers and minorities.

The Institute is dedicated to fulfilling the dream of its founder, Mr. Randolph; the attainment and realization of the noble goal of racial equality and economic justice for all Americans.

In 1976, a coalition was formed between the Metro Detroit Chapter and the Labor Zionists Alliance to work in behalf of the poor and minorities. Jointly, both organizations have supported raising the minimum wage and have worked to have full employment legislation passed.

In recognition of their outstanding dedication and service to the Institute's objectives and programs, we are honored to present awards to: Richard W. Cordtz, Sam Fishman and Martha Wilson . . . we wish them good luck and continued success in the future.

2ND METRO DETROIT, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COMMUNITY SERVICE AWARD

MARTHA WILSON

Martha Wilson was born in St. Louis, Missouri. She graduated from Wheatley High School, in Popular Bluff, Missouri. She attended Lincoln University, in Jefferson City, Missouri, as well as the University of Wisconsin and Indiana University where she concentrated on labor relations courses. She was married to the late Robert Wilson. One son, Leon was born to this union. She has four grandchildren.

She has served as President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 319. She was appointed to the staff of the Chicago Joint Board as an International Representative in 1959. In 1966 she was appointed as an International Representative of the Union Label Department, Amalgamated Clothing Textile Workers Union Coordinator, J.P. Stevens Boycott.

Mrs. Wilson is an Executive Board Member; Metro Chapter, A. Philip Randolph Institute and Michigan State Conference, A. Philip Randolph Institute Chapters; Delegate Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, Delegate to the National Executive Board of Coalition of Labor Union Women; Member of Women's Conference of Concerns; Equal Justice Council; Wings of Truth Gospel Church; Women's Committee of the NAACP; Urban League Guild; National Council of Negro Women; Disaster Committee of the American Red Cross.

2ND METRO DETROIT, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH 1979 ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

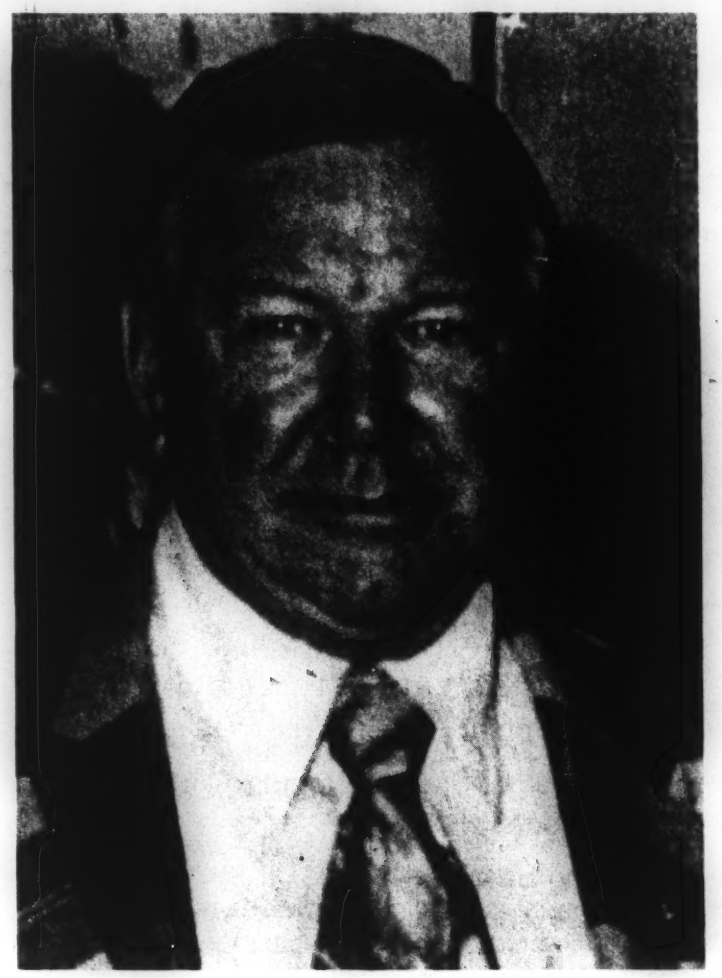
SAM FISHMAN

Sam Fishman has been active in the labor movement all his adult life, starting when he was a teenager. He has been active in the UAW for more than 30 years, employed, most of that time, by the Ford Motor Company where he was elected to many local union offices at all levels, up to and including the presidency of Ford-Wixom Local 36.

In 1962 he went on the staff of the UAW International Union assigned to Region 1E as a servicing representative. A year later, he was appointed Administrative Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW where he served for approximately four years. In 1967 he was transferred to the Office of the President as an Administrative Assistant assigned to direct and coordinate the Union's political and community activities in the State of Michigan and has continued to serve in this capacity as Executive Director of the UAW-CAP (Community Action Program) Councils.

Mr. Fishman has been very active in the Democratic Party for a number of years and serves as a State Party Officer and a member of the Democratic National Committee. He also continues to be active in the community where he formerly served on such boards as the Oakland County Family Services, Metropolitan Hospital, Detroit Branch NAACP; and is currently a member on the Board of Providence Hospital in Southfield.

He and his wife Doris reside in Southfield, Michigan, and have two grown children.



MICHIGAN STATE CONFERENCE, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE CHAPTERS 1979 FREEDOM AWARD

RICHARD W. CORDTZ

Richard W. Cordtz, was born in Chicago, Illinois. He attended Rippon College, Wisconsin and San Diego State College, California. He is married to June E. Cordtz, and they have one daughter, Julia Nolan, and two grandchildren.

He is currently president of the Service Employees International Union Local 79, and Vice President of Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC. He has served as Vice President of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; on the Executive Committee of the Michigan State AFL-CIO; President of the Michigan State Council of Service Employees and President of the Service Employees Central States Conference.

Mr. Cordtz has also served on the Wayne County Tax Allocation Committee; as a Commissioner of the Department of Transportation for the City of Detroit; as an Executive Board Member of the United Foundation; as a member of the Governor's Occupational Safety Study Task Force; and the Michigan Wage Deviation Board; the Board of the Detroit Urban League. In addition he has received many other awards for his work in the community.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
10TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

RESPONDING TO NEW POLITICAL REALITIES

Friday, June 8-Sunday, June 10, 1979
Detroit, Michigan

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Detroit Plaza Hotel

FRIDAY, JUNE 8

3:00 P.M. — Registration
5:00 P.M. — Metro Detroit Special Program
"The Roots of Hate"
7:30 P.M. — Opening Session
Keynote Address
9:30 P.M. — Regional Caucus Meetings
10:00 P.M. — Welcoming Reception

SATURDAY, JUNE 9

9:00 A.M. — Report on Regional Caucus Meetings to General Session
9:45 A.M. — General Session
Economics of the New Right
11:00 A.M. — Workshops
12:30 P.M. — Lunch
Working Women-New Challenges, New Opportunities
2:30 P.M. — Workshops
5:00 P.M. — Union Caucus Meetings
8:00 P.M. — Dinner/Dance
A. Philip Randolph 90th Memorial Tribute

SUNDAY, JUNE 10

11:00 A.M. — Brunch
Building for 1980
12:30 P.M. — Conference adjourns

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
MEMORIAL TRIBUTE

Saturday, June 9, 1979

PROGRAM

6:45 P.M. — COCKTAILS

Master of Ceremonies ..... BAYARD RUSTIN
President, A. Philip Randolph Institute

Greetings ..... WILLIAM C. MARSHALL
President, Michigan State AFL-CIO

MARC STEPP
International Vice-President, UAW

Presentation of 1978 Trade Union Intern — AVERY FLYNT

— and —

Presentations of 1979 Trade Union Interns ..... ROY KIRKLEY
Extensions Specialist, Rutgers University

Guest Speaker ..... MARTIN J. WARD
President, United Association of Journeymen and
Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry

Dinner Blessing ..... REVEREND ROGER S. SHOUP
Westminster Church of Detroit

DINNER

Presentation of 2nd Metro Detroit A. Philip
Randolph Achievement Award to SAM FISHMAN,
Director of Michigan UAW-CAP

— and —

Presentation of 2nd Metro Detroit A. Philip
Randolph Community Service Award to MARTHA
WILSON, International Representative, ACTWU ..... WILLIAM STODGHILL
Midwest Regional Representative
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Presentation of Michigan State Conference, A. Philip
Randolph Institute Chapters 1979 Freedom Award to
RICHARD W. CORDTZ, President, Local No. 79, SEIU, AFL-CIO NORMAN HILL
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

9:30 P.M. — DANCING

Entertainment provided by **THE CHARLES GREENE GROUP**

Flower Arrangements, **COMPLIMENTS OF A FRIEND**

Dear Delegates and Friends,

We, as trade unionists, as well as the whole citizenry of America, have been deeply saddened by the passing of A. Philip Randolph, a man whose life was categorized by a number of titles; a leader, fighter, visionary, rebel and champion of numerous worthwhile causes. It has been said, "He was a civil rights fighter before there was a civil rights movement". His visions regarding the quality of life, earning a livelihood and the dignity of man are still sought after goals. Among these goals and ideals were: poverty eradication, guaranteed income programs, increased investments in the quality and availability of education, health services, and vocational training.

His solutions to these goals were founded in the beliefs of practical intelligence, courage, endurance, inspiration and authority.

And most of all, the power of devotion to an idea, to a dream that reached out over 90 years and touched the lives and hearts of all people . . . black, white, rich, poor, laborer, layman, men and women.

There is no greater tribute we can pay to A. Philip Randolph than to carry on his visions, his ideas and goals. We are rich in the things that he has left behind. His has been an honorable life full of discovery.

It is our task to live up to the values he believed in and to make them known to friend or foe, black or white; . . . to us has fallen the challenge . . . "to be the best that is in us to be".

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

DETROIT CHAPTER,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

William Stodghill

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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Greetings to the Metro Detroit A.P.R.I. Chapter,
Hosts of the 1979 10th National
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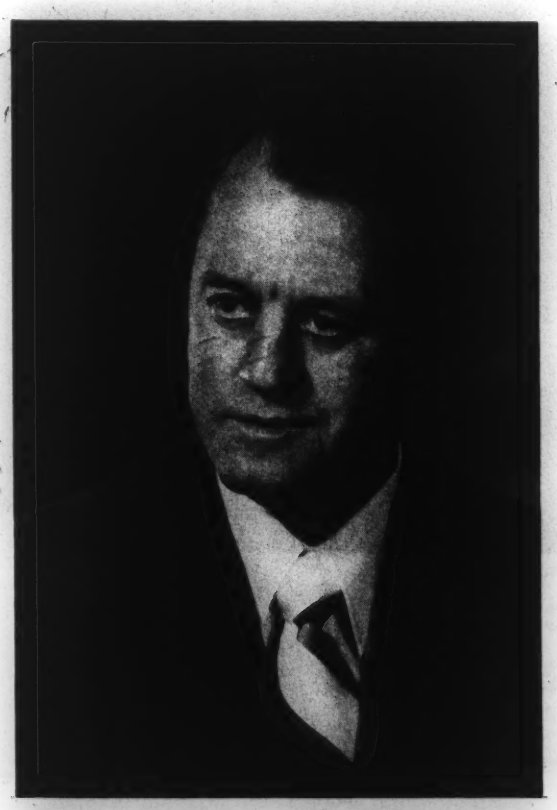

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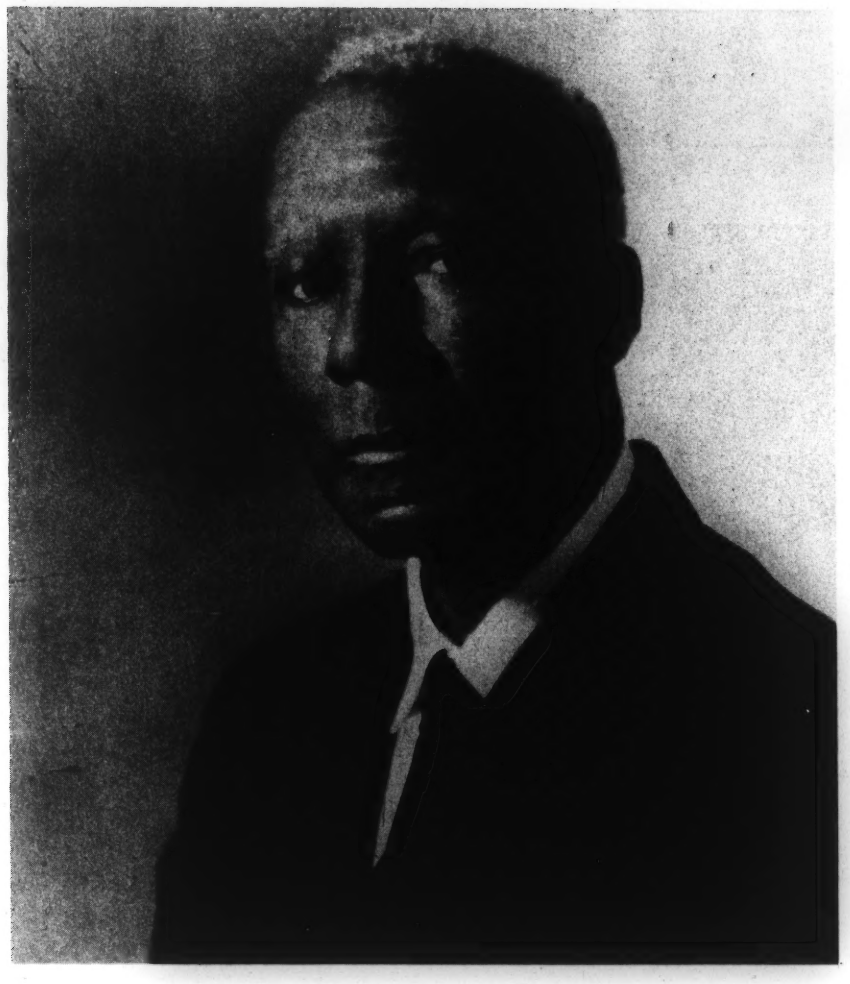

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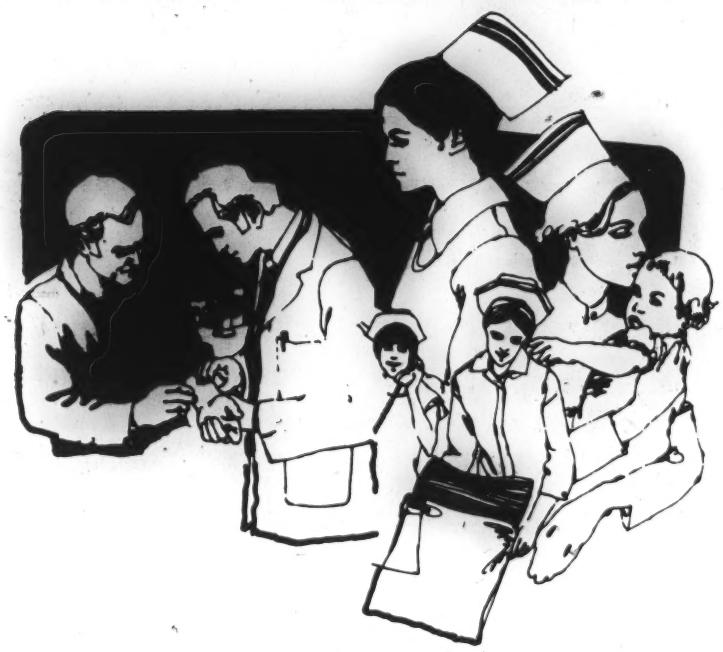

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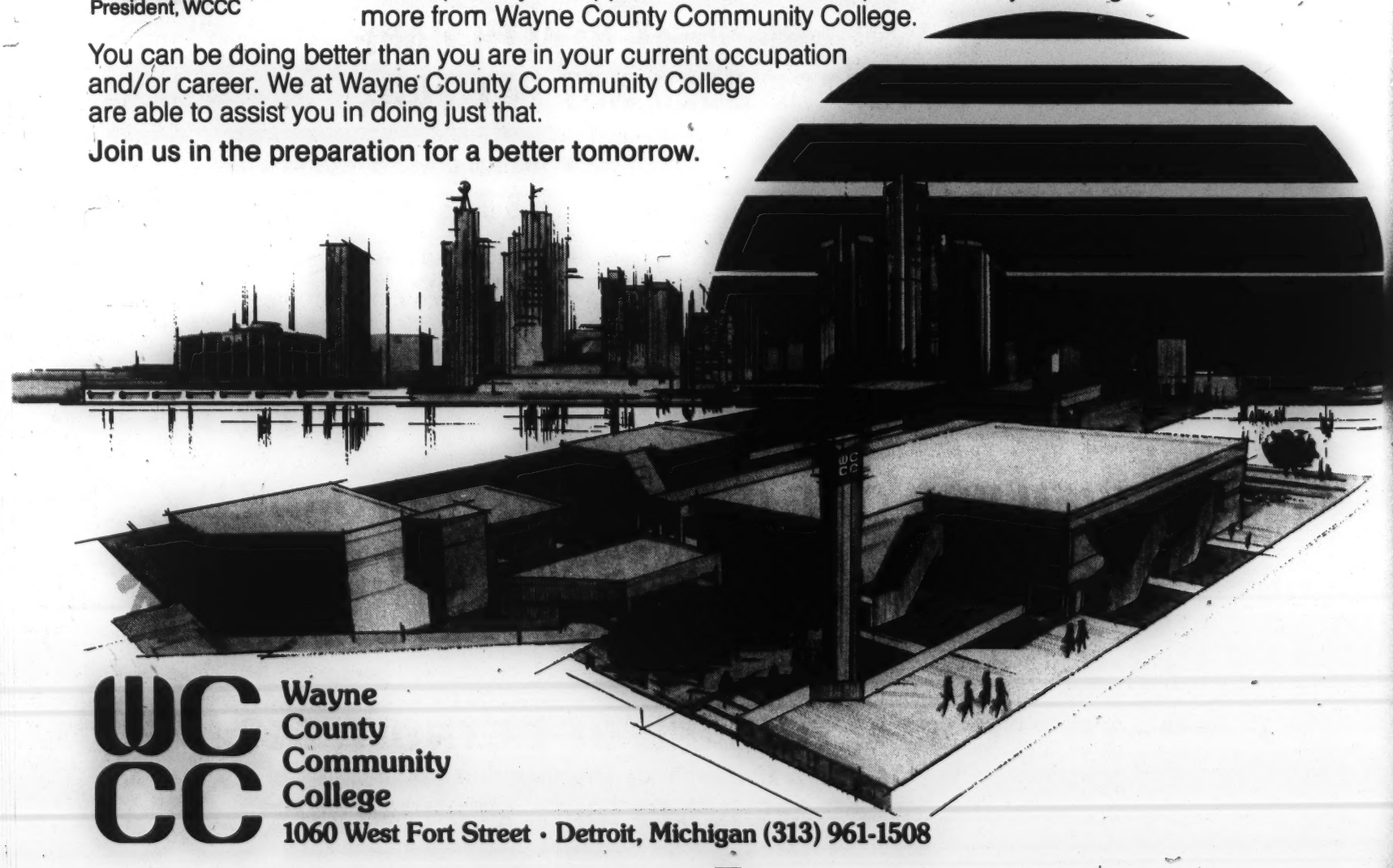

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Throughout his life, A. Philip Randolph conducted a gallant struggle for freedom and equality through cooperative effort.

I know the Institute he established will continue this great tradition.

Coleman A. Young,
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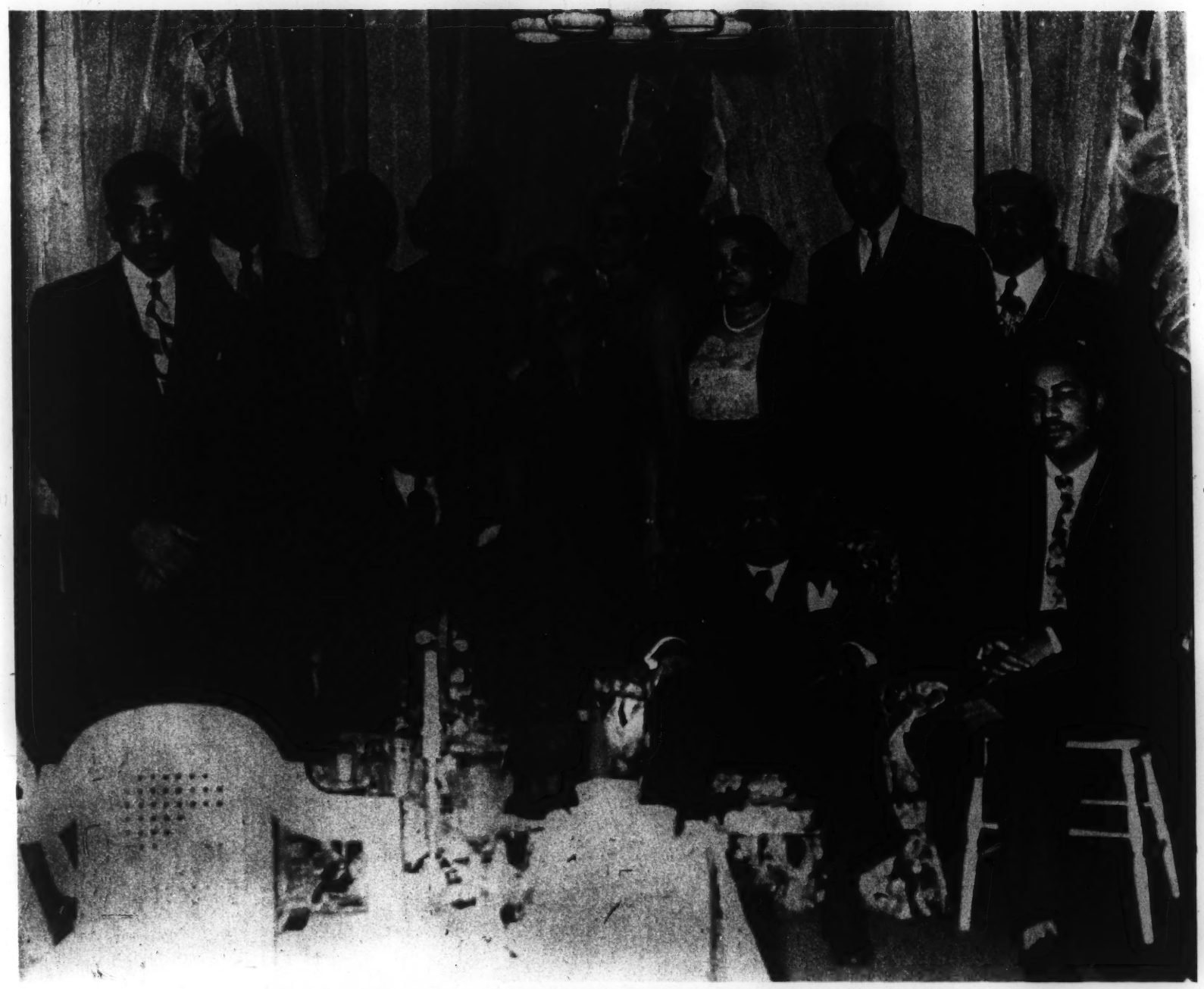


From left to right: Marvin L. Gunter, Stepney Cain, Dave Gilbert, Johnnie Mae Gilbert, Gay B. Gunter, Margarite Rouse, Bessie Cain, William Rouse, Louis Gunter. Seated: Bennie Smith, A. Philip Randolph, Edwin Gunter

A. Philip Randolph in Detroit for a meeting of the Detroit Local of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. At the Milford Street home of Mr. & Mrs. Louis Gunter, about 1945 (Courtesy Mrs. Gay B. Gunter, Detroit, Michigan)

A. Philip Randolph with Eleanor Roosevelt & Fiorello LaGuardia, 1946

A. Philip Randolph

Randolph and Roy Wilkins, with New York civil rights leader Ana Hedgeman, planning strategy for the March on Washington.

At the White House after the 1963 March on Washington: civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rabbi Joachim Prinz, chairman, American Jewish Congress, A. Philip Randolph. President John F. Kennedy, and Walter Reuther, Vice President, AFL-CIO

Whitney Young and Randolph with President Lyndon Johnson, August, 1965.

A.P.R. Press conference for the March on Washington for jobs and freedom, 1963.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph was president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He was a vice president emeritus of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), founder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science and developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism. As co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph stressed conomics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America" — a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest — a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement — in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only **after** President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948, Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph held numerous university honorary degrees, and had been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Springarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

Due to his declining health, Mr. Randolph's activities were limited during his last years. Asa Philip Randolph died peacefully on May 16, 1979 at the age of 90.

One of the most moving tributes to Mr. Randolph came from the AFL-CIO Executive Council which several days earlier passed a resolution honoring Mr. Randolph on his 90th birthday. The AFL-CIO expressed "its sincere thanks to Brother Randolph for his continuing and outspoken support for the goals and values which he and the labor movement have shared for so many years." Mr. Randolph served as a vice president of the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1968. Also, William G. Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan, in declaring the week of June 4 - 10, 1979 as "A. Philip Randolph Week in Michigan", declared "this in recognition of his great contributions to social justice . . . and in fitting observance of this leader's 90th birthday."

We are creatures of history,
for every historical epoch has its
roots in a preceding epoch.

— A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Portrait of a Gentle Warrior

- He was called the most dangerous black in America.
- He helped organize a Shakespearean Society in Harlem and played the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.
- He was the father of the civil rights revolution which began in the 1950's.
- He was arrested for speaking out against World War I.
- He spoke for all the dispossessed: blacks, poor whites, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexican Americans.
- He was called a Bolshevik.
- He attained for black workers their rightful seat in the house of Labor.
- He stood up against the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact.
- He joined the Socialist Party.
- He took on the powerful Pullman Company and forced it to sit down and bargain with the porters.
- His unremitting pressures forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign an Executive Order calling for fair employment practices in war industries.
- He won an Executive Order in 1948 from President Harry S. Truman to ban discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.
- He believed that in a bread-and-butter world jobs were the passport to dignity.
- He organized the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill.
- He inspired the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration.
- He led 250,000 persons in a March On Washington in 1963 in the struggle for jobs and freedom.
- He helped win for New York City school paraprofessionals their place in the sun.
- He is A. Philip Randolph, president of the institute bearing his name and President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union he built.

Labor Leader

"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor."

Civil Rights Leader

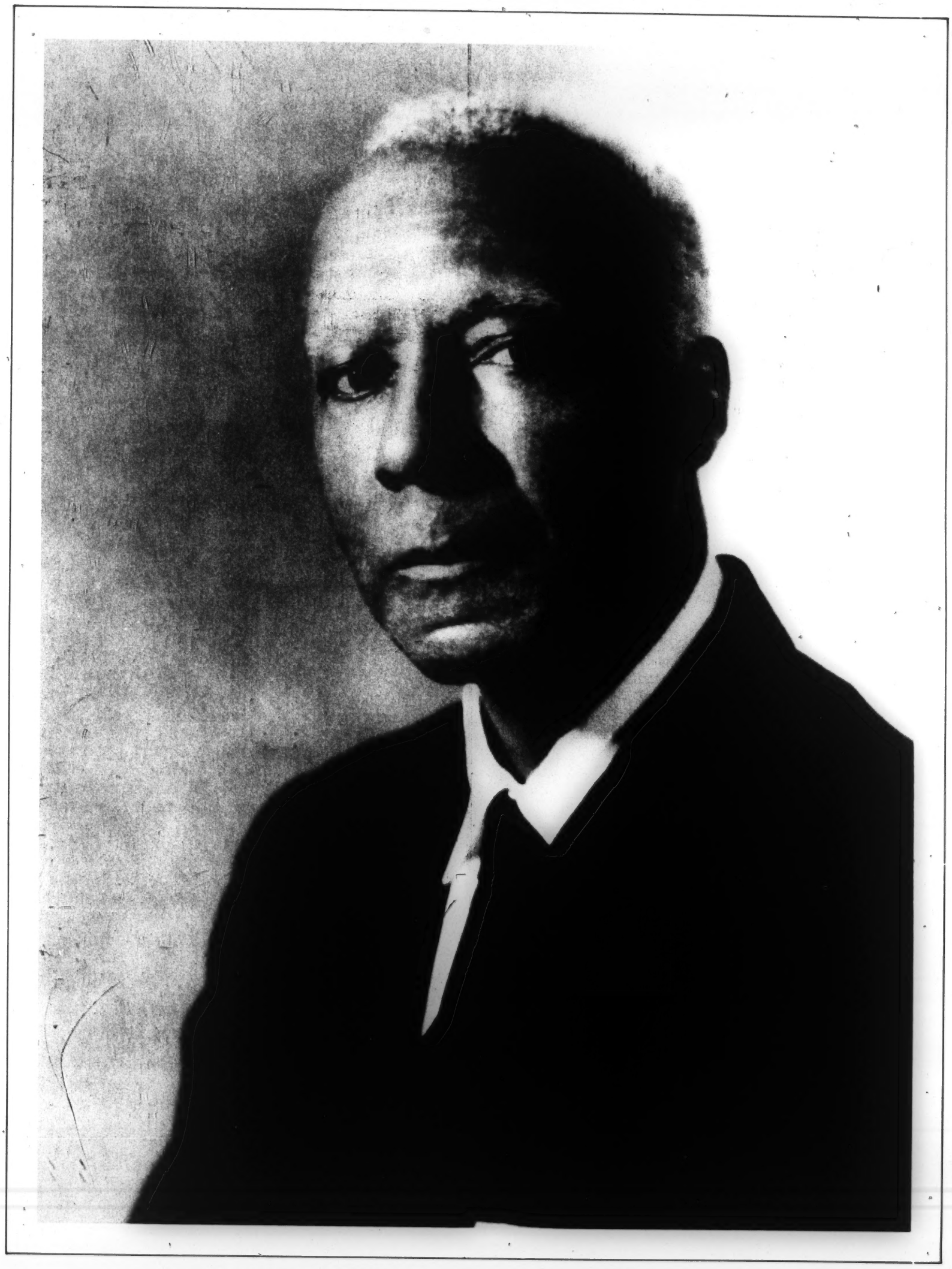
Even when he had become an "elder statesman," his passion for justice remained as youthful and vigorous as ever. He still planned and organized such activities as the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill, the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration and the 1963 March on Washington.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 are all the fruits of the seed he and his co-workers sowed many years before.

A. Philip Randolph has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights.

Socialist

He has always believed in a movement based on the workers as the main force, and has always been committed to the idea that a democratic redistribution of wealth is the first step toward greater freedom for all people—Black as well as white.



Text of PHILIP RANDOLPH'S Birthday Message

April 15, 1979

This is A. Philip Randolph.

I am happy to have this opportunity to address my brothers and sisters as I celebrate another birthday, this one being my 90th.

For most people, birthdays offer an opportunity for careful personal reflection. They are a time for taking stock, a time for evaluating the course of events. Now, as I mark the beginning of my 91st year, I wish to make a few brief comments about the difficult challenges confronting black people and all American workers.

In many important respects, today's challenges bear a striking similarity to the problems we have grappled with for decades. Essentially, they are problems of economics, and problems of politics. And, most important, they are problems which cannot be solved in isolation from the overall society.

Consider for a moment the plight of our black youngsters. Throughout the nation, thousands upon thousands of black teenagers and young adults have no opportunity of obtaining decent employment. They are forced to waste their talents, to waste their youthful enthusiasm, indeed, to waste their lives. To make matters worse, some political leaders dismiss this scandal as a necessity, a permanent feature of our economic system.

Consider also the condition of low-wage workers throughout the so-called Sunbelt, and throughout America's great urban centers. Amid affluence and newfound wealth, thousands of workers — black as well as white — receive subsistence wages. And because so few have the protections of a union contract, they have no job security, no fringe benefits, and no rights in the workplace.

And consider the new political atmosphere in America, an atmosphere best characterized by crude conservatism, and social defeatism. From every corner of the land, we hear demands for cuts in school budgets, social security payments, health care, and jobs for the unemployed. And we hear inflation blamed on the moderate wages of workers, and the dismally low wages of those people forced to accept the minimum wage. Workers and poor people, the true victims of inflation, are everywhere scolded for their so-called excesses.

How do we deal with these problems? Who do we look toward for support and cooperation?

In my view, we have one reliable and steadfast ally — the trade union movement. And I make this statement based on 70 years of experience in the civil rights and labor movements.

Why the trade unions? The answer, I believe, is quite simple: The vast majority of black people are workers, and the trade union movement, even with all its imperfections and failings, is the most effective, and most powerful defender of the interests of all American workers, black as well as white.

At this very moment, for example, organized labor is spearheading the attack against the Administration's so-called austerity budget. It is the trade union movement that has fought to preserve the minimum wage, and to keep the CETA jobs program intact. And it is thte trade union movement that has mounted a major effort to organize low-paid and exploited workers throughthe South.

In the area of organizing, I hasten to call your attention to three crucially important campaigns, campaigns which hold special significance for black workers. First, there is the on-going strike by thousands of black workers at the Newport News Shipyards in Virginia. These workers, members of the United Steelworkers of America, were forced to strike by a company which refuses to recognize their right to join a union and negotiate for better wages and working conditions. As the company cleverly evades the real issues by filing appeal after appeal with the courts, the workers at Newport News continue to suffer.

Similarly, the J.P. Stevens Company and the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain continue to block their employees from freely organizing into unions. The injustices at these two companies are well known, thus, I urge you to support the boycott of Winn-Dixie stores, and the boycott of all J.P. Stevens products.

In addition to taking an active interest in the struggles of black workers, we must also intensify our activity in the political arena. Last November, for instance, black people in Missouri and Philadelphia dramatically demonstrated the power of the united black vote. In Missouri, black voters overwhelming opposed an anti-labor question on the ballot; and in Philadelphia, blacks united together in opposing a proposed change in the city charter. Yet despite these two impressive examples, black voters throughout the country seem to be withdrawing from politics.

While I can surely sympathize with those who despair of political involvement, I cannot condone surrender or retreat. To do so would be to grant a political "blank check" to our enemies. By withdrawing from the voting booth, we are, in effect inviting our enemies to roll-back every advance of the last 45 years.

We and our children, we and our grandchildren, cannot afford to abandon the fight. We must continue, indeed, we must strengthen our political position by registering and voting in even greater numbers than ever before. Our participation in the upcoming political battles will, to a very large extent, determine the outcome of our long years of dedication, and sacrifice. You, brothers and sisters, will make the difference between ultimate victory or bitter defeat. Please, join the good fight.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH and WILLIAM STODGHILL
BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE DINNER
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
APRIL, 1976

"Best wishes to the A. Philip Randolph Institute
and it's affiliate chapters on their
10th National Conference
and warm regards & affection for our own
Martha Wilson, recipient of the
Detroit Chapter's 1979 Community Service Award."

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If by my work through life I can
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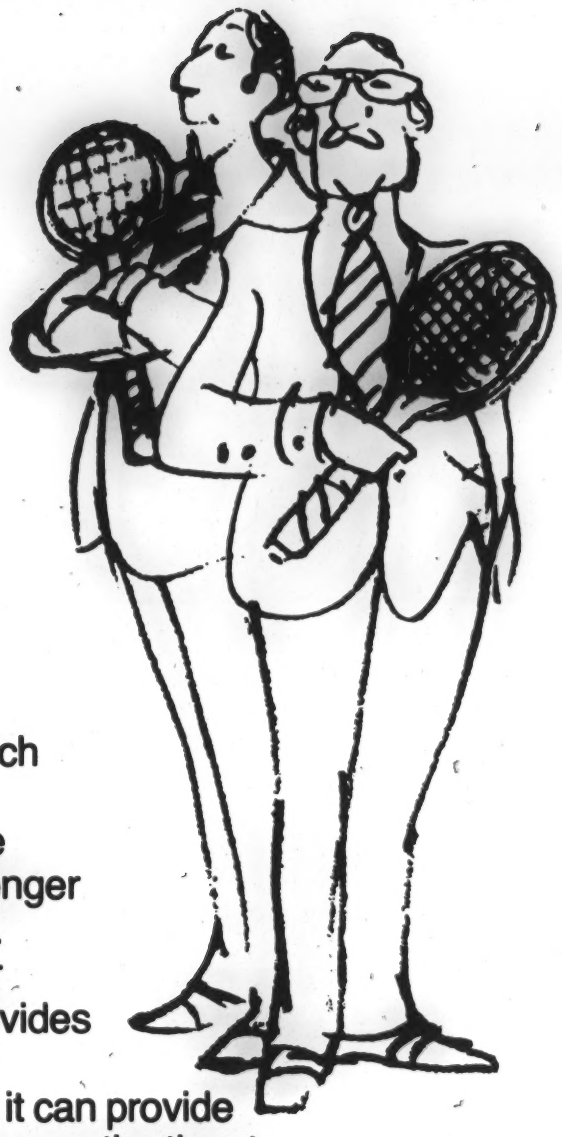

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Salvation for a race, nation or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

– A. Philip Randolph

Address at the March On Washington

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed, and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our whtie allies know that they cannot be free while we are not; and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practices Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white? We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want federal aid to education—all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic, and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing, we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this proper priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment, and to put automation at the service of humand needs, not at the service of profits—for we are the first victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets, as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the freedom riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1964 Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was enforced, and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than with enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will ring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning, not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education, and there you will find the enemy of the Negro—the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces, all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and techniques that built the labor movement, founded churches, and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave, it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less, and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength, and the faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

— A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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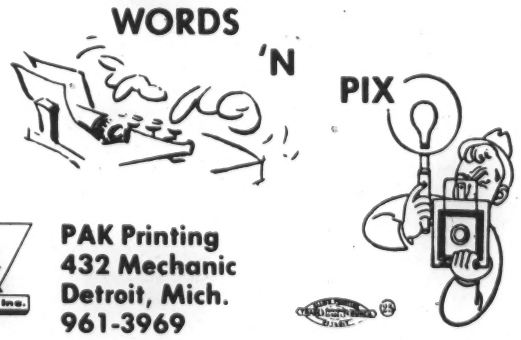

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In memorial to a great leader of all people, I wish every success to the A. Philip Randolph Institute in their efforts to let live on the works of a great man.

Senator Jack Faxon
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THE FIRST CONDITION to being worthy of help from others is for an individual, race, or nation to do something for itself . . . I consider the fight for the Negro masses the greatest service I can render to my people, and the fight alone is my complete compensation.

— A. Philip Randolph

APRIL, 1976
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

From left to right: Addie Wheat, John Preston, Louis Taylor, Unkown, Ida Taylor, A. Philip Randolph, Gay B. Gunter, Halena Wilson, Katherine Lassiter

Reception sponsored by the Ladies Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters during the 7th Biennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters held in New York City September 10-15, 1950. (Courtesy Mrs. Gay B. Gunter, Detroit, Michigan)

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The United Black Trade Unionists Chapter, A. Philip Randolph Institute, Detroit Chapter acknowledges with sincere gratitude, the good wishes and support of its friends and associates for the anticipated 90th Birthday Celebration Tribute to A. Philip Randolph.

Because of the unexpected death of Mr. Randolph all copy was not able to be modified before going to press.

The Gentle Warrior answered to a higher call on May 16, 1979 but his aims and beliefs will still be celebrated through the efforts, goals and the dedication of each chapter of A. Philip Randolph Institute.

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THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED AFTER OUR "A. PHILIP RANDOLPH MEMORIAL TRIBUTE" SOUVENIR PROGRAM BOOK WENT TO PRESS ...

Guest Speaker ... BENJAMIN HOOKS, Executive Director, NAACP

with introduction by WILLIAM POLLARD, Director, Civil Rights Dept., AFL-CIO

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12th Airlift/ALEA agreement wins membership approval

When Master Chairman Frank Minutella and former Master Chairman Eston Taylor (now secretary of Sub-Council 61c), sat down with officials of Airlift International last November to write a new agreement, they knew they had a tough job ahead of them. For here was an air line that had come back from near-bankruptcy and whose recent route awards, although promising a bright future, hardly represented full recovery. So the two union negotiators, guided by Regional Director Jim Brancart, knew they'd have to tread softly . . . but firmly. Settlement was reached February 28, and its success is seen in the membership ratification that followed soon afterward.

GOOD NEWS travels fast. Here, from left, Cargo Supervisor Herman Ruiz, Cargo Handler Carol Nelson (Ruiz' sister), RD Mgr. Dave Glover, Terminal Mgr. Tom Hubbard, Master Chrmn. Frank Minutella, and Eston Taylor of negotiating committee review new agreement at O'Hare Intl. Airport, Chicago . . . just one of many station visits to familiarize union members with provisions of new agreement. As one ORD employee said, "When management and the union fly together, that's what I call cooperation."

The new agreement spans two years and is the 12th pact ALEA has signed with the company since the union was first certified on Riddle Airlines (Airlift's old name) in 1959. It calls for an across-the-board wage increase of 6.5 percent retroactive to January 1, plus another increase of 5 percent next year. In addition, the hourly rate for all agents and cargo supervisors was raised 5¢, and next year this increase will also apply to lead cargo handlers and chief agents. On top of this, cost-of-living salary adjustments of 8¢ per hour this year and 9¢ per hour next year will hopefully do much to ease the pain of inflation.

Also in respect to wages, the agreement provides an extra 2¢ per hour, per year, after five years of service, and an extra 3¢ per hour after 10 years. In 1980 these increases will advance to 3¢ and 5¢ respectively. This adds as much as $77 per month to the salary of a 15-year employee, and even more for longer service.

Improvements in working conditions included the requirement that loadmasters shall be aboard all charter flights, and that their normal 14 hours of straight time pay per day shall advance to 15 hours on the 6th day of work, and to 17 hours on the 7th day. Also, the daily meal allowance while on company business was upped from $12 to $16.

"We really pushed hard on fringe benefits," said Minutella, "Those who qualify for retirement, for example, will now draw $282 per month (instead of $252), and this will climb to $312 next year." The Master Chairman then ticked off several other gains in this area such as increased sick leave accrual (to 132 days), company-paid hospital bills up to $2,500, a broadened dental plan that includes fillings and extends to dependents—plus a provision that will add orthodontics for all in 1980, new uniforms and cleaning allowances for station personnel—with cleaning allowances for everyone to take effect next year, and maternity benefits increased from $700 ot $1,000.

Last year's decision to award extra vacation days for good attendance proved so successful that it was expanded as follows: 5 vacation days given if no sick leave is taken during the year, 4 days if one day's leave is taken, 3 days for two, two days for three, and one extra day of vacation for four days off sick.

A. Philip Randolph—foremost black labor leader

has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden, and the poor." Fortunately, air line employees have never had to endure such conditions as these—and yet what affects one segment of society affects all of us, something Randolph understood like few others of his time.

Even within the AFL-CIO, he fought to remove the last remnants of racial discrimination among labor unions. Although he was often a lonely figure on the convention floor, he helped draft the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever placed before the Council—a statement that put unions in the forefront of the civil rights movement.

As an integrationist, Randolph stood apart from a "Back to Africa" proposal that appealed to many in the early 1920's, nor did he endorse the more recent "Black Power" concept. Instead, he has always believed that while Blacks may have their own special needs, all people who are poor and exploited—whether black or white—have basic, common interests and should join together to achieve them.

At 90 years of age, Randolph can no longer be described as "the most dangerous Negro in America," even by his worst enemies. If any single catch phrase can be applied to him it is the one he has earned, "the gentle warrior." Society, during the past half-century, has slowly come to appreciate an dto respond to the wisdom of his teachings. Furthermore, his vision and his objectives are now underlying principles of the A. Philip Randolph Institute of New York, a black supportive organization which, with branches throughout the country, is a vigorous, effective extension of his long and productive life.

Coming soon (we hope)—federal ban on loaded guns in checked baggage

In response to repeated demands by ALEA President Victor J. Herbert, by the union membership (particularly on Frontier) and by air line employees everywhere, a Bill is being introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives that will make it a federal crime, punishable by law, to place or attempt to place a loaded firearm aboard an aircraft.

The Bill, which has the support of both the Air Line Pilots Assn. and the Assn. of Flight Attendants, as well as strong backing in Congress, would greatly reduce the number of accidental firings from loaded weapons packed in checked baggage, either by hunters or other passengers.

Hundreds of such incidents have been reported, most serious of which occurred three years ago at Denver and resulted in the death of ALEA member Stephen Kilian. In the absence of a federal statute, no charges could be brought against the owner of the gun in that case, A. H. Hart III of the wealthy Quaker Oats family.

"Shortly after that tragedy the Colorado state legislature rushed through a law barring loaded weapons from checked baggage, but prosecution of offenders has been weak," says Regional Director Jack Casey, "so we have been demanding a federal law."

As reported in the Jan/Feb issue of this magazine, Federal Aviation Administration rules call for fines up to $10,000 for checking a long list of hazardous materials. We have since been advised, however, that this does not apply to loaded firearms where the maximum fine is only $1,000.

The new Bill is being introduced in Washington by Patricia Schroeder, U.S. Representative, 1st Dist., Denver.

Dispatchers sign new agreement with Air Canada with strong assistance from Reg. Director John Hayes

After nearly a year of direct talks with Air Canada, ALEA's affiliate north of the border—the Canadian Air Line Dispatchers Association—on February 21 signed a two-year pact that brings top monthly salaries to $2,490. This rate, now in effect, was reached in 3 steps, (1) a 6% government-controlled increase from Mar., 1978, to January; (2) a 2% boost during the first 2 months of this year; (3) an 8.5% raise from March 1 through next February.

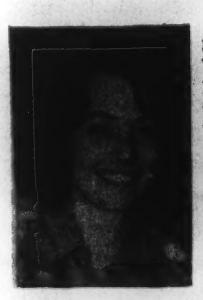
E. M. Verrecchia

Other gains reported by CALDA President E. M. (Mike) Verrecchia included company paid medical and dental plans. Previously, cost of medical insurance was shared by union members; the dental plan is entirely new. In addition, since the dispatchers do not break for lunch, they will receive annual credit for nine working days that can be applied toward vacations.

"In reaching this agreement we owe a lot to ALEA's Regional Director, John Hayes, who has represented us for the past four years," Verrecchia said. "John flew up from Houston several times and he certainly steered us in the right direction." Also active in the bargaining were CALDA's Executive Council Director for Air Canada, Adrian (Sandy) Sandziuk, and another AC dispatcher, Brian Blair.

In other news concerning the 88-member group, Council elections late last year when Air Canada closed its dispatch offices in Vancouver and Montreal in favor of a central base in Toronto, returned Sandziuk to the Director's position which had been held by Don Muir. With more than 17 years seniority, Sandy was CALDA's Director on AC when the union first allied with ALEA five years ago. The December elections also brought a new Director to Nordair—Daniel O'Connell, replacing Phil Turgoose who became a management supervisor; and on Pacific Western where John Plank took over from T. J. Payne. General elections for president, vice president, and secretary-treasurer — all two year terms — are due later this year.

Staff member's daughter wins scholarship abroad



Maureen Sullivan

For someone who has visited Ireland as many times as she has, Cathy (Sullivan) Hannan's daughter, Maureen, is showing unusual excitement over yet another trip this summer to her mother's homeland. Cathy, administrative assistant in ALEA's Contract Department, is quick—and quite proud—to explain:

"Maureen is in her junior year as a history major at Loyola University here in Chicago," she says, "and she was chosen for a month-long course in Irish nationalism at the University of Cork."

As an added attraction, Cork is just down the road a piece from Limerick where the Hannans have a "second home" amid dozens of uncles, aunts, cousins, friends, and of course a doting grandmother.

In her senior year, Maureen will again cross the Atlantic, this time to Rome, Italy, where she will spend her final semester studying ancient history and the classics at Loyola's campus in the Eternal City.

OPTIONS

NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT FOR THE AGING

Mayor Edward I. Koch

Commissioner Janet S. Sainer

Vol. 1 No. 2 | NEWS FOR OLDER NEW YORKERS | FEB. – MAY 1979

LOOKING BACK AT 1978

The Department's Achievements

During the past year, the Department participated in new and innovative programs, maintained service delivery in communities across the City through our contract grants programs, and experienced some expansion in programs enabling us to provide additional services to our constituency, especially in the area of crime prevention. However, because Congress failed to appropriate the additional funding authorized under the new Older Americans Act of 1978, we were recently forced to initiate a 7½% cutback in Title VII nutrition programs.

During 1978, a major proportion of the Department's budget was allocated to programs under Titles VII (Nutrition) and III (Area Services) of the Older Americans Act. The heart of our program is to contract out services under these two titles to local community groups, in order to make a wide range of services at the neighborhood level available to older people. The meals provided by our nutrition programs are frequently an important link to other needed support services available through the aging network to help maintain the elderly in the community.

Valerie L. Levy, the Department's Director of Minority Affairs, attended the Living Legacy Award Luncheon at the White House on February 23, 1979. At that time, President Carter honored 17 outstanding older Black Americans, 7 of whom were New Yorkers, including A. Philip Randolph, shown above. Mr. Randolph, now retired, is one of the foremost labor leaders in this country. (See story on our Minority Affairs Unit on Page 3.)

(continued from column 1)

The First Annual Resource Seminar for leaders of senior clubs, co-sponsored by the Department and the Hunter College Brookdale Center on Aging, was held on December 15th. One of the day's highlights was special entertainment provided by "Dance Singers Sing," a group that includes about 80 senior performers from age 60 to 87, who had just completed a touring/teaching program at a number of senior centers, churches, etc., funded by special Title VII monies. The seminar's workshops—in the areas of innovative programming, fund raising, legislative action, and physical fitness—were a great success. Over 200 people attended the seminar, and more than 30 organizations and groups offered information displays and exhibitions.

The Department's **Information and Referral Division**, with its staff of trained specialists and social workers, offered more than 69,400 units of service during 1978, in all areas of rights and entitlements and help with individual problems, including assistance in long-term care placement. In its capacity as an information and referral resource consultant to the aging network,

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During 1978, our **Title VII Nutrition programs served** more than 14,000 meals daily at 120 meal sites, and delivered 3,600 meals daily to the homebound elderly. **Our Title III Area Services Unit** contracted with 51 community-based programs to provide assistance to thousands of older New Yorkers. Over 4,000 cases of legal assistance were handled during the year by our Legal Services for the Elderly programs. In addition, Title III contractors provided 111,700 units of information; 18,000 units of referral; 60,400 units of advocacy; and 21,400 units of entitlement counseling. They also handled 48,000 cases of telephone reassurance, and provided 47,600 units of transportation service. In the area of home care, a total of 335,100 units of service were provided, including 193,000 units of homemaker services; 123,500 units of housekeeper services; and 18,300 units of escort service.

The Department's **Recreation** staff provided a wide variety of services during the year, assisting over 150,000 older people in 400 small clubs throughout the City. The special Bus Program provided 180 senior groups with a free trip during the summer; and in cooperation with the Department of Cultural Affairs, entertainment ranging from singing to square dancing, was offered to a number of clubs. Two beautiful murals, created by seniors in Brooklyn, were completed and are now on display at the Bushwick Salvation Army Senior Center and the St. Charles Jubilee Center in Brooklyn Heights. Recreation staff also helped the Elder Craftsmen set up a series of unique demonstrations workshops, which enabled seniors to learn a variety of unusual crafts. In addition, last June, Recreation and our Public Information staff helped organize a "Life Experience Festival—In Celebration of Aging" at Wave Hill in the Bronx, where seniors displayed their multiple talents, as well as the richness and diversity of life experience among older New Yorkers.

Valerie L. Levy, the Department's Director of Minority Affairs, attended the Living Legacy Award Luncheon at the White House on February 23, 1979. At that time, President Carter honored 17 outstanding older Black Americans, 7 of whom were New Yorkers, including A. Philip Randolph, shown above. Mr. Randolph, now retired, is one of the foremost labor leaders in this country. (See story on our Minority Affairs Unit on Page 3.)

FUNDING OF SERVICES FOR OLDER NEW YORKERS RECEIVES BLOW

In October 1978, Congress reauthorized the Older Americans Act, which substantially increased the funding levels for social service and nutrition programs. It also added a new home-delivered meals program. Congress acknowledged the need to ensure the continuation of current services and to provide additional services to our nation's elderly in its initial authorization. However, no new appropriations accompanied the legislation. Without appropriations close to the authorized level, the intent of Congress cannot be carried out. Older Americans Act programs face severe cutbacks if additional monies are not approved by Congress in FY (Fiscal Year) '79 and FY '80. If appropriations are not increased above the Administration's requested levels, services are certain to be cut back.

This year, a key concern of the NYC Department for the Aging has been to secure appropriations to carry out Congress' intent. We have joined with the Coalition of National Organizations on Aging and other groups throughout the country to push for substantive appropriations for 1979 and 1980. Commissioner Sainer stated: "We are seeking $205 million in supplemental appropriations nationally which would enable us to meet mandated services provided through the reauthorized Older Americans Act." She went on to say: "We are very pleased with the strong mayoral and congressional support for increased appropriations. The support from our New York City Congressional delegation in responding to the needs of their constituencies has been unanimous. We are all working to maintain our programs in every borough and obtain the funds we need to enhance and expand these services in the future."

The Subcommittee on Human Services of the House Select Committee on Aging, chaired by Congressman Biaggi, has been working very actively on the appropriation issue, and has conducted hearings on it.

Mayor Koch has also taken a strong stand in support of increased appropriations. In his testimony before the U.S. House of Representative's Committee on Budget on March 13, 1979, he said: "Older Americans, as might be expected, reside in significant numbers in our older urban centers. If the current level of services to senior centers is to be maintained, the President's budget recommendations will have to be increased substantially. Without the higher appropriation, New York City will have to cut its nutrition and social service programs by one-third."

Earlier in the year, in his letter to Secretary of H.E.W. Joseph Califano, the Mayor stated the need for increased funding by emphasizing that the level authorized by Congress was "close to $150 million less for social services, $100 million less for congregate nutrition programs than Congress authorized, and included no money for home delivered meals for this fiscal year."

The New York City Council also took substantial action. On January 3, 1979, it unanimously passed Resolution 450 "Calling on Congress to Enact Sufficient Appropriations To Insure The Provision of Services To Older Adults Under The Older Americans Act."

(continued on page 8)

trained specialists and social workers, offered more than 69,400 units of service during 1978, in all areas of rights and entitlements and help with individual problems, including assistance in long-term care placement. In its capacity as an information and referral resource consultant to the aging network,

I & R also provided technical assistance to a wide variety of community groups. The Department's **Reduced Fare Program** distributed half fare cards to 209,000 senior citizens during 1978. The cards can now be used 24 hours a day through the end of June.

During 1978, there was some expansion in the Department's **Older Workers Employment Programs**, which currently (as of March 1979) provide jobs for some 1800 older persons age 55 and over in City Departments, as well as throughout the public and voluntary sectors. A major accomplishment during 1978 was the extension of the Job Opportunity Program (formerly Title X) nationwide for another three years. An amendment to the CETA legislation was introduced by Representative Ted Weiss (D-Man.) and passed by Congress, thereby protecting this important jobs program. As of 1978, there were approximately 1,300 older people employed in the Department's Job Opportunity Program in a variety of full- and part-time positions throughout the City. The Senior Community Service Project (Title IX) employed some 450 low-income people for part-time jobs ranging from museum aides to hospital outreach workers. This represented an increase of almost 100 jobs from 1977 to 1978.

The Department's **Public Works Program**, which utilizes public assistance recipients in the home-care area to provide a variety of services to homebound elderly, offered special assistance to 230 older persons during 1978. (See article on page 2).

In addition, one of the Department's special projects, the **Foster Grandparents** program, continued its unique intergenerational work. They employed 142 low-income persons, age 60 and over, as Foster Grandparents, working with children of special need in 15 sites, primarily institutional living settings. Two new programs were added during 1978, one at Jamaica Hospital's Pediatrics Ward, and the other

(continued on page 6)

New York TEACHER MAGAZINE

THE VISION OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Throughout his active career as a labor leader and as a father of the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph was guided by a dream for the building of a new society, in which people of all colors could live in freedom and in dignity. As a socialist, Randolph believes that a decent and well-paying job is the first step towards social and political freedom.

While he consistently supported the needs of blacks as blacks, Mr. Randolph also maintained that workers and all the poor should join together, regardless of race, in order to achieve their common goals. Therefore, he called for organized labor to join in the black man's struggle for freedom and in that way to "rise to its full moral stature." Randolph believed that workers and their unions are the key forces in any political effort to redistribute society's wealth more justly. Mr. Randolph has continuously advised black people to develop alliances with labor, liberal, and civil rights groups to end segregation and to eliminate poverty.

He has not seen the problem of black-Americans as the problem of one isolated group. He views the condition of blacks as the symptom of a larger social illness, which is caused by an unfair distribution of power, wealth, and resources. For the socialist ideas upon which his political wisdom was formed, Mr. Randolph looked to Norman Thomas and Eugene V. Debs, the giants of American socialism. Whether he spoke for socialism or civil rights, A. Philip Randolph has followed the principles of democracy and non-violence all his life long.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

Still the conscience and voice of Civil Rights as all friends of freedom mark his ninetieth birthday, April 15

A CHRONOLOGY OF BLACKS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

(main source: Toil and Trouble, by Thomas R. Brooks)

1881 —
The American Federation of Labor was founded by 25 trade unions at Columbus, Ohio. Many unions had clauses in their charters excluding blacks from membership.

1894 —
Black miners in Alabama were killed by striking white workers. This was one of many times when white owners hired blacks to break a strike by white workers. However, there were also many times in the late nineteenth century when black and white workers formed alliances with each other and made agreements to share work in certain areas.

1890's —
88% of the black workers in the United States worked in agriculture and domestic service. The overwhelming majority lived in the South.

1900 —
The state of Alabama took away the right of blacks to vote, but blacks were still elected as labor leaders in that state.

1902 —
Of the 1.2 million union members, only 41,000 were blacks.

1917-1918 —
Thousands of blacks went to the North to find work in factories after America entered World War I. A young black editor, A. Philip Randolph, tried unsuccessfully on several occasions to organize blacks into unions.

1925-1937 —
Randolph led a long but eventually successful effort to organize blacks in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which pressed the Pullman Company to sign a contract in 1937. This marked the first great agreement between black workers and a white employer.

1930's —
Breaking away from the American Federation of Labor (AFL), several industrial unions formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which organized thousands of black workers.

1940's —
Until 1940, 75% of American blacks lived in the South. Thousands of blacks moved to the North to seek work in northern industries when America entered World War II. As of 1940, there were 210,000 blacks in the CIO and 390,000 blacks in AFL and other unions. During the war, Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an AFL union, reached its height with 15,000 members. But 26 other AFL unions still barred blacks from joining. In 1941, after pressure from A. Philip Randolph, President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order which banned discrimination in jobs in defense plants. This greatly increased the number of blacks organized by AFL unions. By the end of the war, there were over 600,000 blacks in AFL unions.

1948 —
At the request of A. Philip Randolph, President Harry S. Truman signed an executive order ending the segregation of the races in the armed forces. He also banned discrimination in federal hiring practices.

1950's —
The civil rights movement began, improving the chances for blacks to receive equal rights with white citizens.

1955 —
The AFL and the CIO merged, and elected A. Philip Randolph the first black vice president of the AFL-CIO. He acted as a spokesman for blacks and other minority groups, and tried to force an end to discrimination in the labor movement. As a result of his efforts and the work of others, the AFL-CIO has played a major role in the history of the civil rights movement. As of 1955, there were 1.5 million black union members.

1959 —
A. Philip Randolph founded the Negro American Labor Council in order to present the demands of black workers to the labor movement.

1960's —
Black membership and activity in the labor movement continued to grow. Apprenticeship programs for young blacks and strong civil rights legislation helped blacks to get jobs and enter more unions.

1963 —
The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen was the last union to end an explicit ban on black membership.

1965 —
73% of American blacks lived in cities, and 40% lived in the northern and western states. Unions in the South were weak, and remained so through the 1970's.

1968 —
A. Philip Randolph retired as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters after 43 years in office.

1970's —
Black membership in construction trade unions increased dramatically. Perhaps 2 million members of the 13 million in AFL-CIO unions were blacks. There was also a large number of blacks in the independent Teamsters' and United Auto Workers' unions. Organized labor made a special effort to organize workers, both black and white, in the South, especially in the textile plants of the J.P. Stevens Company.

1978 —
The long decline of jobs in the American railroad companies caused the small Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to merge with the much larger Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

On March 25, 1965, Dr. Martin Luther Kings, Jr., led more than 10,000 civil rights marchers on the

RANDOLPH AT 90:

"BLACK WORKERS NEED UNIONS!"

A. Philip Randolph, the veteran labor and civil rights leader, called on black people to strengthen their bonds with the trade union movement in a birthday statement issued in New York.

Randolph, who marks his 90th birthday on April 15, founded and led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union of black Pullman Porters. Randolph also directed the 1963 March on Washington, and is widely recognized as the "dean of American civil rights leaders."

Pointing to the many problems facing black people, Randolph emphasized that blacks "have one reliable and steadfast ally — the trade union movement."

"The vast majority of black people are workers," Randolph said, "and the trade union movement, even with all its imperfections and failings is the most effective, and most powerful defender of the interests of all American workers, black as well as white."

According to Randolph, poor workers throughout the Sunbelt region can only escape poverty by organizing. "Amid affluence and new-found wealth," Randolph said, "thousands of workers receive subsistence wages. And because so few have the protections of a union contract, they have no job security, no fringe benefits, and no rights in the workplace."

As an example of an important trade union campaign, Randolph pointed to the current strike involving 19,000 shipyard workers in Newport News, Virigina. "These workers," Randolph declared, "were forced to strike by a company which refuses to recognize their right to join a union and negotiate for better wages and working conditions."

Randolph also accused the J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie companies of attempting "to block their employees from freely organizing into unions." Because of this, he reaffirmed his long-standing support for the labor-backed boycotts of J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie.

As in the past, Randolph restated his strong belief that blacks must increase their political power by registering and voting. While he noted that many blacks have despaired of political involvement, Randolph warned that political withdrawal is an invitation to "our enemies to roll-back every advance of the last 45 years." Furthermore, he characterized the current political atmosphere as "crude conservatism and social defeatism," and urged blacks to intensify their political involvement.

Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute headquartered at 260 Park Avenue South in New York City, said that the Institute's 180 local chapters across the country will continue "their efforts to fulfill the dream of Mr. Randolph."

"Every day, hundreds of dedicated trade unionists in all sections of the country follow Mr. Randolph's example by attempting to build a solid political coalition for the kinds of goals that Mr. Randolph has so long espoused, goals like full employment, free collective bargaining, social equality, and an end to racial discrimination," Hill said.

on the last leg of their Selma-to-Montgomery march, which was a culmination of the "March on Washington" organized by A. Philip Randolph in August 1963.

RANDOLPH CHRONOLOGY

1889 —
Born in Crescent City, Florida.

1911 -
Arrived in Harlem in New York City, where he became attracted to the Socialist Party and the labor movement.

1913 —
Married Lillian Green and joined the Socialist Party.

1917 —
Founded "The Messenger," a black socialist magazine. Although he opposed American involvement in World War I, Randolph urged blacks in war industries and other fields to form labor unions.

1920 —
Candidate Randolph received 202,000 votes in his race for New York state comptroller. Running as a socialist, he lost the election, but proved a black candidate could get political support in a northern state.

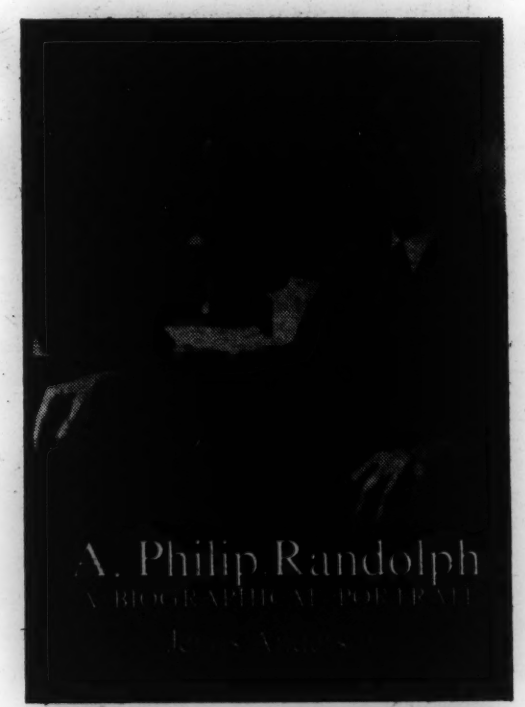
1925-1937 —
Led a campaign to organize sleeping car porters and to get the Pullman Company to sign a contract with them. During these twelve years, President Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters succeeded in including black workers under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, in organizing thousands of black workers, and in receiving membership for his union in the American Federation of Labor. In 1937, the Pullman Company finally signed a contract with the porters. The contract, which reduced working hours and increasd wages for the workers, marked the first time a white employer had signed a labor agreement with a black union leader.

1940-1941 —
Toured the country, building support for a march on Washington. Randolph hoped a mass protest by blacks in the nation's capital would force the government to end discrimination against blacks in defense industries. The march was cancelled after President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order which banned discrimination in civilian defense plant jobs. This was a major step in guaranteeing fair employment practices.

1948 —
Won an executive order from President Harry S. Truman to ban discrimination in federal jobs and to end segregation of the races in the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

1955 —
Elected a vice president of the AFL-CIO (after the American Federation of Labor merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations) at its first convention. He acted as a conscience of the labor movement, and tried to eliminate racial discrimination in labor unions. In 1959, Randolph formed the Negro American Labor Council, whose job is to present black workers' demands to the labor movement.

1957-1963 —
Organized prayer pilgrimages and marches for integration and civil rights legislation. The most important march Randolph organized was the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" in 1963. More than 250,000 Americans



participated in the demonstration for strong civil rights laws and full employment.

1966 —
Presented the Freedom Budget to America. In this proposal, Randolph called for spending $185 billion over the next ten years to eliminate poverty in the United States. Although the Freedom Budget was never approved by Congress, the plan influenced the policies of many labor unions and liberal organizations.

1968 —
Retired as leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters after more than half a century in the labor movement. Today, Mr. Randolph's work is carried on by the A. Philip Randolph Institute. With its headquarters in New York City, the institute has conducted successful voter registration drives and get-out-the-vote campaigns since its founding in 1964.

CLASS PROJECTS

1. Have students act out a scene from the life of A. Philip Randolph.

2. Form groups in the class to act as news broadcasters reporting on different periods in Randolph's life. There could be, e.g., mock interviews with porters, asking them why they need a union, what life is like on a train, etc. (suitable for junior high school)

3. Class discussion questions: How has your life been affected by A. Philip Randolph? How have black Americans been helped by Mr. Randolph's work?, etc.

4. Draw a map of the United States, and show how different areas are affected by the civil rights movement.

5. For a composition: imagine you are riding on a sleeping car in the 1930's. Write a letter to a friend telling about the workers on the train.

6. As a reporter in Harlem in 1925, write a story for a paper in New York City about the founding of the sleeping car porters' union.

7. Draw a series of cartoons showing the main events in the life of A. Philip Randolph. (elementary school or high school)

8. Write a poem or a short story, showing how Mr. Randolph's work affected the family of a porter. (high school)

9. Essay topic: What role did socialism play in Mr. Randolph's career? (high school)

10. Class discussion: What problems do blacks still have in the U.S.?

RESOURCES

1. A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Ave. So., New York, N.Y. 10010
2. AFL-CIO
3. New York Public Library, 42 St. and Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
4. Public Library Film Collection, 20 West 53 St., New York, N.Y. 10010
5. Taminent Library at NYU, Washington Square South, New York, N.Y. 10010
6. Schomberg Library — Black Studies collections, photo files, etc., 103 W. 135 St. New York, N.Y. 10030
7. Black issues of The Messenger, The Black Worker, etc.
8. University of Michigan Index to Labor Union Periodicals
9. Duke University Socialist Party Collection, available on microfilm at the Taminent Library
10. For a recording of Mr. Randolph, listen to side two of the album, "Norman Thomas At 80."

From The New York Public Library
A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. *Terms of Peace and the Darker Races.* New York: Poole Press Association, 1917.
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Joint Conference between Elected Representatives of the Porters and Maids and Representatives of the Pullman Company. Chicago, 1926.
— Minutes of the joint conference of January 27 and February 5, 1926.
— Negotiation of new working conditions.

PERIODICALS

The Messenger (1917-1924)
The Pullman Porters' Review (1915-1921)

BLACKS AND LABOR

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Almost five years ago, "A. Philip Randolph Day" was proclaimed in New York City, saluting Mr. Randolph as the father of the civil rights struggle in America. At the NYC gathering in his honor, Mr. Randolph said, "I'll carry on as best as I can."

Samuel Shore. "The Negro in the American Labor Movement," in *Labor Problems.* Radio talks. New York(?), 1939. (reproduced from typewritten copy)

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Norman Thomas. *Human Exploitation in the United States.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1934.

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BLACKS AND CIVIL RIGHTS (partial list)

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"Portrait in Black — A. Philip Randolph." (1971) Color. 10 min.
"Presents A. Philip Randolph, the man whose vision has shaped the black labor movement for half a century, recalling confrontations with Roosevelt and Kennedy and speaking of the continuing struggle for dignity and job equality for black Americans." Produced by Rediscovery Productions. 2 Halfmile Common. Westport, Connecticut 06880.
Civil Rights — A Series (NBC-TV, 1966)
1. "The Angry Voices of Watts" 52 min.
2. "Historic Roots" 16 min.
3. "Mississippi Summer Project" 17 min.
4. "The North" 23 min.
Examines tense race relations and unemployment in Chicago and New Jersey inter alia.
5. "The Personal View" 25 min.
Examines fear, hate, and suspicion between the races.
6. "The South" 28 min.
A general view of the civil rights movement in the South between 1957 and 1963.
"Civil Rights and Social Democracy" (optical sound) 30 min. Reviews the growth of civil rights and social democracy in the United States. From the Structure and Function of American Government. Part IV, lesson 4 — first semester. (NBC-TV, 1963)
"Civil Rights in the U.S." 30 min. Roy Wilkins and Ralph McGill, publisher of *The Atlanta Constitution,* discuss civil rights. From the Structure and Functions of American Government. Part X, lesson 5 — second semester. (NBC-TV, 1963)
Martin Luther King Jr. on "Meet the Press." 28 min. (NBC-TV, 1960)
An interview with Martin Luther King, Jr. 30 min. distributed by Time-Life and BBC, 1970. Martin Luther King, Jr. — "The Man and the March." 82 min. The story of the Poor People's March of 1968. King is seen with his aides, in schools, and at rallies. (University of Indiana Audio-Visual Center at Bloomington, 1968)
"Martin Luther King, Jr." A film about his career. 10 min. (Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1971.)
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The film collection also includes numerous films of general black history and the civil rights movement.

Reflections about the energy crisis

By CARL LEATHWOOD
Special Contributor

As Grandma would have put it, this gasoline shortage has the big shots acting like a flock of sore-tailed cats.

THE PRESIDENT blames the oil companies on Monday, Congress on Tuesday, the OPEC countries on Wednesday, the wasteful common people on Thursday, and does the oil companies another big favor on Friday.

Everyone is suspicious of everyone else.

Independent truck owner-operators — those fellows who are making payments on their trucks — scream about the price of diesel oil and charge the refineries are making heating oil when they should be making diesel fuel.

People of the eastern heating oil belt worry about cold houses next winter.

FARMERS get nasty and make threats if they don't get more diesel. (I wonder if any of them remember the days when non-diesel horses furnished the energy?)

City people who have to drive to work note with suspicion that gasoline is said to be plentiful on the interstates and in the tourist traps where the Holiday Inns and Ramadas and Howard Johnsons have their huge investments.

The real block busters landed softly on Sunday, June 3, and Wednesday, June 6. I think you'll be hearing a lot about them later.

ON THAT SUNDAY, John Swearingen, chairman of the American Petroleum Institute, said on a TV talk show that the industry would be waiting for $1.50 gasoline before boosting production.

Then comes Wednesday, June 6, when a new, very inflationary program, including subsidies and government loans to industry to produce more fuel, is announced — another big favor to the oil companies.

When the gas lines formed at filling stations, Amtrak and bus lines were swamped with traffic. Yet, Carter has cut down on the Amtrak subsidy and yellow-bellied congressmen have let him get by with it. Mass transit in the cities is starved and ridiculed and big shots prompously declare that the proud American workingman will only go to work in his private automobile.

CARTER'S EXCUSE for strangling Amtrak is that it's too costly and nobody rides the trains anyway.

Didn't anybody ever tell him that no passenger rail service anywhere in the world ever lived without subsidies. The U.S. government is the only one that refuses to see that the transport of people is a service just as important as police protection, health service, the mails, and education.

Doesn't Carter know about the fast and safe passenger trains of Japan and Europe, all heavily subsidized? Japan spends over $4 billion a year to keep its 130-mph trains running.

THE BIG SHOTS are all for Carter strangling Amtrak. But the enormous subsidies for highway construction and maintenance — $49 billion since 1971 — are okay with them. Our government subsidizes air travel to the tune of nearly $2 billion a year by maintaining the air traffic control systems.

An administration dedicated to serving the American people would pressure Congress for billions of subsidies to set up and maintain a national network of bus and rail service reaching every town in the U.S.A.

***

Here's a political item that deserves full treatment, but it's too good to hold over:

THE PRESS told us that the victory of the Conservatives in England showed a "world-wide conservative trend."

But as the real news seeps back to the U.S., it is learned that English union people in droves stayed away from the polls, no doubt because they felt betrayed by their party — the Labourites.

The Labour Party government had wage-price guidelines similar to those of the Carter administration here and with similar results — prices were allowed to run away.

THE LESSON is that there is no room in any modern country for two business parties and the British Labour Party had acted like a business party. A party can't be for labor when it also is for business. It's that simple. Will our Democratic Party learn that lesson?

Major political parties wither away

By GUS LUMPE
Teamster Editor

The failure of the American political system, its inability to deal with the increasing and increasingly complex problems that oppress the American people today, is, I think, a direct result of the breakdown of the two principal stay away from the polls all together.

Nor is it, I think, accurate to say that there is no difference between the Democratic and the Republican parties. If nothing else, those who still come out to vote seem to think that there is a difference and that, generally, their interests will understanding of the problems of people than Republicans who reflect better the interests of private business.

What then accounts for the fact that so many Americans are turned off by the political process? Is it just plain apathy?

I think not. People are quite pre-

LETTERS

Answers anonymous writer

Mr. Welch:

I am the wife of one of the laid off road drivers form Arkansas Best.

I am writing this because the opinion of the drivers is that it would do no good to tell the union what is going on.

We have heard from reliable sources that some men are working as much as 90 hours a week.

If the company can get by with this and you have enough greedy men that will do it, they can keep these men off indefinitely. (Some brotherhood.) The so-called great contract isn't much good if you aren't working.

I will not sign this, simply because there are a lot of men affected and I am not writing just for my husband.

The preceding letter was received by me on Wednesday, May 30, 1979. It is my policy to respond to letters such as this, but, as is evident from the last paragraph, it was not possible for me to do so in this case because the lady did not give her name or address.

The lady claims that some drivers feel it would do no good to tell the union what is going on. The fact is, there is no good the union can do if someone has pertinent information and withholds it from us.

The letter quotes "reliable sources" that some men are working as much as 90 hours a week. It is not only a violation of law, a violation of contract and a violation of decent moral concepts for this to occur; it is one of the greatest disregards for safety imaginable.

I find it very difficult to accept that this practice does indeed exist. However, if it does, I am asking if the lady who wrote or anyone else who knows of these "reliable sources" will give them to me. I will act immediately to stop it and seek the proper remedy under law and under contract.

Rumors and innuendos, such as this, do no good for the morale of the membership or the functions of the union, and it is this practice that I would like to stop. I can do nothing with rumors, but if you make the facts available to me, I will give you the representation you deserve and to which you are entitled.

Fraternally yours,
THEODORE N. WELCH,
President
Local 600

600 member likes policy

The following letter was sent to Local 600 President Ted Welch.

This is to inform you that I recently took out a disability insurance policy with Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Co. The effective date was March 22, 1979, and on April 14, 1979, I was involved in an accident. My tractor-trailer jackknifed on me. If you recall, I called you from the hospital.

More letters about Coors

In regard to the list of names of places which do not serve Coors beer, I thought you might want to add a couple from our area:

Cannon Dam Tavern and D & E Recreation, Center, Mo.

We have one package store in Center but it sells Coors.

Thanking you, I remain

H. E. HARRIS,
Secretary-Treasurer, Local 21

I am a lifelong resident of St. Charles, Mo., and while reading the Missouri Teamster, I noticed that there was only one establish-

Major political parties wither away

By GUS LUMPE
Teamster Editor

The failure of the American political system, its inability to deal with the increasing and increasingly complex problems that oppress the American people today, is, I think, a direct result of the breakdown of the two principal parties.

MARXISTS of all shades would have us believe that the Democratic and Republican parties fail to meet our needs because they both are capitalist parties and there isn't any real difference between the two. Their solution is the formation of a new people-oriented party.

The Marxist analysis, however, seems to be irrelevant. There just aren't enough Marxists among us as their futile efforts in electoral politics prove over and over again. Granted, the election laws are stacked against political groups like the Communists and the Socialist Workers Party. Nevertheless, because of the dedication of their followers, they manage, against great odds, to get on many ballots. But their showings are always dismal.

THEY DO, in fact, not even benefit from the general disillusionment with the two principal parties. Instead of casting their votes in protest for minority party candidates, ever more Americans stay away from the polls all together.

Nor is it, I think, accurate to say that there is no difference between the Democratic and the Republican parties. If nothing else, those who still come out to vote seem to think that there is a difference and that, generally, their interests will be best served by Democrats. Democrats certainly win most elections at this time.

WHILE THE Marxists are correct in describing both the Democratic and the Republican parties as "capitalist," they overlook that the two parties merely reflect most American's belief in a free enterprise economy.

Beyond that, they gloss over fundamental differences among most of those who call themselves Democrats and most of those who call themselves Republicans regarding government's role in the economy. The former generally believe that government's function is to protect the individual against the worst possible consequences of strictly private economic activity and the latter see virtually no role for government, subscribing to the notion that unfettered pursuit of private self-interest results in the greatest common good.

BY ANY statistical measure one may want to apply, those who are elected as Democrats are more understanding of the problems of people than Republicans who reflect better the interests of private business.

What then accounts for the fact that so many Americans are turned off by the political process? Is it just plain apathy?

I think not. People are quite prepared to participate in the process if they perceive the issue to be important and believe that their participation can affect the outcome. Our fight to defeat Amendment 23 last fall is a case in point. In a non-presidential election, Missourians turned out in near record numbers to defeat the so-called "right-to-work" amendment.

I BELIEVE that the principal reason for the ever decreasing participation in the electoral process by Americans is frustration.

People are frustrated because the programs they think they are supporting with their votes hardly ever come about. Election promises, they have come to believe, are honored principally in their breach.

Who can really blame people for giving up? It is quite beside the point to exhort people to do their civic duty and vote. An election is an expression of the public will and if that public will is ignored, there is indeed no point to the election. More and more people are coming to see it that way. People aren't stupid.

LEST ANYBODY conclude that this is an indictment of all elected officials, let me quickly explain that I believe most elected officials are honest and honorable, intelligent individuals.

The problem, in my view, lies with the political parties. They have in fact withered away to mere shells of their former selves, no longer capable of performing the tasks they must perform if our democracy is to be viable.

United Auto Workers President Doug Fraser, the guiding influence behind the formation of the new Progressive Alliance, has said that one of the first tasks of the alliance should be the revitalization of the Democratic Party into a responsive and disciplined political tool.

MANY AMERICANS share his sense of urgency about getting on with that task. In future columns I would like to share some thoughts about what I perceive to be wrong with the Democratic party apparatus and how it might be fixed.

Bill to require vote counting in polling places not passed

Efforts by Rep. E. J. (Lucky) Cantrell (D-Overland) to get legislation passed which would require ballot counting in polling places, last week appeared to have failed for this session of the Missouri General Assembly.

CANTRELL'S legislation called for installation of mini-computers or counters in polling places of the metropolitan Kansas City and St. Louis areas where punch card voting is used now.

With punch card voting, ballots are carried from polling places to central locations where they are tabulated. Cantrell has pointed out that, in the case of St. Louis County, this system has been unreliable and notoriously slow in getting results.

THE SYSTEM also has resulted in a further decline in participation by partisan precinct workers who are no longer able to determine the effectiveness of their effort on election day since total votes are not broken down by polling places until as much as 10 days after the elections.

Robert P. Baine, the chairman of the St. Louis County Board of Election Commissioners, strongly opposed Cantrell's legislation. He admitted that the punch card system takes "the fun out of elections," but claimed that the system's advantages far outweigh that factor. These advantages, as he outlined them, seemed to add up to the fact that the system is cheap.

HOWEVER, many persons who favor Cantrell's legislation believe that cheapness should not be the overriding consideration when the functioning of the democratic process is in the balance.

...ikes policy

The following letter was sent to Local 600 President Ted Welch.

This is to inform you that I recently took out a disability insurance policy with Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Co. The effective date was March 22, 1979, and on April 14, 1979, I was involved in an accident. My tractor-trailer jackknifed on me. If you recall, I called you from the hospital.

After I was released by my doctor, I sent in a claim to the above insurance company. Within three weeks, I received my disability check. All this was handled through Sid Keiner, the agent.

I just wanted to let you know how glad I was to have had taken the disability insurance, and how well it was handled. It really helped out.

Sincerely,
CHARLES V. NUCCIO
Local 600

688 retiree praises union

What can I say? After I have been affiliated with the finest labor union in the world, words alone would not be enough for it is the feeling of brotherhood and caring for one another that truly brings together a strong bond of mutual trust and goals to be shared by all. For this I am truly thankful because without this, even after 20 years with one union and one company, I would not be able to retire.

On behalf of myself, I can only say it's been a privilege to be called a Teamster and a joy to have known all my brothers and sisters in the union.

Sincerely,
W. G. CANTU
Local 688 retiree
Shure Manufacturing Corp.

...recreation, Center, Mo.

We have one package store in Center but it sells Coors.

Thanking you, I remain
H. E. HARRIS,
Secretary-Treasurer, Local 21

I am a lifelong resident of St. Charles, Mo., and while reading the Missouri Teamster, I noticed that there was only one establishment from our town listed for not selling scab Coors beer.

I would like to bring it to everyone's attention that I patronize two local businesses that do not sell this scab beer. I would like to see them included in your list. They are Bunny's Liquor Store, 2552 Raymond, and The Corner Bar, 571 First Capitol Dr.

Yours truly,
ROBERT BREDENSTEINER
Local 682

Praise from Washington

I want to tell you how much we appreciated "ERA ratification a legislative priority" in the Missouri Teamster of Jan. 19, 1979.

I Xeroxed that editorial and distributed it to our membership and we read it at a general membership meeting. The young women cheered as the editorial makes the necessary connection between the feminist and labor movements that is needed. Without that joint struggle we will all be destroyed, one by one, from the increasing anti-labor, anti-feminist rightwing attacks.

I am enclosing one of the Xeroxed handouts of that editorial as well as some of the publicity we have been doing around the same issue.

Fraternally in struggle,
MARY REEVES, Organizer
Seattle (Wash.) Radical Women

City Players' final play

The Municipal Theater Association announced last month that the musical farce "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum" and "Tom Sawyer," based on Mark Twain's classic, will fill out its 10-week Municipal Opera season.

"A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum" will be presented the week of July 2 to 8.

"Ballroom," the current Broadway hit originally scheduled for that week, will now be presented the week of Aug. 20 to 26.

"Mark Twain," a show devoted to children, will be shown the week of Aug. 6 to 12.

The Muny season opens Monday, June 25, with "My Fair Lady," starring David Birney, which will run through July 1.

St. Louis labor-management problems can be overcome

By EDWIN D. DORSEY
President, Joint Council 13

The St. Louis media proclaimed, "Labor Management Promote Better Labor Image."

I am not comfortable with that caption, because it leads one to the conclusion that the purpose of the Spirit of St. Louis Labor-Management Committee is to assist labor with its "image."

DORSEY

HAVING SERVED on the Regional Commerce and Growth Association (RCGA) Board when the original discussion and groundwork took place for the formation of the New Spirit of St. Louis Committee, I do not believe the "image" (and I prefer to call it the St. Louis labor-management "image") can be changed without recognizing the root of various problems which affect labor relations throughout the whole of the United States today.

My observation, throughout some 40 years of labor-management relations, is that the relationship is as good as the parties want it to be. The responsibility for that relationship must be equally shared by the parties. Labor and management are equal parties and have a mutual responsibility to our community. Both are mutually accountable and both parties must accept the praise or the blame for success or failure in this responsibility. Like a pitcher and a catcher on a baseball team, each needs the other.

SURE, THERE ARE going to be

Therefore, when the ink is not yet dried on that agreement, a successful corporation and a responsible union will turn their energy toward problem solving. The key is to recognize a potential problem before it becomes uncontrollable and causes the corporation, and yes, the union much anguish. Working together, labor and management could possibly prevent an unnecessary strike, low productivity due to low worker morale, or manpower turnover.

WE ARE, and have been, going through a whole new era in labor relations. We are dealing with a new generation, not directly familiar with the Depression or believing in the notion that tomorrow will hold what they work for today.

We have the constant threat of nuclear war. There is the energy crisis. Young people must face the prohibitive cost of even night college and the improbability of their ever owning a home. There is uncertainty about the future. Will there always be employment, enough food to buy, enough water to drink and even enough air to breathe? On top of this, we have a credibility problem with leadership in government, labor and management. The best way to test the truth of this is to have a casual conversation with the rank and file. The tone of their comments, I am sure, will weigh heavily upon your mind.

THIS IS ONLY pointed out because the practitioners in labor relations, the professionals in both labor and management, must recognize the psychological reasons why certain people react and cannot be reached only at contract time! Labor and management must recognize the various social and personal frustrations of indi-

to aid and encourage employers and employee representatives to reach and maintain agreements."

It has always been my policy that the services of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service be utilized to the fullest. I reaffirm that policy, and in so doing, I urge all unions and all managements who have a genuine desire for the success of the new St. Louis Labor-Management Committee, to enlist the aid of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in the area of supervisor and steward training programs, in seeking resolution of contract impasses before a strike results and to seek the agency's input during the term of a contract to search for solutions to newly discovered problems. This agency's assistance can only help us to achieve our goals.

IT IS NOT my desire, or yours, that we fail, or that we be satisfied with less than the very best. With the use of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in basic labor relations problems, labor and management in cooperation will have the opportunity to tackle jointly the difficult and complex problems of unemployment due to automation, slums, inadequate schools, racial discrimination, problems of the aged, and untrained, unskilled and underpaid workers.

These problems are real, unresolved and exist in every part of the United States. The quest for their solutions, I believe, is the responsibility of both labor and management.

In 1898, Samuel Gompers stated:

"The trade unions are the legitimate outgrowth of modern societary and industrial conditions . . . They were born of the neces-

A trib

A. Philip Randolph, founder of
and revered American labor an
New York home. He was 90 year

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

ribute to A. Philip Randolp

olph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
nerican labor and civil rights leader, died on May 16 in his
e. He was 90 years old. (PAI Photo)

DWAY

social, political and economic advancement of the American
black citizen. They are: Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois

systems of institutional greed reinforces the ingrained structure of inequity.

From a philosophical point of view it was not an accident that A. Phillip Randolph emerged as a dominant figure in both movements. His early years and intellectual interests slowly prepared him for the tasks of serving as the great connecting link between the Americna labor movement and the American civil rights movement.

Randolph was born April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Fla., the son of an AME minister. As a youth he worked as a grocery clerk, railroad section had and at other odd jobs. He finished high school at Jacksonville, Fla.

IN 1911 at the age of 22 he moved northward to New York City where he took courses at City College. Here he concentrated on political science, economics and philosophy. He held a variety of jobs. In one case he was a waiter on the Fall River line. Here he was fired for organizing a protest against the poor living quarters.

In 1915 Randolph married, and in 1917 when America entered World War I he and Chandler Owen launched the Messenger Magazine. With this, Randolph at the age of 28 enters the first phase of his 62 year career as a social critic and activist. The Messenger was a socialist-oriented magazine that militantly agitated against Jim Crowism, the war and racial inequality. Later, the Lusk Committee, a congressional investigating committee during the war, charged that the Messenger "is by far the most dangerous of all Negro publications." The magazine called itself the "only radical Negro magazine in America."

In 1918 Randolph's strong anti-war stand led to his arrest in Cleveland. A few days before, Eugene V. Debs, the socialist leader, had been arrested in the same city on the same charge of obstructing the draft. Randolph was released after several days in jail, but Debs, the major target of the Department of Justice, was sentenced to 10 years in prison for violation of the Espionage Act.

IN ADDITION to publishing the Messenger, Randolph, now an active socialist, devoted a great deal of time and energy to labor organizing. This included elevator operators, shipyard workers, laundry workers, motion picture operators and garment workers. Here he constantly observed that "the Negro should organize himself, because with organization he will be better able to break-down the barriers and prejudices of white workers against him than he will without."

In 1925, the second and most dramatic phase in the working life of Randolph begins. He had always considered himself an editor and publisher, but now he is converted into a labor leader — the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It all began on an August evening in 1925 in Harlem. Here a group of dissatisfied Pullman porters met to discuss their grievances. This led to the organization of the union, which

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However, after a series of meetings with

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discrimination in the ranks of labor.

Randolph contended that the goal was to convince all workers that "only solidarity can save the black and white workers of America, and that this solidarity must be developed in mixed unions, composed of black and white."

Yet, it took World War II to bring Phil Randolph to full national flowering as the major black voice of challenge against many old systems of racial discrimination. As a matter of fact the agitational and organizational personality of Randolph loomed over the whole of the decade of the 40's in the making of fundamental change in the black condition in America.

COMING OUT of the Depression, the new war economy was putting white America back to work. Randolph organized a national movement in 1942 to march on Washington as a protest against the wide-spread discrimination against blacks seeking employment in war plants. President Roosevelt did not want such a march on the capital. He dispatched Mrs. Roosevelt, who was highly respected in the black community, and Fiorello LaGuardia to present his concerns to Philip Randolph. As a result of the negotiations, President Roosevelt agreed to issue Executive Order 8802 which introduced a new phrase and concept in U.S. race relations — fair employment. Randolph had won his second great victory in human relations as thousands of blacks went to work in war plants throughout America and fair employment practices laws went on the books in many states.

In 1947 it was President Harry S Truman and the issue was the matter of hardcore racial discrimination in the armed forces. Again Randolph went into action and the result was favorable. President Truman issued his historic Executive Order banning racial discrimination in the armed forces.

IN THE FIFTIES three significant developments took place which had great impact in both labor and civil rights areas. They were: (1) The Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools, (2) the merger between the AFL and CIO, and (3) the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and the emergence of Dr. Martin Luther King as a new center of civil rights leadership and programming. (Incidentally, it was the leader of the Pullman Porters Union in Montgomery that urged King to assume the leadership of the bus boycott.)

In 1961, Randolph called a national conference of black trade union leaders in Detroit. This conference launched the Negro American Labor Council as a new center of black trade union leadership. The primary program was to enhance the role of blacks in local and national union operations. The Negro American Labor Council, under Randolph's leadership, had made plans to conduct a March on Washington to protest the increasing levels of black unemployment. It was planned for the latter part of April.

However, after a series of meetings with other black

that relationship must be equally shared by the parties. Labor and management are equal parties and have a mutual responsibility to our community. Both are mutually accountable and both parties must accept the praise or the blame for success or failure in this responsibility. Like a pitcher and a catcher on a baseball team, each needs the other.

SURE, THERE ARE going to be disagreements between representatives of labor and management. But you can disagree without being disagreeable. If the spirit of labor and management in St. Louis is willing, the solution will be found and the so-called "image" will not be as some would have you believe.

The collective bargaining agreement, as a general rule, especially the first agreement, comes about by blood, sweat and tears. On both sides of the table there is much attention to detail and choice of words. Where does the comma go? etc. But after the conclusion of the process, there is a tendency to kind of let things go until the next contract negotiations.

I SAY TO YOU, an enlightened, successful corporation, through its labor relations personnel, and a responsible labor union will not allow that to happen. Because labor relations, when you rid it of all its technicalities, is, plain and simple, dealing with people. And people are, and always will be, the most valuable asset we have.

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THIS IS ONLY pointed out because the practitioners in labor relations, the professionals in both labor and management, must recognize the psychological reasons why certain people react and cannot be reached only at contract time! Labor and management must recognize the various social and personal frustrations of individuals with whom they are dealing. They must, because if they do not it will spell the difference between a successful and an unsuccessful operation. It will spell the difference between a successful and an unsuccessful union.

Labor unions are the biggest advocates of the economic system as it exists because unions have a vested interest in that relationship. Without a successful business, you cannot have a successful union.

The sum of the parts equal the whole. Today there are vehicles which management and labor can utilize to make the New Spirit of St. Louis Labor-Management Committee achieve its objectives.

IN 1947, the Taft-Hartley law created an agency of the United States Government called the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Section 301 (b) Title II, of the act states "It is the policy of the United States that the settlement of issues through collective bargaining may be advanced by making available full and adequate governmental facilities . . .

These problems are real, unresolved and exist in every part of the United States. The quest for their solutions, I believe, is the responsibility of both labor and management.

In 1898, Samuel Gompers stated:

"The trade unions are the legitimate outgrowth of modern societary and industrial conditions . . . They were born of the necessity of workers to protect and defend themselves from encroachment, injustice and wrong . . . To protect the workers in their inalienable rights to a higher and better life; to protect them, not only as equals before the law, but also in their health, their homes, their firesides, their liberties as men, as workers, and as citizens; to overcome and conquer prejudices and antagonism; to secure to them the right to life, and the opportunity to maintain that life, the right to be full sharers in the abundance which is the result of their brain and brawn, and the civilization of which they are the founders and the mainstay; to this the workers are entitled . . . the attainment of these is the glorious mission of the trade unions."

I WOULD LIKE to see the last line read: "The attainment of these is the glorious mission of the New Spirit of St. Louis Labor-Management Committee. We have the challenge. Some day the media will proclaim: "St. Louis Labor and Management met the challenge."

Burst of activity

Legislature ends session

Much of the record of the first session of the Eightieth General Assembly was to be written in the final hours before adjournment at midnight today (June 15).

THE FATES of many major bills changed from day to day and sometimes from hour to hour in the last two weeks of the session.

A final report and assessment of the past session will have to await a later edition.

Meanwhile, some things of importance and interest to working Missourians had been finalized — or at least almost finalized — last week.

THE MISSOURI General Assembly was not to be among those calling on Congress to set a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of considering an amendment requiring balanced federal budgets.

The House last month passed a resolution which merely called on Congress to take "concrete steps" toward a balanced budget.

The House Labor Committee, headed by Rep. Earl Schlef (D-Dellwood), apparently successfully bottled up legislation sought by industry and strongly opposed by consumers and labor, which would have limited suits over injuries caused by defective products, the so-called product liability bill.

AGAIN, the big truck bills, always approved by the State Senate, died in the House. This time, bills raising the maximum allowable weight for trucks from 73,280 to 80,000 pounds and the maximum length from 55 to 60 feet, opposed by most Teamster drivers, were not reported out by the House Rules Committee headed by House Majority Leader Joe Holt (D-Fulton). The committee refused to report out the bills late last month on 5 to 5 votes with one abstention.

Among the few bills passed by last week and sent to Gov. Joseph P. Teasdale for his signature was one that will make Blue Cross and Blue Shield health insurance rates subject to review by the director of the State Division of Insurance.

THE BILL was sponsored by Sens. J. B. (Jet) Banks (D-St. Louis) and Edwin Dirck (D-St. Ann).

Another bill passed by both houses was one requiring that car and homeowner insurance policies be written in readable language, easily understood by lay people. It was signed by Gov. Teasdale last week.

A. Philip Randolph, founder of
and revered American labor and
New York home. He was 90 year

By ERNEST CALLOWAY
Special Contributor

In the 90th year of his fruitful life an American origi
has passed away, and the nation is the lesser for it. On M
16, 1979, A. Philip Randolph died quietly and peacefully in
New York apartment.

HIS WORK WAS DONE. And the time had come to stu
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for the struggles in the dangerous years ahead.

In the past struggles against the social and econom
residue of class and race in American society Phil
Randolph occupied a unique position in both the Americ
labor movement and the civil rights movement.

During the past 100 years of the U.S. labor moveme
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fashioned most of the changing character of U.S. unionis
Likewise, much of the modern history of the uni
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Samuel Gompers, Eugene Victor Debs, John L. Lew
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experiences such concepts as social insurance (soci
security), minimum wages and others designed to enhan
the dignity and security of the American worker. All of the
social notions were considered very radical in 1912.

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metaphor, brought mass-oriented industrial unionism out
its intellectual confines and with it led the great lab
revolution during the Thirties. He was instrumental
forming the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
1938.

REUTHER, a social planning unionist and leader of t
auto workers, sought new frontiers of U.S. unionism as
began operating in an advanced technological climate wi
new global concentrations of economic power. He was
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Randolph, in addition to successfully leading one of t
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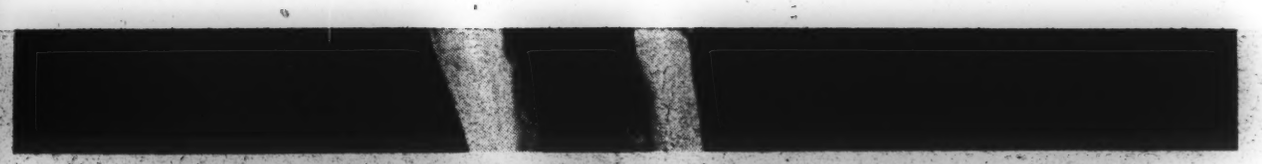

A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and revered American labor and civil rights leader, died on May 16 in his New York home. He was 90 years old. (PAI Photo)

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WISE, during the past 100 years of the civil and rights movement there also have been five ental personalities who maintained a major e upon thought, action and change dealing with the social, political and economic advancement of the American black citizen. They are: Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph.

Douglass, who died in 1895 at the age of 78, is considered the "father of the U.S. civil rights movement." Contrary to popular opinion today in many circles, the civil rights movement was around many, many decades before the 1960's. It moves deep into the 19th century struggle of blacks for emancipation and full freedom. Historically, it takes over when the abolitionist movement closed shop with the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Douglass, who emerged as the first black leader of national stature worked relentlessly during the Reconstruction Period for the adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the U.S. Constitution and strongly opposed President Andrew Johnson in his efforts to weaken these amendments. Much of this brought on the historic impeachment of President Johnson.

DuBOIS, a young Atlanta University professor of history, followed Douglass and became the most articulate voice of black America's search for full freedom. His book of essays "The Soul of Black Folk" became a black "Declaration of Equality" as well as the basis for the historic controversy between DuBois and Booker T. Washington. In 1905 he organized the Miagra Movement, and in 1910 this organization merged with another group of black and white liberals to become the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). As editor of the NAACP's Crisis Magazine, DuBois hammered at the paradox of racial inequality in a democratic society.

Marcus Garvey, the father of "Black Nationalism" in the United States, developed the greatest mass movement of blacks in the U.S. following World War I. Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement during the 20's received wide-spread support among West Indians and American blacks. However, his most bitter opponent was W. E. B. DuBois. He ended up in prison in 1926. Upon leaving prison he moved to England to become a great American legend.

MARTIN LUTHER KING brought a new moral vigor and the social strategy of non-violence to the civil rights movement, and for the first time placed the enemies of black freedom on the defensive. He was a magnificent social strategist and activist, and deeply committed to non-violence, both morally and from the vantage point of social strategy. Perhaps, one of the greatest tragedies of King's death is that Black America has not yet learned the first lesson from his life and passion for change in the human condition. We build monuments, name streets and seek state and federal holidays, but the moral core of his life's work — his passion for non-violence and a classless, raceless society — we vehemently reject.

Philosophically, Randolph and King were kindred souls, and the two — the old warrior and the young warrior — were more compatible than any other combination of national spokesmen.

THE SEARCH of the American working class for economic justice and work place dignity, and the search of the American black for functional freedom and social justice are two historical movements flowing from the same tight structure of inequity brought about by the dominance of property rights over human rights in our social order. The with organization he will be better able to break-down the barriers and prejudices of white workers against him than he will without."

In 1925, the second and most dramatic phase in the working life of Randolph begins. He had always considered himself an editor and publisher, but now he is converted into a labor leader — the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

It all began on an August evening in 1925 in Harlem. Here a group of dissatisfied Pullman porters met to discuss their grievances. This led to the organization of the union, which Randolph was asked to head.

FOR 12 YEARS this small union of Pullman porters did battle with the giant of the Railroad industry — The Pullman Company. It was the largest single employer of black labor in America at the time, and jealously guarded its system of hard-core paternalism.

In 1928 the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in August of 1937 the battle with the Pullman Company was won. After 12 years of struggle, the union finally gained recognition from the company and the right to bargain collectively for the Pullman porters. Randolph emerged from this struggle as the dominant economic voice in black America and a consistent voice against racial intolerance and

urged King to as

In 1961, Rand trade union lead Negro America trade union le enhance the ro operations. The Randolph's lead on Washington unemployment.

However, af leaders, the plan a united effort Southern Chris United Auto Wo the latter part o

With Bayard of the greatest m It paved the way

RANDOLPH leadership with emerging.

The old warr words as comm had served his ti

This picture of A. Philip Randolph (center) and tw representatives was taken in 1956 when the Brothe Porters held its national convention here. At left is then director of Local 688's Community Action Pro Ernest Calloway, then Joint Council 13 research dir the St. Louis chapter of the NAACP who welcomed to St. Louis on behalf of the local NAACP.

urged King to assume the leadership of the bus boycott.)

In 1961, Randolph called a national conference of black trade union leaders in Detroit. This conference launched the Negro American Labor Council as a new center of black trade union leadership. The primary program was to enhance the role of blacks in local and national union operations. The Negro American Labor Council, under Randolph's leadership, had made plans to conduct a March on Washington to protest the increasing levels of black unemployment. It was planned for the latter part of April.

However, after a series of meetings with other black leaders, the plans where changed. It was decided to make it a united effort with the NAACP, CORE, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SNCC, the United Auto Workers, and Jewish groups and to plan it for the latter part of August, 1963,

With Bayard Rustin a co-ordinator, the event became one of the greatest mass demonstrations in the nation's history. It paved the way for the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

RANDOLPH was now 74 years of age. A new young leadership with Martin Luther King at the center was emerging.

The old warrior, who had given new meaning to such words as commitment, integrity, incorruptible and faith, had served his time. He now belongs to the ages.

olph (center) and two St. Louis Teamster
956 when the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car
ention here. At left is the late Sidney Zagri,
ommunity Action Program, and at right is
ouncil 13 research director and president of
AACP who welcomed convention delegates
al NAACP.

ON GUARD
For Human Rights
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THE Atlanta Inqu

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MAJ COLM L. COPLIN

IN FALL REFERENDUM

Taxpayers Likely To Vote For Own Tax Increase

Atlanta and Fulton County taxpayers, currently besieged by tax proposals from all sides apparently are headed for a fall vote which will determine whether or not a sales tax increase will be effected. This week's meeting between Mayor Maynard Jackson and Fulton County Commission Chairman Milton Farris all but assures a September sales tax referendum.

"As heads of the two governments," Farris said, "we feel a referendum should be called on the sales tax proposal." It is anticipated that such would take place in late September or early October.

Mayor Jackson has expressed all along the fear that, if Fulton County increased its sales tax to five percent while Cobb and Clayton remains at three percent, Atlanta shoppers would leave the city to purchase "big ticket" items like refrigerators and cars.

Now the Mayor is concerned about a whopping financial loss to the city if voters do not vote in favor of the tax increase this fall.

The city stands to lose $20 million from next year's proposed budget, the Mayor estimates, if the local option tax is not approved by the voters.

Meanwhile, several members of the City Council have voiced their support of Jackson's proposal for a September vote on whether to increase the sales tax from four cents to five cents.

Councilman Q.V. Williams the people decide what they want," pointed out that if the tax increase is voted down, "then we have no other alternative than the occupation tax."

Councilman James Howard proposed the occupation tax nearly a month ago. It would require a $150 yearly tax on every worker in the city, regardless of residence.

It is believed by the council that the occupation tax would ease the burden on property taxpayers in the city by shifting some of the tax burden to residents who work and shop in Atlanta but live in surrounding counties.

Council President Carl Ware, along with other members of the Council, favor a delay on the occupation tax.

Both Councilman Buddy Fowlkes and Councilwoman Barbara Asher have said they support the sales tax idea but would give the occupation tax serious consideration if the sales tax fails.

Opposing the occupation tax was Gov. George Busbee, who is fearful that the

lopment.

Meeting with Mayor Jackson and seven members of the City Council, Gov. Busbee stated his opposition to the proposal, and urged the officials to seek other ways to raise revenue.

Even if the council passes the occupational tax, the measure would likely be revoked by the state next year. "I think we generally agreed that if we passed the proposed tax, that it would be repealed by the General Assembly," said Ware following the meeting.

Councilman James Bond pointed out that, while Busbee appeared sympathetic to Atlanta's financial plight he offered no suggestions on how to resolve it other than the local option sales tax.

PLAUDITS

Rep. Emil Jones (right) received the applause of Dr. Ralph Abernathy (left), President Emeritus of SCLC, for introducing civil rights legislation in the 81st Illinois General Assembly to prevent the administration of discriminatory insurance licensing exams.

Appointed

President Jimmy Carter has announced the appointment of Margaret Bush Wilson as one of three members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

Mrs. Wilson, of St. Louis, Missouri, is chairperson of the board of directors of the NAACP and chairperson of the St. Louis Regional Panel on White House Fellowships.

Reappointed

President Jimmy Carter has announced the reappointment of John D. Thompson, along with three other persons, as public members of the board of directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Thompson is president and treasurer of Vijon Realty Company in Washington, D.C. and president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc., a trade association

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PRAYER

President Jimmy Carter bows his head in prayer during a memorial for the late A. Philip Randolph recently at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in Washington, D.C. The President called Randolph a "man of dignity....tenacity....eloquence" at the hour-long memorial. Seated on Carter's right is Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and on his left is Bishop Henry Murph of the Second Episcopal District, A.M.E. Church. Seated in the foreground is George Shirley who sang a selection during the event.

Statement By Juror Haunts Second Trial Of Langford

A statement made during the May trial of Councilman Arthur Langford continued to influence the selection of a jury for the "follow-up" trial which was scheduled for Monday, June 18.

Most of the day Monday was spent in questioning prospective jurors for the federal trial of Langford who has been charged with [illegible]

[illegible]

did last month, when the judge ordered a mistrial following a juror's comment that "all politicians are crooks."

The attorneys' questions covered background information such as those dealing with the jurors' [illegible]

[illegible]

to use his influence as a city councilman to help fair promoters in dealing with other city agencies and that he received money for exerting that influence.

The indictment further charges that Langford lied to the grand jury about the matter and that he encouraged another witness, Fred Williams, to lie to the jury.

Williams, who had been a UYAC supervisor, is now a key government witness in the case and some of his [illegible]

bers of the City Council have voiced their support of Jackson's proposal for a September vote on whether to increase the sales tax from four cents to five cents.

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PLAUDITS

Rep. Emil Jones (right) received the applause of Dr. Ralph Abernathy (left), President Emeritus of SCLC, for introducing civil rights legislation in the 81st Illinois General Assembly to prevent the administration of discriminatory insurance licensing exams. Dr. Abernathy called the proposed legislation, which recently passed the Illinois House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote (123 to 22), the most important piece of civil rights legislation presently pending in the nation.

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was spent in questioning prospective jurors for the federal trial of Langston who has been charged with extortion, perjury and subornin[illegible] perjury.

Langston's attorneys have [illegible] of prosecutorial misconduct [illegible] the second trial [illegible] day.

BOND CLAIMS

'Cox Has No Public Interest'

"Atlanta has no cable system because Cox has no public interest," Councilman James Bond charged today.

Responding to public statements made by a Cox Broadcasting Vice-President in the June 7 issue of the Cox-owned Atlanta Constitution, Bond says that "the company's interest in making money -- not the FCC regulations -- have denied cable to Atlanta residents."

Councilman Bond, who is chairman of the City Council Development Committee now reviewing the cable situation for Atlanta, says that Cox is presently attempting to sell its system in Atlanta and "make millions of dollars of profit off the franchise which the city gave them seven years ago. Yet, they've done practically nothing with the franchise and given very few people cable service," Bond added.

Visibly upset by what he calls "the continued campaign of lies" by the Cox media, Bond released a letter from the FCC Cable Bureau stating that "nothing in the Commission rules prohibits (Cox) from undertaking further construction of a cable system within the City of Atlanta."

Attacks upon the City Council continue as he predicted three months ago, according to Bond. On March 22 Bond issued a statement warning that "the closer we look at the cable company the more they (Cox) will try to discredit us" in the Cox newspapers and television station.

"So long as Cox owns the major media of this city, Atlanta residents will be denied a cable system and a reliable system of information," Bond concluded.

The City Council's Development Committee is continuing to examine the cable system in Atlanta and its service to residents.

Congressmen To Discuss Expenditures For Defense

Black Congressmen John Conyers and Ron Dellums, both members of the Congressional Black Caucus, and National SCLC President Dr. Joseph Lowery, will make seminar presentations at the National Black United Fund's Third Annual Public Policy Conference, June 30th in Boston, Massachusetts.

These three prominent figures will cover key issues concerning the U.S. military. Conyers will address the subject of "Military Budgets and Domestic Expenditures;" and Lowery will address the question of "Peace and Social Progress."

Holding its Third Annual Public Policy Conference at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel, June 28th - July 1st, the National Black United Fund has as its 1979 theme "Public Policy and Economic Democracy - Will the Black Masses of the African Diaspora Survive?"

Within recent years, Conyers, Dellums, and Lowery have emerged on the national scene as strong Black critics of the U.S. military budget, contending that Blacks must demonstrate strong concern over the fat military expenditures and allocations in response to conservative efforts directed toward cutting domestic program budgets.

Other prominent speakers and participants scheduled for the conference in Boston will be Nigerian Ambassador, L.O. Harriman; Congressman Parren Mitchell, Gloria Steinem, editor o f Ms. magazine; Dr . Alvin Poussaint, Professor of Medicine, Harvard University; Dr. Nathan Hare, author; and the Honorable Arnold Bertram Minister of Culture of Jamaica.

The National Black United Fund, which has sponsored two public policy conferences within the past two years, is a Black charitable organization, with 14 local affiliates designed to generate funds to support Black agencies and organizations.

"Th e primary objective of this organization," comments executive director Walter Bremond, "is to develop and facilitate where possible self-sufficient fund-raising mechanisms in Black America that support the organizations and agencies that are servicing people and solving problems to the benefit of the Black community."

NBUF To Discuss Diasporan Issues

The African Diaspora consists of 350 million human beings who dispersed from the African continent to the shores of North and South America and to the islands of the Caribbean.

The National Black United Fund will review the issues confronting this massive body of people, whose strtegic connections are an important element in the developing world order for the 21st Century, at its Third Annual Public Policy Conference in Boston this year.

Hosted by the Boston Black United Fund, this event will kick-off on June 28 through July 1, 1979 at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel. The conference theme is, "Public Policy and Economic Democracy: Strategies for the 21st Century." The cogent question that will be put before the conveners is, "Will the Black Masses of the African Diaspora Survive?"

The ideal this year is to create an awareness among Black Americans and other members of the Diaspora of their common goals and bonds. In the throes of a world economy which relegates all peoples descending from the African continent to the same blanket, underclass status throughout the world, this knowledge is crucial.

Towards that end, NBUF has assembled an outstanding coterie of individuals from government, consumer and environmental groups, organized labor, educational institutions, entertainment and broadcasting, and grass-roots activist organizations.

Consider, for example, the ramifications of a seminar in which Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Conyers and Dr. Joseph Lowery, national director of SCLC, sit upon the panel to discuss the controversial situation surrounding America's defense expenditures versus its domestic priorities.

Or, imagine the exchange that will take place in a women-oriented seminar with such progressive panelists as attorney Patricia Goins of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Aileen Hernandez, who has made national impact with her consulting firm, Gloria Steinem of Ms. Magazine, and Dr. Ruth Love, Superintendent of Schools in Oakland, California.

SULLIVAN SUPPORTS CARTER

PHILADELPHIA -- Rev. Leon H. Sullivan has called for support for President Carter's announced effort to reexamine the proposed $200 million cut in the 1980 summer youth jobs budget.

Calling the President's action directing Vice President Mondale to review all youth training programs "both timely and hopeful," the founder of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC) network of 200 job training centers said: "We must all support the President's efforts and persuade Congress to restore $250 million representing 300.000 summer youth jobs.

"The President cannot do the job by himself. The Congress cannot get it done by itself. We must give 100% support as citizens. We must back up the plans of Vice President Mondale and the White house Task Force on Youth Employment.

"Strategic talks to limit youth unemployment, youth welfarism and youth crime and delinquency are as important to the future security of the nation as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks."

Rev. Sullivan wired the following message to Vice President Mondale pledging OIC support: "We must put America's youth to work. Today's youth crisis can be tomorrow's national disaster. The problem will not go away. It cannot be swept under the rug. Your White House Task Force on Youth Employment is a symbol of hope that we can solve this problem I offer you the support of our 'Help Our Youth Campaign,' and our OIC self-help job creation and job training systems in 150 communities and 47 states.

"Your leadership is needed now, more than ever, to help make federal funds for youth jobs an exception to the anti-inflation and balanced budget policy cuts."

RCSE INSTITUTE

Dr. Melvin Webb, Director, addresses students at the opening session of the RCSE -SPONSORED Summer Science and Mathematics Institute on June 11.

directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

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Towards that end, NBUF has assembled an outstanding coterie of individuals from government, consumer and environmental groups, organized labor, educational institutions, entertainment and broadcasting, and grass-roots activist organizations.

Consider, for example, the ramifications of a seminar in which Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Conyers and Dr. Joseph Lowery, national director of SCLC, sit upon the panel to discuss the controversial situation surrounding America's defense expenditures versus its domestic priorities.

Or, imagine the exchange that will take place in a women-oriented seminar with such progressive panelists as attorney Patricia Goins of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Aileen Hernandez, who has made national impact with her consulting firm, Gloria Steinem of Ms. Magazine, and Dr. Ruth Love, Superintendent of Schools in Oakland, California.

was spent in questioning prospective jurors for the federal trial of Langford who has been charged with extortion, perjury and [illegible] bribing [illegible].

Langford's [illegible] have [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] day.

[illegible] vities and their [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the United [illegible] Conference [illegible] an organization [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ford claim that he agreed [illegible] [illegible] encouraged another witness, Fred Williams, to lie to the jury.

Williams, who had been a UYAC supervisor, is now a key government witness in the case, and tapes of his conversations with Langford are considered a [illegible] in the trial.

SULLIVAN SUPPORTS CARTER

PHILADELPHIA -- Rev. Leon H. Sullivan has called for support for President Carter's announced effort to resxamine the proposed $200 million cut in the 1980 summer youth jobs budget.

Calling the President's action directing Vice President Mondale to review all youth training programs "both timely and hopeful," the founder of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC) network of 200 job training centers said: "We must all support the President's efforts and persuade Congress to restore $250 million representing 300.000 summer youth jobs.

"The President cannot do the job by himself. The Congress cannot get it done by itself. We must give 100% support as citizens. We must back up the plans of Vice President Mondale and the White house Task Force on Youth Employment.

"Strategic talks to limit youth unemployment, youth welfarism and youth crime and delinquency are as important to the future security of the nation as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks."

Rev. Sullivan wired the following message to Vice President Mondale pledging OIC support: "We must put America's youth to work. Today's youth crisis can be tomorrow's national disaster. The problem will not go away. It cannot be swept under the rug. Your White House Task Force on Youth Employment is a symbol of hope that we can solve this problem I offer you the support of our 'Help Our Youth Campaign ,' and our OIC self-help job creation and job training systems in 150 communities and 47 states.

"Your leadership is needed now, more than ever, to help make federal funds for youth jobs an exception to the anti-inflation and balanced budget policy cuts."

Lee Brown Speaks To Rotary Club

Dr. Lee P. Brown, Atlanta's public safety commissioner, explained the problems facing the department and several possible solutions when he recently addressed the West End Rotary Club.

Brown stated that the biggest problem in the police department is the inability to hire more officers due to court litigation leaving the force 200 officers below authorized strength.

He assured the audience that when the issues are resolved he expects to have continuous hiring and never return to the present situation.

The police department has set up various programs to combat crime and urge total community involvement. They include the Metro Fugitive Squad to help rid the community of escaped fugitives; a hotline for callers to give information yet remain anonymous, and a new domestic violence policy which treats domestic violence as any other crime of violence, since a substantial number of homocides involves spouses quarreling and one killing the other.

Brown said that hiring is also a problem with the fire department but all available positions should be filled within the next month. He also announced expected improvement in the corrections department when the new jail is completed next year.

The West End Rotary Club meets each Friday, noon at the Stadium Club.

RECOGNITION

Recently, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., the local community action agency which provides services to low-income persons living in Atlanta and the counties of Fulton, Gwinnett, Rockdale and Douglas, honored all of its secretaries and clerical staff at an agency reception. The tribute was part of National Secretary's Week hed last month. Presently theagency employes nearly 800 persons with approximately 80 of them being clerical staff.

Here, an EOA staffer presents a token of appreciation to Ms. Orsella Johnson, secretary in the Public Information Office.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

In Memoriam

April 15, 1889 to May 16, 1979

Metropolitan A.M.E.
1518 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Date: Sunday, June 3, 1979

Time: 2:00 P.M.

At the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take, and you keep what you can hold. If you can't take anything, you won't get anything; and if you can't hold anything you won't keep anything. And you can't take anything without organization.

A. Philip Randolph

Randolph could not be bought. He had no interest in worldly goods. He would walk away from the Empire State Building if you gave it to him.

O.W. Bynum (a pullman porter)

Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

A. Philip Randolph

Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization or a group of organizations, we are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom....But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty... We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines....The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality. It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits....All who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice.

A. Philip Randolph, at the March on Washington, 1963.

PROGRAM

Processional	Organ Prelude
Invocation	Bishop Samuel S. Morris
Reading from Scripture	Robert L. Pruitt, D.D.
Hymn: *"A Mighty Fortress is Our God"*	Metropolitan A.M.E. Choir & Congregation
Statement	Jimmy Carter *The President of the United States*
Spiritual	Ensemble of the Howard University Choir J. Weldon Norris *Professor of Music & Conductor Howard University Choir*
Statement	Lane Kirkland *Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO*
Musical Selection	George Shirley
Statement	Bayard Rustin *President, A. Philip Randolph Institute*
Musical Selection	Leontyne Price
Hymn: *"Lift Every Voice and Sing"*	Choirs & Congregation
Benediction	Bishop Henry W. Murph

"Lift Every Voice and Sing"

I. Lift every voice and sing,
till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise,
high as the listening skies,
let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that
the dark past has taught us
Sing a song full of hope that the
present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of the new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won

II. God is our weary years God is our silent tears;
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by the might, led us to the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places,
our God, where we met thee
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine
of the world, we forget thee
Shadowed beneath thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.

Words: JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Music: J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON

"A Mighty Fortress is Our God"

A mighty fortress is our God
A bulwark never failing
Our helper, He amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing
For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and power are great
And armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

That word above all earthly power
No thanks to them abideth
The spirit and the gift are ours
Through him who with us sideth
Let good and kindred go
This mortal life also
The body they may kill
God truth abideth still
His kingdom is forever.

Air and original text by Martin Luther
English version by Frederick H. Hedge

(11)

Great Moments In Black History No. X

THE DAY THEY DIDN'T

At Harlem rally, Asa Philip Randolph, leading force behind March on Washington movement, preaches the gospel of organized mass pressure. "The Negro and other darker Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is extracted. Freedom and justice must be

Protest threat forced President Roosevelt's hand

By Lerone Bennett Jr.

PRESIDENT Roosevelt was furious. He wasn't, he said, going to be bullied or threatened—he wasn't going to govern with a gun at his head.

The President had before him a letter from Asa Philip Randolph, a brilliant labor leader who had been called "the most dangerous Negro in America." In the view of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and in the view of others, Randolph was dancing on the edge of sedition. For in the midst of the feverish mobilization efforts preceding America's entry into World War II, he was threatening to march 100,00 blacks on Washington, D. C., if the President did not *immediately* issue an executive order banning discrimination in defense industries and the armed forces. No one had ever tried anything like this before in black America, and no one knew for sure whether 1,000 or 300,000 blacks would march. But the threat was there, and the threat was real. For Washington, D. C., was a Southern town with a Deep South mentality, and an "invasion" of 100,000 blacks could lead to bloodshed and anarchy. The march was scheduled for July 1, 1941, less than three weeks away. Was Randolph bluffing or could he deliver? What did he *really* want? Could he be diverted by praise, threats or cajolery? Roosevelt, who had a flair for dramatics and a genuine appreciation for a good fight, considered these questions, not for the first time, and then told Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration:

"Go to New York and try to talk Randolph and [Walter] White out of this march." He paused and then added with emphasis:

"Get the missus and Fiorello and Anna and get it stopped."

This was, as Williams recognized, a diversionary gesture, but it was a *serious* diversionary gesture. For Roosevelt was calling up the biggest white liberal guns of his administration. The missus, of course,

MARCH

"Victory settlement" included appointment of Fair Employment Practices Commission by President Roosevelt. Two blacks on committee were (2nd from l.) Attorney Earl Dickerson and labor leader Milton P. Webster.

Randolph base was pool of militant black workers, who organized protest marches in '30s and '40s. Randoph led 12-year struggle which led to certification and company recognition of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

races," he said "must look to themselves for freedom. struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races."

Key figures in negotiations which led to Executive Order banning discrimination in defense industries and creation of Fair Employment Commission were Walter White, NAACP director, New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, (right) Eleanor Roosevelt.

Continued on Next Page

Aubrey Williams, talking with Mrs. Roosevelt, was director of National Youth Administration, and main link between White House and March on Washington leaders. He arranged New York meeting between presidential aides and the march leaders.

DAY THEY DIDN'T MARCH *Continued*

was his wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a legendary figure in the black community. Fiorello LaGuardia, the colorful New York mayor and civilian defense director, was another highly regarded white liberal. So also were Williams and Anna Rosenberg of the War Manpower Board. If they couldn't talk Randolph and his ally, Walter White, out of the march, nobody could.

The meeting was held at the President's direction at the New York City Hall on June 13, but before considering the details and the outcome, it is necessary to pause for a moment to set the stage and introduce the man who dominated this and all other meetings leading up to what was called the most important act of the federal government in the field of race relations since the Emancipation Proclamation.

The central figure of this meeting and of the dramatic confrontation that followed was Asa Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He was 52 years old in this year, tall, handsome, with courtly Old World manners and the polished diction of a Shakesperian actor. A native of Florida, he had migrated to New York in the pre-World War I years and had drifted into socialist politics after a year or two at City College. He had been jailed briefly in 1918 for opposing the war effort and had edited, with Chandler Owens, a radical magazine called the Messenger. He later became president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and masterminded the long campaign which led to company certification and recognition. By 1940, he had earned such an enviable reputation that he was the one pole around which divergent elements in the black community could always unite. Randolph's strength was his selflessness and his passionate commitment to "the Negro masses." It was his belief that a black leader should have no other master except the black masses. "I do not wish," he said, "to secure any job from the President of the United States or anybody else who can give political favors. I consider that a leader of the masses must be free to obey and follow the interests of the masses and the sacrifice that is required of such a leader is that he must deny himself the opportunity of taking any government job, whether it pays $1,000 or $10,000 a year."

Such a man, scrupulously honest and totally devoted to the interests of the people, was obviously dangerous. But what made his personal commitment a matter of national interest was the climate of the time and the unprecedented mood of militancy in black America. The total mobilization required by the racist Nazi ideology focused renewed interest on the racist American ideology and unleashed explosive forces in the black community, where preachers, politicians, and pamphleteers announced that blacks were sick and tired of dying abroad for a freedom that had no reality at home. This mood was heightened and focused by discrimination in war plants and segregation in the armed forces.

The new mood was an interwoven fabric of desire and despair, welling up from the depths of an outraged community, and it forced black leadership to new and more exposed positions. There was virtually unanimous agreement, for example, on two goals, fair employment and integration of the armed forces. And there was a new willingness on the part of churches, fraternal organizations and protest groups to submerge petty organizational differences in united and coordinated flights of militancy. "Never before in the history of the Nation," the Chicago Defender reported, "have Negroes been so unified on an objective and so insistent upon [a goal]."

As can be imagined, this caused the greatest consternation in official Washington, which was divided into two major camps. One group suggested in all seriousness that the federal government prosecute black editors for treason and sedition. Another group, led by Eleanor Roosevelt, called for a meaningful federal response against racial discrimination. Mrs. Roosevelt, who said she had never seen such an explosive restlessness in the black community, urged her husband to make a public statement. And it was at her suggestion that he received a delegation of three black leaders—Randolph, Walter White of the NAACP and T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League—on September 27, 1940. Roosevelt, as usual, was charming, sympathetic, and noncommital. He told the three men that he would consider their requests for armed forces integration and fair employment and would make a suitable public response in a few days.

Twelve days later, on October 9, 1940, Stephen Early, the White House press secretary, announced a few minor changes in the utilization of black manpower but emphasized that "the policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations." Early went on to say that the War Department had drafted the "new" statement of policy "as a result of" a conference the President had "with Walter White and, I think, two other Negro leaders. . . ." The clear implication was that the black leaders had approved or even suggested the policy. This infuriated Randolph, White and Hill, and caused an uproar in the black community, where the three men were denounced as "stooges" who had sold out. The White House later "clarified" the statement, but the damage had been done. More importantly, as it turned out, the White House had crystallized a widespread feeling that it was useless to continue traditional protest methods. George Schuyler, a widely read columnist and a militant of that day, bitterly attacked the traditional method of conferences and petitions. "The masses," he wrote, "are getting fed up on these frauds." What was needed, he said, was an organization which "would have worked out some technique of fighting other than sending letters and telegrams of protest."

As Schuyler felt, so felt others, including Asa Philip Randolph, who left Washington in December, 1940, some two months after the White House conference, for a union field trip through the South. As the train rolled across the Virginia countryside, where his forebears had worked as slaves, Randolph brooded over the failure of the politics of protest. His mind went back to his father, a poor and struggling AME minister, and to all the men and women who had suffered in silence while men conferred and talked. He told himself that there had to be another way, and he turned to his traveling companion, Milton Webster, vice president of the union, and said:

After March on Washington, Randolph continued his fight against segregation. In 1948, Randolph and Grant Reynolds threatened to lead civil disobedience movement against draft. Threat led to a presidential executive order integrating armed forces.

 Continued on Page 132

DAY THEY DIDN'T MARCH *Continued*

June 13. At this meeting, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mayor LaGuardia and other white liberals asked Randolph to call off the march. "You know where I stand," Mrs. Roosevelt said. "But the attitude of the Washington police force, most of them Southerners, and the general feeling of Washington itself are such that I fear there may be trouble if the march occurs."

Randolph remembered later that Mrs. Roosevelt "reminded me of her sympathy for the cause of racial justice, and assured me she intended to continue pressuring the President to act. But the march was something else, she said: it just could not go on. Had I considered the problems? she asked. Where would all those thousands of people eat and sleep in Jim Crow Washington? I told her I myself did not see that as a serious problem. The demonstrators would simply march into the hotels and restaurants, and order food and shelter. But that was just the point, she said; that sort of thing could lead to violence. I replied that there would be no violence unless her husband ordered the police to crack black heads. I told her I was sorry, but the march would not be called off unless the President issued an executive order banning discrimination in the defense industry."

After the meeting, Anna Rosenberg called the White House and told a presidential aide that Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia urgently recommended a meeting of Randolph, White, the President and his top aides. "Fiorello," she reported, "thinks this will stop the march and nothing else will, except the President's presence and direction." This message was relayed to the President, who told an aide on the same day: "I will see Stimson, Knox, Knudsen, Hillman, White and Randolph on Friday next—or, if I do not go away and feel well enough, I will see them on Wednesday or Thursday."

This was a significant breakthrough, and Aubrey Williams called Randolph and urged him to halt preparations for the march "pending a conference" with the President. Randolph refused. A short time later, Randolph received a telegram from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox: "Think it highly important that you come to Washington for conference on your project."

On Wednesday, June 18, Randolph and White were ushered into the presence of President Roosevelt. The President sat at his desk, surrounded by the most powerful men and women of his Administration, including Secretary of the Navy Knox, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, William S. Knudsen, and Sidney Hillman, co-directors of the Office of Production Management, Mayor LaGuardia, and Anna Rosenberg.

"Hello, Phil," the President beamed, extending a hand and putting his guests at ease. Taking note of Randolph's polished language, the President asked "which class were you in at Harvard."

At 80th birthday party, Randolph was hailed by leading Americans, including Nelson Rockefeller (c.) and AFL-CIO president George Meany (l.) in New York City.

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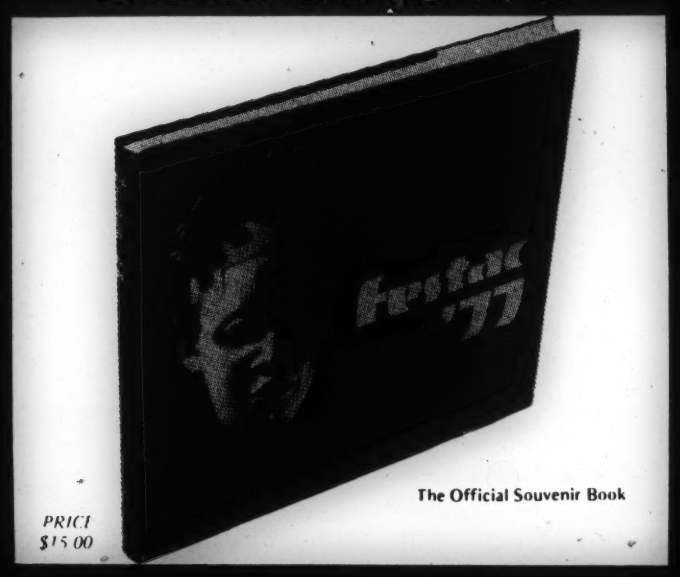

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that in the whole history of black America no one had ever organized and focused the power of the masses. The march would therefore be the first attempt to bring to bear the "real, actual, bona fide, definite and positive pressure of the Negro masses."

The response to this bold statement was curious and muted. The white press ignored the proposed march, and the black press relegated the news to the inside pages. The Chicago Defender said editorially that the statement was "timely and should be acted upon with dispatch." But the Defender doubted that it was possible to get 10,000 Negroes to march anywhere, except to a fraternal outing. "It is not difficult to get 50,000 or more black folk to march with the Elks, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the Shriners or with the Ancient United Knights and Daughters of Africa. [But] to get 10,000 Negroes assembled in one spot, under one banner of justice, democracy and work as their slogan, would be the miracle of the century. However, miracles do happen. We fervently hope that this one will happen. . . ."

Undaunted by skeptics and critics, Randolph pressed forward, concentrating on grass-roots organizing in bars, barber shops and churches. Within a few weeks, the novel and daring idea caught on and there were local March on Washington (MOW) auxiliaries in Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, Atlanta, Richmond, Baltimore, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Jacksonville and other cities. Membership in the auxiliaries and the national organization was confined to blacks. This was, in part, a tactical ploy to prevent a takeover by white radicals. But it also reflected Randolph's belief that there were some things black people "must do alone."

On May 1, 1941, Randolph issued a formal Call, urging ten thousand blacks to prepare for a march on Washington on July 1.

> Dead fellow Negro-Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring, and most gigantic scale.
>
> In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure through the tactic and strategy of broad, organized, aggressive mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. . . .
>
> An all-out thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up White America.
>
> It will shake up official Washington . . . It will gain respect for the Negro people. . . . It will create a new sense of self-respect among Negroes. . . . MASS POWER CAN CAUSE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION in all Government Departments, Army, Navy, Air Corps and National Defense Jobs.

It is no derogation of the goals of the movement to say that this was, in part, a shrewd and coolly calculated move in a naked war of nerves between Asa Philip Randolph and the President of the United States. For although the busses had been hired and trains chartered, there is some evidence to indicate that Randolph and his aides hoped that the threat of a march would make a march unnecessary. And so, on one level anyway, the preparations for the march can be seen as political theater designed to impress and overawe the White House.

The President and some of his aides perceived this, and their first tactic was to ignore Randolph. When this became impossible, the White House fell back to a second line of defense and initiated a series of well-publicized gestures designed to take the steam out of the movement. On April 11, Sidney Hillman, co-director of the Office of Production Management, urged defense contractors to hire black workers. President Roosevelt followed this up with a personal letter condemning discrimination against blacks and other minorities. But this personal appeal, which many blacks had demanded came too late, for forces had been set in motion which would be satisfied with nothing less than a presidential executive order.

Riding the wave of this new determination, Randolph increased the pressure by upping his estimate of the expected crowd. In mid-May, he said at least 50,000 blacks were expected. On May 31, the banner headline on the front page of the New York Amsterdam Star-News said:

100,000 IN WASHINGTON MARCH

It was at this point that the White House initiated the series of moves which led to the New York City Hall meeting on Friday,

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Continued on Next Page

Randolph recognized the gambit for what it was and replied pleasantly, "I never went to Harvard, Mr. President."

"I was sure you did," Roosevelt said. "Anyway, you and I share a kinship in our great interest in human and social justice."

"That's right, Mr. President."

Without preamble, the President then embarked on a favorite and usually successful strategem, a long and amiable filibuster, filled with anecdotes and amusing stories. But Randolph was neither amused nor flattered and he seized the first opportunity to break in.

"Mr. President, time is running out. You are busy. We want specifically to talk to you about the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't live with this thing. What are you going to do about it?"

"Well, Phil," the President said, "what do you want me to do?"

"Mr. President, we want you to do something that will enable Negro workers to get work in these plants."

The President said he would do something. "I'll call up the heads of the various defense plants and have them see to it that Negroes are given the same opportunity to work in defense plants as any other citizen in the country."

"We want you to do more than that," Randolph said. "We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, affirmative."

"What do you mean?"

"Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants."

"Well, Phil," Roosevelt said, "you know I can't do that. If I issue an executive order for you, then there'll be no end to other groups coming in here and asking me to issue executive orders for them, too. In any event, I couldn't do anything unless you called off this march of yours. Questions like this have sociological implications. They can't be gotten at with hammers and tongs. They can't be settled with marches."

Neither, Randolph said, in so many words, could they be settled with good intentions. The President looked at Randolph, measuring him.

"How many people do you plan to bring?"

"One hundred thousand, Mr. President."

The President turned to Walter White. Randolph was an unknown equation, but White was on old and trusted adversary.

"Walter," he asked, "how many people will *really* march?"

"One hundred thousand, Mr. President," White said, without blinking an eye.

The President was genuinely alarmed.

"You can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington," he said. "Somebody might get killed."

Randolph said nobody would get hurt, especially if the President accepted his invitation to speak to the crowd.

This was a light and deft counter-punch, but it did not amuse the President, who said that the march was a grave mistake that would give the impression that Negroes were seeking to exercise force and to compel the government to do certain things. He added that it was not his policy to rule, or be ruled, with a gun at his head.

"Then, Mr. President," Randolph replied, "something will have to be done and done at once."

"Something will be done, but there must be no public pressure on the White House."

"Mr. President," Asa Philip Randolph said, his deep voice booming, *"something must be done now!"*

Something was done, almost immediately. At the suggestion of Mayor LaGuardia, Randolph, White and the presidential aides adjourned to the Cabinet Room to seek a compromise solution. After two hours of wrangling, a committee of five persons was appointed to draw up an executive order for submission to the President. The task of reducing the agreement to legal language was given to a young government lawyer named Joseph L. Rauh, who turned out several drafts which were returned with the explanation that Randolph did not consider the language strong enough. This went on for several days before Rauh exploded: "Who the hell is this guy Randolph? What the hell has he got over the President of the United States?"

What Randolph had on the President was the threat of a march which he refused to cancel despite the feverish behind-the-scenes negotiations. Some of his friends told him that the battle had been won and that he should, as a tender of good faith, halt preparations for the march. Randolph rebuffed these overtures, saying that he had a pledge of honor with the Negro masses and that he could not go back to them without a *signed* executive order.

As it turned out, Randolph's strategy was eminently correct. For Roosevelt balked at the last moment and resisted pressure from his wife and his aides, who urged him to sign the order, which had been sitting on his desk for several days.

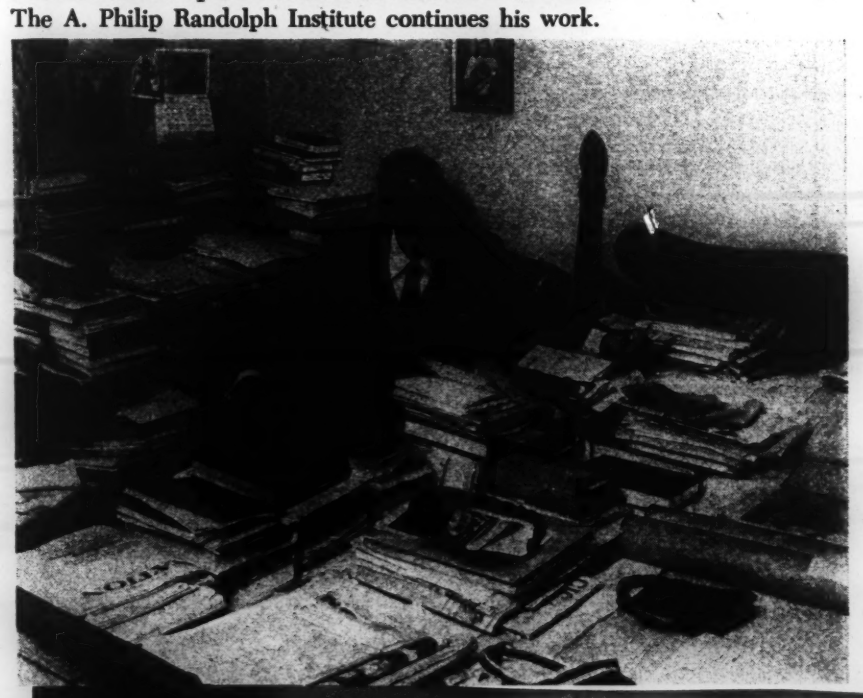
At this point, on June 23, Randolph tightened the screw by dramatically and publicly inviting Eleanor Roosevelt to speak to the marchers at the Lincoln Monument. What happened next has been described by Joseph Lash, Mrs. Roosevelt's biographer. According to Lash, Anna Rosenberg, spurred on by Mrs. Roosevelt, "bought a new hat, marched into the president's office, fished out the order, and cajoled him: "Sign it, Mr. President—sign it." There is a memo from Roosevelt to Rudolph Forster, the dignified executive clerk, 'Fix up for me a sign and send to Attorney General for language. Quick."

Attorney General Robert H. Jackson returned the papers on Wednesday, June 25, and President Roosevelt signed and issued Executive Order 8802 on that day. The order, which was the first decisive act by the federal government on behalf of blacks since the Reconstruction period, prohibited discrimination in defense industries and established a wartime Fair Employment Commission. It did not contain punitive provisions and it did not deal with segregation in the armed forces, but, for all that, it was a decisive point of focus which changed the climate of race relations and the vision of black leadership.

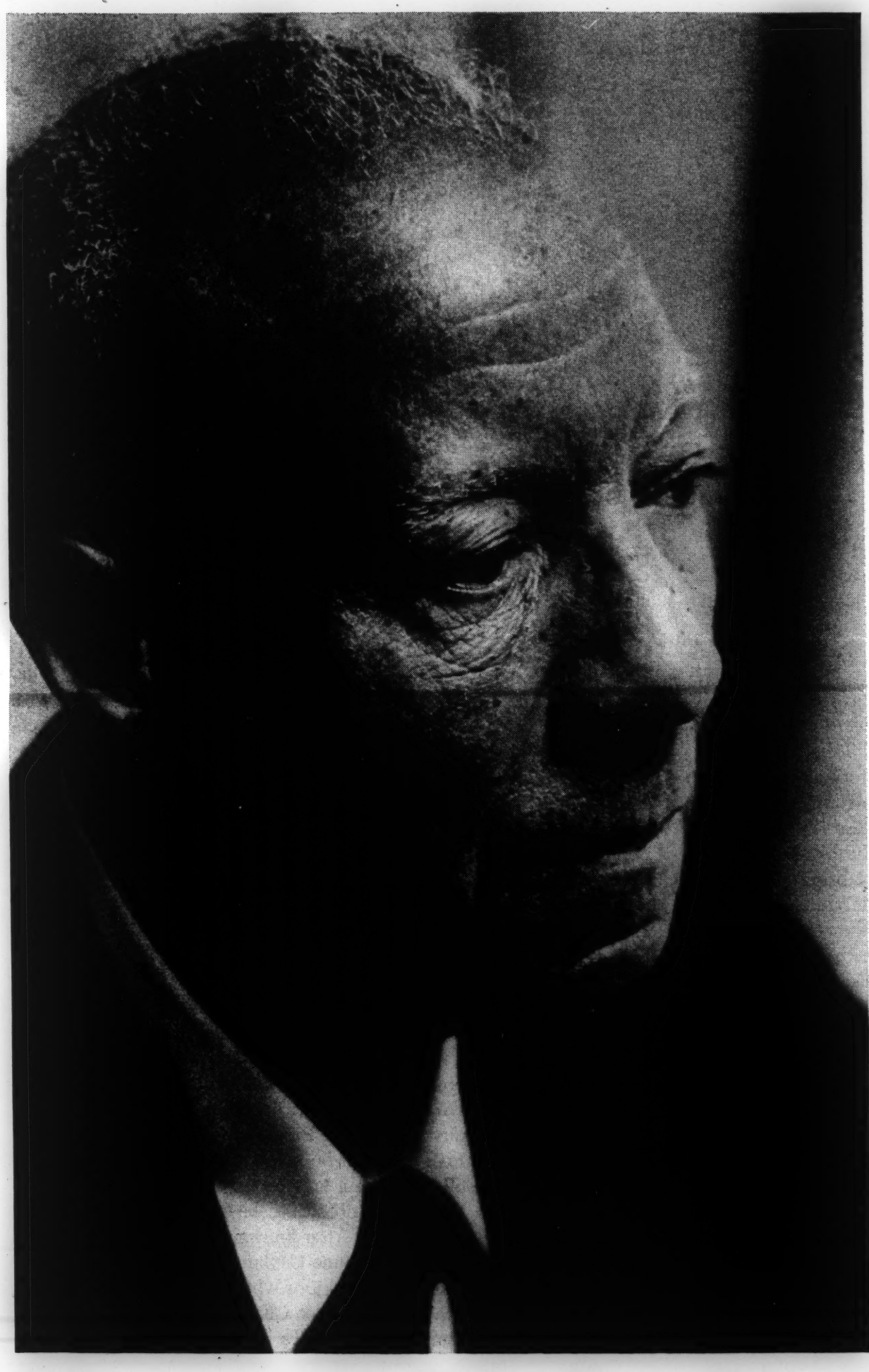
Randolph, carrying out his end of the deal, "postponed" the march and hailed the order as the most significant government act since the Emancipation Proclamation. The young activists of the Youth Division of the March on Washington Committee condemned the postponement, but Randolph told them that "the Negro masses who want jobs now would have hurled curses upon the heads of the leaders of the Negro March-on-Washington Movement if they had sacrified an immediate and practical opportunity to secure employment opportunities for Negro masses in defense industries in order to satisfy a handful of Negro youth who apparently were more interested in the drama and pyrotechnics of the march than in the basic and main issues of putting Negroes to work."

And so there was no march on Tuesday, July 1, 1941. The busses did not roll, the special trains did not leave the stations, the sound of thousands of tramping feet was not heard on Pennsylvania Avenue. It was business as usual at the White House, and there was a stillness in the air when A. Philip Randolph and a handful of supporters gathered at the Lincoln Monument to celebrate a victory that was won because 100,000 people didn't march.

Surrounded by books and memorabilia, Randolph relaxes in Harlem apartment after his retirement in 1968. The A. Philip Randolph Institute continues his work.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Labor's Grand Old Man



EXCEPT for an occasional pause, during which he searches his memory to draw parallels of the past with the present, there is nothing to indicate that Asa Philip Randolph is 80 years old. His voice is still a deeply resonant instrument and he speaks with the same aristocratic broad A's that marked him as an anomaly when he galvanized the masses on Harlem street corners in another era. His bearing is erect, the handshake firm, the eyes keen yet kindly. His manner is one of quiet dignity, as he sits in the afternoon shadows of his modest Manhattan apartment. And he speaks as one who has helped to shape the destiny of a people.

"We are creatures of history," he declares to his audience of one, "for every historical epoch has its roots in a preceding epoch. The black militants of today are standing upon the shoulders of the 'new Negro radicals' of my day—the '20s, '30s and '40s. We stood upon the shoulders of the civil rights fighters of the Reconstruction era and they stood upon the shoulders of the black abolitionists. These are the interconnections of history and they play their role in the course of development."

Himself an historical figure whose life has spanned every major racial development since the post-Reconstruction period, A. Philip Randolph, champion of the working man, patriarch of the civil rights movement and father of the mass protest march, is quite aware that there are many of a more recent vintage who do not know his name and, if they do, regard him merely as a "leader emeritus" best relegated to silence. These are the arch militants who reject Randolph's policy of racial conciliation. They have dubbed him "Uncle Tom No. 2"—ranking him in dishonor just behind the NAACP's Roy Wilkins. He incurred their wrath back in 1966 when he denounced "black power" as an indefensible slogan and said of its leading advocate, Stokely Carmichael: "He is vigorous, he is brilliant, but I think he is wrong." To them, A. Philip Randolph is old-hat, a voice in the wilderness they care not to heed. But this veteran crusader bears no malice toward his youthful detractors. Instead, he endeavors to reach out to them as a wise and understanding elder.

"I *love* the young black militants," he states with a strength tempered by warmth. "I don't agree with all their methodology, and yet I can understand why they are in this mood

80-year-old 'black militant' recalls his career, offers advice for racial progress

BY PHYL GARLAND

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Leading 1963 March on Washington, Randolph (3rd from right) is flanked by NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins (l.) and United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Continued*

of revolt, of resort to violence, for I was a young black militant myself, the angry young man of my day. As a Socialist, an advocate of trade unionism and the editor of a radical magazine called The Messenger, I, *too,* didn't agree with anything that was supposed to be respectable, that was supposed to be a part of the American ideal and the American system. I believed that the old political, economic and social order had to be changed and changed *immediately!* Therefore I felt the force of the law and the force of public opinion. The postmaster general threw my publication out of the mails. The FBI ransacked my office—broke it up. I was probably the first Negro to go to jail for encouraging Negroes to oppose the draft and I had no peace *any*where. But as time went on, I read more of history and began to be cognizant of the fact that social change is inevitable. There is *nothing* that can hold it back and progress of the Negro is a part of it.

"Whereas, at the present time, the demands of the black militants and black nationalists for immediate change will not bring about immediate change, their condemnation, their general rejection of the social order nevertheless has value in that it shakes the country to the recognition that here is a *grave* social injustice that is being done to a great people, a social injustice which *must* be changed and it must be changed immediately. Now I can understand that this is a great shock to white America. White America never saw anything just like *this,* because my work didn't take on the aspect of utilizing violence as a method of social change. My work was mostly one of organization and propaganda. But as this struggle has taken on the proportions of a revolution, the black man has been recreated as a new individual, a new social force. America will *not* be the same following this revolution and the black man is basically responsible for this change that America will be *forced* to accept."

Thus he speaks with a fervor and true appetite for change exceptional in a man of his years. Perhaps it is the fighter in him that cannot be reduced by age or encroaching infirmity. For A. Philip Randolph has been a fighter, in his cool and cultivated way, for more years than most American blacks have been alive.

In the dawn of this century and throughout its incubative years when racial oppression seldom was challenged, Randolph attacked the system with a cerebral approach calculated to effect specific results. This was long before dissension became the mode. He did not seek or reap the fringe benefits of notoriety: the glamor and the glory of being a publicly acclaimed iconoclast; the televised press conferences and pictures splashed across the pages of metropolitan dailies. For in those yesteryears, white America did not consider any black man newsworthy unless he committed a crime that might be amplified to sensational proportions. Even obsequious blacks, still clinging to Booker T. Washington's "separate fingers on one hand" philosophy, put him down. Yet Randolph spoke out against capitalistic exploiters of labor and those who would forever deny the black man equitable treatment.

As organizer and later president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he became the prime exponent of a black economic thrust, using his small but influential union to drive a wedge into the discriminatory hierarchy of organized labor. He stood toe-to-toe with five U. S. Presidents and managed to wrest from them two unprecedented executive orders prohibiting discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries and segregation in the armed forces, as well as sweeping civil rights legislation dealing with fair employment and voting rights. He was not afraid to take the unpopular stand, whether denounced by blacks or whites. Frequently he stood alone, or nearly alone, and there was no chorus of "Amens" rising from fellow dissenters who might back him up. It was no small achievement.

Born April 15, 1889, only 14 years after slavery was abolished by constitutional amendment, Randolph first became aware of the power of unity as a boy in his hometown of Crescent City, Fla. He was only nine when his father, a race-conscious AME minister, helped stave off a lynching by bringing other black men to stand vigil with him, surrounding the jail where the victim-to-be was being held. Those were the days when Southern whites regarded lynching as a form of recreation and that was the first time young Randolph had witnessed tangible proof that the black man need not be helpless. He never forgot it.

His father also instilled in him a love of learning, but though much has been made of Randolph's erudition, he has no earned college degree. He is mostly self-taught. After finishing high school in Florida at Cookman Institute (now Bethune-Cookman College), he worked his way North and subsisted on odd jobs while attending City College in New York. It was then that he met Chandler Owen, a young law student at Columbia University. The two budding intellectuals haunted the public libraries, exchanging ideas and dipping deep into the fields of political science, sociology and economics. These were the years when the theories of Karl Marx were being explored in the halls of academe. Though Randolph never became a Communist, he did choose Socialism as his political ideology, believing that black men and, indeed, all men could be free only if they were not subject to economic deprivation.

His first venture with Owen was a small employment bureau which

The 250,000-strong March ended, Randolph stands in tears at the Lincoln Memorial.

they set up in Harlem and operated in conjunction with an informal training program for unskilled Negroes arriving from the South. With some uncanny instinct of where the future might lead, they called their enterprise The Brotherhood. It was through this employment bureau that Owen and Randolph were commissioned to publish an organ called The Hotel Messenger for a fledgling union of Negro head waiters. Almost too earnest for their own good, the two young men used the publication to expose fraudulent practices on the part of the head waiters against their underlings. This marked the end of their relationship with the head waiters in 1917, but it was also the beginning of The Messenger, a journal of opinion that was shocking, for that time, in the boldness of its pronouncements against racism. In one issue the editors noted: "In 1882 Negroes stood in line at a White House reception . . . In 1922 at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, U. S. Marines enforced Jim Crow with bayonets."

Through this publication, Randolph attracted the attention of a few intrepid Pullman porters who had been trying since 1909 to organize a union. In one of the truly nefarious chapters of labor history, the Pullman Company, which leased its cars and services to the railroads, had employed every conceivable method short of outright brutality to defeat the porters' efforts. However, the porters were too discontented to be easily squelched. They were required to work from 300 to 400 hours for a minimum monthly wage of $67.50, with no paid vacations. Anyone who attempted to defy the company was promptly dismissed. Until 1925, these tactics had stalled all organizational efforts and many porters had been forced out of their jobs. But that was the year Ashley L. Totten, the latest porter to be dismissed, struck upon the idea of seeking a leader from the outside who could not be touched by the company. Randolph, who had never worked as a porter, was his man.

In a secret meeting that year with six men, Randolph transacted all the official business himself in order that none of the porters might be implicated. At a later meeting with some 50 porters in a small Harlem hall, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born and Randolph was unanimously elected president. He used The Messenger to imbue the porters with the spirit of unity through trade unionism and three years later the publication was renamed The Black Worker, becoming the union's official organ.

The struggle of the union to gain recognition as the official collective bargaining agent for the porters wore on for 12 years. During that time, more than 800 porters were dismissed for their affiliation with the Brotherhood but such was their confidence in Randolph that they took menial jobs in order to support his work, to keep their union alive. Working closely with Randolph were Totten and a few other veteran porters like Milton Webster who later became an international vice president of the organization. Their courage in a seemingly hopeless plight was such that Randolph later recalled: "These men stuck with me when we didn't even have the price of a cup of coffee or a nickel for a phone call."

Relentlessly, the Pullman Company pressed its fight against the union. This reached a climax when Randolph was offered, through an intermediary, a check for $10,000 if he would forget the whole thing. That was an awe-inspiring sum of money in those Depression days and Randolph was hungry. His refusal to accept that check has become legend, for it demonstrated conclusively that he could not be bought. Finally, in 1935, the company surrendered and the country's first and only black union was recognized, with more than $2 million being granted in wage increases. For the first time, the black worker was able to stand up as a man and bargain for himself. The significance of that victory transcended the small human knot that was the early Brotherhood, for it occurred in an era when the labor movement was regarded as the great proletarian hope for a share in the American dream. In countless grubby, company-owned coal mining towns and in the smoke-dimmed cities where steel was becoming king, laborers looked to their unions for salvation from exploitation. Black workers looked longingly for some indication that they, too, might share that hope. And it had come.

Thus 20 years before Martin Luther King Jr. emerged as a leader in Montgomery, Ala., A. Philip Randolph took his place as a "Black Messiah," a modern-day Moses and an American Gandhi, as well as the "St. Philip of the Pullman Porters." But he did not stop there. He had been paying visits to U. S. Presidents ever since 1925 when he had accompanied W. Monroe Trotter, the fiery founder of the Boston Guardian newspaper, on a visit to the White House to request Calvin Coolidge's support of an anti-lynching law. Coolidge did not budge, and neither did Herbert Hoover, whom Randolph saw 15 years later. In 1940, when it appeared that the United States was about to become involved in World War II, Randolph trudged off to Washington again, this time to visit Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Along with Walter White of the NAACP and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, he implored FDR to do away with Jim Crow in the Armed Forces and to take some action that would enable Negroes to get some of the high-paying jobs in defense industries. The rest is history. Roosevelt refused to act and Randolph threatened to march 100,000 Negroes into Washington as a demonstration of protest.

At no time was there any certainty that even 10,000 Negroes could be mustered to March on Washington, but the strategy worked. Randolph held out with his threat, refusing to call off the march until Roosevelt had issued his famous Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, forbidding discrimination in war industries, government training programs and government industries. Historian Lerone Bennett Jr. has called Randolph's maneuver of that time "one of the most brilliant power plays ever executed by a Negro leader, if not the most brilliant." Others compared him to Frederick Douglass.

As a strategist, Randolph more than once employed daring methods to force the social change he sought. He risked conviction for treason when he urged Negroes to go to jail rather than serve in segregated military units. He provoked President Harry S. Truman to anger with his entreaties, but after more than 30 Negroes had proved their point by going to jail, Truman issued Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948, which led to integration of the Armed Forces.

So persistently has Randolph reached out to leave an indelible mark on events of his time that his exploits can not be easily chronicled. In the more than four decades he gave to the labor movement, his was the lone black voice that hammered away at the issue of union discrimination. Last fall he retired from his position as an international vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He founded and led more than one all-black labor organization, including the Negro American Labor Council in the early '60s. But he always returned to the major power structure to pursue his work by agitation from within. If those for whom he fought can remember him in no other way, they must certainly recall the monumental March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom of Aug. 28, 1963, when more than 250,000 blacks and whites converged on the nation's capital for the largest protest demonstration in history. As the director and spiritual father of the march, Randolph

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At Carnegie Hall in New York, a 1960 "Salute to A. Philip Randolph" brings together Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Randolph and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. The hall was jammed and thousands milled in streets. Center, Randolph is among civil rights leaders meeting with President John F. Kennedy. At right, he receives a Lyndon B. Johnson presidential award.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Continued*

had his finest hour, as perhaps did this country, for brotherhood became a reality, a living, breathing and assertive act—if only for one momentous day.

"It's not just that he's accomplished things," says Bayard Rustin, a close associate for many years, "but that he's a beautiful human being, inwardly . . . a magnificent man." A mercurial, 59-year-old organizer known as the tactician of the civil rights movement, Rustin serves as executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which he founded in 1965 as a supportive organ for civil rights and educational projects. "Mr. Randolph," as the leader is called even by friends, is Rustin's hero and Rustin openly tells why. "He has never acted selfishly and I, for one, know of the times when he would go for weeks with nothing to eat but beans. Often, when he was working with the union, he would leave New York with only enough money for a one-way train ticket and would have to remain in Chicago until he could raise enough money to come back home."

Rustin points out that Randolph's work with the porters had many significant offshoots that are not generally known. "He had the kind of spirit that inspired those who followed him. They carried themselves with a certain pride and to be a Pullman porter became something prestigious for Negroes who hadn't much choice of occupations. Since they traveled all over the country, the porters formed a sort of educational and informative network, carrying news to Negroes in all sorts of remote areas. When Southerners in many localities refused to allow Negro newspapers to be brought into their communities, the porters were the ones who smuggled them in. Always he encouraged them to make sacrifices in order to educate their children and no one knows how many Negroes who are successful today managed to make it because their fathers were Pullman porters and followed this advice."

Rustin also defines the link between Randolph's earlier activities and the nationwide civil rights movement that gained momentum at mid-century. "Martin Luther King always acknowledged that he was drawn into the movement by someone else," says Rustin. "This was a man named E. D. Nixon, a Pullman porter who was Randolph's man in Alabama. He had absorbed Randolph's thinking for many years and when things began happening in Montgomery, he was the one who stepped in to take a leading part and he was the one who went to Dr. King and convinced him to lead the people."

A pacifist and firebrand radical of 39 years ago, Rustin, who once joined the Young Communist League because, at the time, "They seemed the only people who had civil rights at heart," first began working with Randolph during a March on Washington campaign in the early '40s. He served as youth organizer for the march and later served 28 months on a chain gang as a protest against the war. After his release, he joined Randolph who was working on the Committee to End Discrimination in the Armed Forces. This was where the two reached a parting of the ways. After Truman had issued his executive order dealing with the matter, Randolph had wanted to dissolve the committee. As Rustin points out: "His method always has been to organize Negroes as Negroes for a particular end and to disband those groups once the objective has been attained, going on from there to work with whites." On the contrary, Rustin and his coalition of youth wanted to keep the committee going. The day when the decision was to be made public, Randolph asked Rustin to call a press conference for that afternoon, which he did. But Rustin decided to strike out on his own. He called a press conference for that morning and hotly criticized Randolph. "I was so ashamed that I avoided him for several years," Rustin recalls. "But when I saw him again, he simply asked, 'Bayard, where have you been? I haven't seen you around lately.' He never mentioned that incident."

More than once the venerable leader rose to the defense of his disciple. It was only by Randolph's action that Rustin was named organizer for the March on Washington of 1963. This was in contradiction of the wishes of other leaders sponsoring the project. "The others wanted no part of me," Rustin relates, "but Mr. Randolph stood firm in his choice, though the others knew that segregationists might use me as a means of discrediting the march. This did happen and I'll never forget how J. Strom Thurmond got up on the floor of Congress and denounced me as a Communist, a sex pervert and draft dodger. But Mr. Randolph simply said, 'I have full confidence that Mr. Rustin can do the job.'"

To Rustin's thinking, Randolph is an almost saintly man whose total significance has not yet been adequately assessed. "I have heard scandalous stories about almost every leader, but I've never heard anything of that sort about him. People might not always agree with him, but they've never been able to attack him personally." And if he has a personal fault, his colleague contends, it is in his extreme honesty. "He is so honest himself, that he can not conceive of dishonesty in others. I remember during the March on Washington when we had word that some people were selling posters and souvenirs that had nothing to do with the March and were pocketing the money. When I tried to tell him about it he refused to listen and we had to do our best to clear the matter up without his knowledge."

According to Rustin, Randolph's greatest strength has been in his ability to organize people and to set them in motion as a method of demonstrating their dissatisfaction. "He has always understood that it is *all* with the people," Rustin says. "He has always stood with the masses and has upheld the three principles of democracy, integration and nonviolence. Many years ago, he opposed W. E. B. DuBois' idea about concentrating on development of the 'talented tenth' because he did not consider it democratic. He knew Marcus Garvey and respected him, but he stood against his idea of leaving this country and going back to Africa, and he is fighting separatist tendencies now.'

For many years the two men have worked together, the bond between them similar to that of a father and son, though Randolph has maintained at all times the business-like demeanor he carries to all his friendships. "Mr. Randolph is a very reserved, a very contained man," says Rustin, "and there is only one time I can recall that he could not hold back his feelings. This was at the March on Washington in 1963. I remember that after the speeches had been made and the crowds were beginning to depart, he was standing to himself there at the Lincoln Memorial. The glow of the day still lingered, but I could see that he was tired. I went to him and put my arm around his shoulders and said, 'Mr. Randolph, it looks like your dream has come true.' And when I looked up into his eyes, I could see that tears were streaming down his cheeks."

As a tribute to his idol, Rustin has organized an 80th Birthday Celebration to be held in May in New York at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Leaders of labor, government and business have pledged their support of the testimonial which, hopefully, will lead to the setting up of a $250,000 fund to carry on Randolph's work through the institute which bears his name. As an estimate of the esteem in which the man is

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At 1936 parade, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters march through Harlem. In 1935 BSCP had gained recognition from the Pullman Corp. Ashley L. Totten, pioneer unionist who brought Randolph to BSCP leadership. At right, Randolph heads pickets protesting Jim Crow in military. His pressures resulted in President Truman's Order of 1948 outlawing segregation in military.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Continued*

held, it might be noted that no one who was asked to be a sponsor refused. When a request was sent out to former President Lyndon B. Johnson, he sent the following reply:

I am very pleased to accept your invitation to serve as a sponsor of the A. Philip Randolph Birthday Tribute.

Of course, we can do little more than help bring attention to the tremendous contributions of this great and dedicated American. For in the final analysis, Philip Randolph's greatest tribute is his own career.

For half a century he has been an inspired and tireless fighter for the cause of justice. He has never lost faith in the American dream or the American people. And his efforts have been rewarded, as his faith has been justified.

I am proud to be able to help salute him—as a friend and admirer.

IN THE final summing up, the significance of A. Philip Randolph lies in his thought, as well as his life, for he has never ceased to focus his mind on the world around him and to be concerned about it. He remains quite aware of it, though he seldom goes out from the third-floor walk-up Harlem apartment where he has lived for 45 years. His rooms still reflect the homey, flowery taste of the late Mrs. Lucille Randolph, a one-time school teacher who worked many years as manager of a beauty salon so that her husband might continue his work. There is a smiling, white-haired housekeeper to greet the writers and scholars who come to consult him. He speaks to them from out of his vast well of experience and study.

"I do not agree that the civil rights revolution is dead," he stresses. "The major legislation enacted by the Congress dealing with the question of civil rights has yet before it implementation. This means that the forces calculated to achieve civil rights must be continued so that the job will be effectively done. Whereas you may have a piece of legislation on the federal statute books, this does not mean that the country has accepted it and, of course, legislation which is not accepted by the country is ineffective. So the civil rights revolution is still in motion, though its legislative phase has practically been effectuated. Now we have moved into a new phase which involves social justice and economic rights—the right to a job, good housing, effective education and so forth. When you come into the field of social justice, you meet greater resistance than you meet on the civil justice field."

He attributes the difficulties in the area not only to the reluctance of the society as a whole to accept change, but also to the black man's lack of economic power. "Ninety-nine per cent of Negroes (with earned income) live by wages, by selling their labor power in the labor market which is dominated by corporate forces, and the sole concern of corporate forces is the creation of profits. It is to the interest of the corporate forces to keep wages down so that they might be able to expand the market. Now the Negro faces problems here, for many have come into this area with few skills and no collective bargaining power because, as a rule, they are not a part of any organized labor forces. Therefore this phase of the struggle is the most critical phase and it is going to require not only more power by way of collective bargaining, but more economic knowledge, more expertise in mobilizing the forces for assault in the interest of achieving economic justice." This, he believes, will require a coalition of blacks and liberal whites working to eradicate poverty among people of all races, religions and nationalities.

At the very core of this problem, Randolph contends, is the matter of automation and the advancing forces of technology. "The racial and social convulsions which have marked the advent of the civil rights revolution and its present stage have come as a result of a transition which has been taking place in the mode of production of goods and services," he says. Then he traces the history of the Negro who was "an agricultural peasant in the South" through his ejection from the farms by the introduction of farm machinery, following his flight to the urban North where he was not adequately absorbed by the industrial system. As a result, black people's feeling of bitterness, of anger, of having been cheated, was fertile ground for the rise of black nationalism in the earlier part of the century. Wartime job booms brought some relief, only to be followed by the trend toward automation, further restricting economic opportunities and contributing to an intensified wave of unrest. Randolph compares the plight of today's Negro to that of peasants in years preceding the French Revolution.

"When labor-saving devices were introduced throughout Europe," says Randolph, "peasants of the feudalistic economy had no way to live, for they were not trained in the new crafts that industrialization had brought about. Therefore, they had only three things that they could do: one, they had to become trained to serve as artisans in the new capitalistic economy; two, they had to become members of the rising *bourgeoisie* that owned the factories and merchandising machinery or, three, they had to revolt. Well, they hadn't the time to learn the new skills, they had no money with which to enter the *bourgeoisie* so, therefore, they revolted. It is this same pattern of action that Negroes in America are following and have followed since this convulsion began with the mechanization of the farms in the South, the ejection of the Negro by economic forces they could not control. Negroes, too, have had only three choices and not having the means to achieve the first two, they have revolted and rioted all over the nation. This is the basis for the new phase of this revolution. We have the young black militants and black nationalists who are exhibiting a rage and a tactic of strategy in the use of violence which has shocked the nation. But this is inevitable, just as inevitable as the revolt of the peasants during the latter days of feudalism in Europe."

At this point, Randolph adds a note of caution: "This is an historical development and I am greatly concerned about the lack of historical knowledge on the part of some of the black militants, many of whom are brilliant young men. If I were physically stronger, I would like to be able to get groups of them together for the study and analysis of history in relation to the struggle of the Negro today, to probe the economic, political and social forces that are playing an inevitable role in the development of world civilization today. For every revolution has been marked by violence and the entire history of the world has moved from stage to stage not only through education and reorganization, but also through violence. But it must also be understood that following every revolution has come a period of reaction, of extreme oppression, which indicates that extreme violence defeats itself, and *this* is the lesson that revolutionists do not understand."

Randolph believes that history will accord the black militants of today their true portion, but he strongly asserts that some way must be found to effect the necessary changes in *this* country and in *this*

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During talk, venerable activist Randolph holds attention of youthful militant Stokely Carmichael. Randolph says he understands today's black militants . . . "I was a young black militant myself; the angry young man of my day."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Continued*

time. He does not consider racial separatism an answer. "I think this is a basic mistake," he says. "Advancing technology and science make separatism impossible anyway, for the trend is for peoples of the world to be forced into closer association, even if they do have their prejudices. The idea of separatism is harkening to the past and it is undesirable even if it could be realized, because the progress of mankind has been based upon contact and association, upon social, intellectual and cultural contact." He does not believe that the blacks of America might do very well in a separate state or states, and he sees no workable solution in a mass movement to Africa. "Africans have need of only two things," he says. "Those are capital and technological knowledge. We don't have those things here, so what do we have to offer the Africans? This is the same thing I told Garvey back in the '20s."

Randolph even opposes the idea of separatism in the new courses in Afro-American studies that are being demanded and granted to black college students throughout the nation. He explains: "I can applaud the idea of developing racial identity and being proud of the glorious cultural heritage of our African

Meeting of unionists brings together Randolph and Albert Shanker, head of N. Y. teachers union. At center is Bayard Rustin, a Randolph disciple who is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute he founded in 1965.

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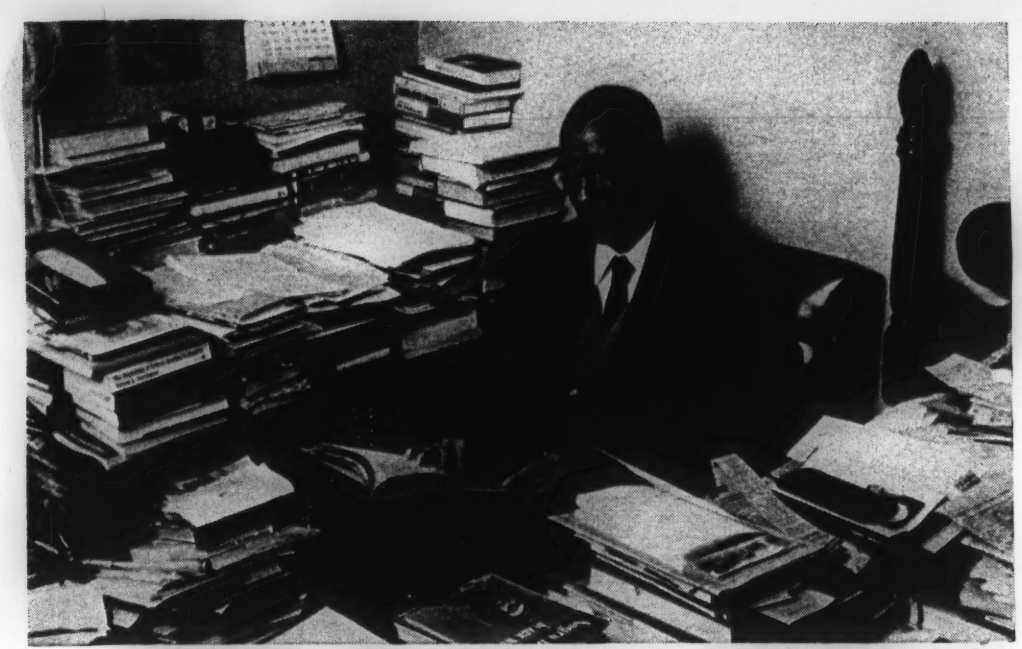


In modest Harlem apartment, which he shared with wife Lucille until her death in 1963, Randolph works amid publications dealing with black struggle and union affairs. Recently, he has waged successful campaign against craft union discrimination.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *Continued*

life. They ought to be proud of that. But while I believe that these colleges and universities ought to have these courses in African and Negro studies, I think that they should be integrated. The white students need knowledge of the Negro just as Negroes do and it is calamitous, regrettable for whites to grow up in this country ignorant and unaware of what we have given the world."

Randolph does not believe that total destruction of the social order as it exists in America today will result in the setting up of a new social order that will be markedly different and more beneficial for blacks. His reason: "The forces of advancing technology are not limited by national boundaries and they are sweeping the world. I've been all over the world and I've seen all sorts of people and I have observed that though they might live differently, they do not behave differently in their reactions to various forces. Today they are reaching out in the direction of technology and we must realize that the world of tomorrow will be different from the world of today. Somehow we must find a way to become a part of this phenomenon that is sweeping the world and changing the world. The youngsters of today must direct their attention not only to the matter of racial identity and racial realization through African studies, but they must make certain they are not left behind in the scientific and technological revolution, because if they are, they will be in a hopeless state. There will be absolutely no way in the world whereby they can become an effective force. If the young Negro cannot become a part of this advancing technology, his whole revolution will have been in vain."

And where does A. Philip Randolph see a possible solution to the seemingly insoluble problems that beset the America of today? Basically, he believes that it lies in black and liberal white forces continuing to apply pressure at all points within the society, thereby forcing the adoption of sweeping measures that will reduce the causes of unrest. He singles out one man for his thrust in this direction, though things did not work out as they might have.

"I am inclined to give President Lyndon B. Johnson great credit for the fact that he really has done more to advance the cause of the Negro than any other President we've ever had," Randolph says. "Who would have put Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court and a Negro in the Cabinet? These were revolutionary political measures that helped to give the Negro a sense of identity and reality. However, they did not solve his economic problems and this is a major matter."

As his own solution to these economic problems, Randolph and others working through the institute bearing his name propose a "Freedom Budget for All Americans" that can be called nothing short of revolutionary. Drawing upon the mental resources of a formidable group of public figures and scholars, it is designed to show how all could have decent housing, modern health services, an adequate income and full educational opportunity. One of the measures it recommends is that of the negative income which Randolph explains in this way: "It would mean that every individual would receive a basic income, not in the form of welfare, but as a part of the national economic budget. Every attempt would be made to provide him with a job, but even if he were not working, he'd still be assured of an income. The economic logic of this is that the income you give an individual, whether he works for it or not, will be used to purchase goods and services. As he does this, more goods and services must be produced and, therefore, employment is increased. This leads to a more stable economy, for a truly stable economy can only exist when every individual is involved as a consumer." This was only one of the recommendations that grew out of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." Randolph served as honorary chairman of the conference and promised that movement leaders would meet with economists and social scientists for the purpose of drawing up the "Freedom Budget." He followed through on his promise but today admits: "There has been an obvious lack of interest on the part of the government in facing this problem realistically."

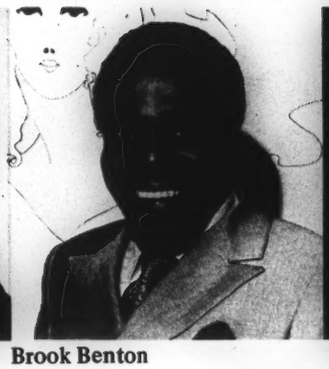
Yet Randolph has refused to relinquish his undying belief in the potential of the democratic system as it exists in modern America. Nearly three years ago when he introduced the "Freedom Budget" before an integrated audience at Salem Methodist Church in New York City, he said: "These forces have not come together to demand help for the Negro. Rather, we meet on a common ground of determination that in this, the richest and most productive society ever known to man, the scourge of poverty can and must be abolished—not in some distant future, not in this generation, but within the next ten years!" Bridging racial barriers, he asserted: "The tragedy is that the workings of our economy so often pit the white poor and the black poor against each other at the bottom of society. The tragedy is that groups only one generation removed from poverty themselves, haunted by the memory of scarcity and fearful of slipping back, step on the fingers of those struggling up the ladder. And the tragedy is that not only the poor, the nearly poor, and the once poor, but all Americans are the victims of our failure as a nation to distribute democratically the fruits of our abundance."

The "Freedom Budget" called for a total national expenditure of $185 billion spread out over a ten-year period. This Randolph did not believe to be too high a price, for as he stated that October day in 1966: "The question is not whether we have the means. Before 1975 we will have a $1 trillion economy. The question is whether we have the *will*. Ten years from now, will two-fifths of our nation still live in poverty and deprivation? This is, above all, a moral question. And upon the answer hangs not only the fate of the Negro—weighted down by centuries of exploitation, degradation and malice—but the fate of the nation."

Though he uttered those words nearly three years ago and no answer has come forth from America in the interim, A. Philip Randolph believes to this day that progress is inevitable and the black man will come into his own on this continent. Only chapters of history yet to be inscribed upon the slate of time will reveal whether or not his faith in this country was truly justified.

Old traveler who has trudged throughout U.S. and around world in quest of racial justice, leaves home on still another trip. Says Randolph: "America will *not* be the same following this (current) revolution, and the black man is basically responsible for this change that America will be *forced* to accept. There is nothing that can hold it back, and progress of the Negro is part of it."

A. Philip Randolph



Brook Benton

Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson

A. Philip Randolph, prominent labor and civil rights leader, is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights", when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees, and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

The road to the top for Brook Benton started in Camden, South Carolina where he was born, one of 8 children of a devoutly Methodist father and mother. Music was his earlier heritage. My father, a bricklayer led the church choir. I was singing Spirituals since I can remember and putting words together in songs since I was 10 years old, Brook reminises.

That was the beginning. At 12 he was delivering milk for a Camden dairy. At 17 he came to New York where he got a job in a cloak and suit house pushing a hand truck through the garment center. Brook is completely unchanged by his success. He married the first girl he ever fell in love with. Her name was Mary Askew and now they have three children; Benjamin, Vanessa and Roy.

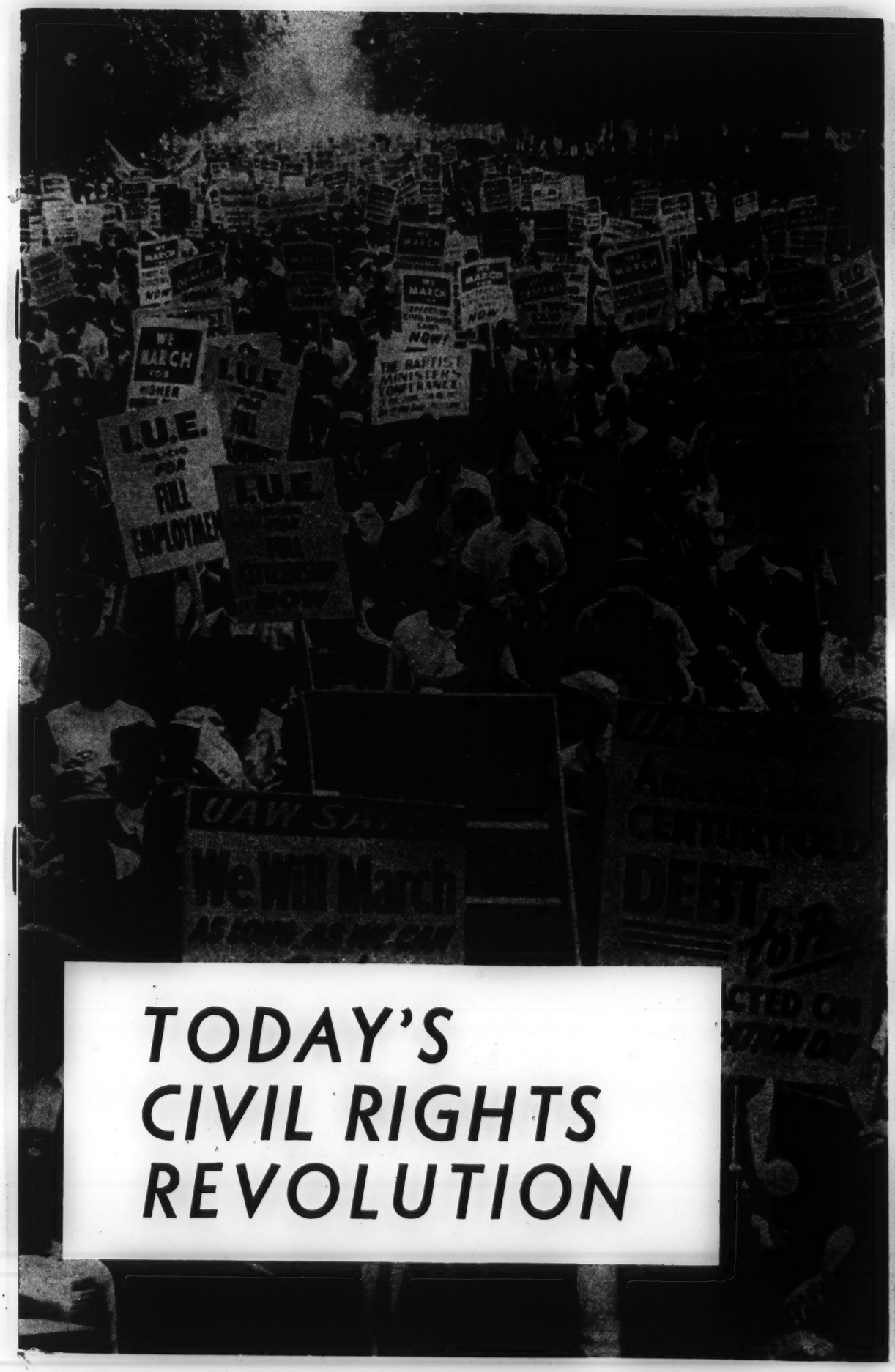
Words, and when Brook Benton uses them it's more than just a "Rainy Night in Georgia." "Rainy Night" brought Brook a coveted Gold Record, signifying sales in excess of $1,000,000.

Brook Benton enters the 70's without peer as an artist. He is not a star. He's a galaxy, and he has been almost since that time in 1959 that he exploded with "It's Just a Matter of Time".

Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson composed the scores for the Negro Ensemble Company productions of Peter Weiss' "Song of the Lusitanian Bogey" and Ray McIver's "God Is A (Guess What?)" He attended New York University and Manhattan School of Music where he obtained his Bachelor and Master degrees as a music major in composition. Thereafter, he attended Berkshire Music Center, Mozarteum, International Conductor's Course, Netherland Radio Union Hilversum.

Mr. Perkinson has held the positions of Assistant Conductor of the Dessoff Choirs, faculty member of the Manhattan School of Music, Conductor of the Brooklyn Community Symphony Orchestra and Music Director of the Professional Children's School. He has written the dance score for the Broadway production of "Billy" and the music for the Leon Bibb Show on NBC-TV. He has had many commissions to write pieces for films, television, the Metropolitan Opera and the National Association of Negro Musicians. He has recently begun work on a ballet for the Arthur Mitchell production of An Ode to Otis (A tribute to the late Otis Redding).

Mr. Perkinson conducts the music for the Barbara McNair TV shows and concerts. He researched and arranged the music for the Martin Luther King, Jr. film (Birmingham to Memphis). He is currently composing and conducting the music for Room 222 and Barefoot in the Park.



TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

a hundred years they would follow the leadership of men like Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King. No one can be sure of that because there is among the Negro people a special kind of religious quality that perhaps makes them willing to follow a struggle which is essentially framed and based upon the concepts of a Mahatma Gandhi, a struggle to achieve their objectives within the framework of a free society with the weapon of nonviolence.

Why have the American Negroes listened to Philip Randolph? It is because they believe as Philip Randolph believes, that there is enough basic good will in America and enough sense of national purpose so, despite the hundred years of neglect, we can find the answers.

Phil Randolph knows, as we all need to know, that there is no halfway house on the way to freedom; there is no tokenism that will satisfy people who ask nothing more than the dignity and the privileges and the rights that only full freedom can give you. But we are fortunate that we can join hands with men like Philip Randolph and together call upon men of good will in every religion, every race, every group, every political persuasion and say, "Let us join in the spirit of brotherhood, let us search together in the light of reason, let us work together to implement responsibility and rational action so that we can bring to fulfillment the dream of an America in which all citizens enjoy the blessings of full citizenship rights."

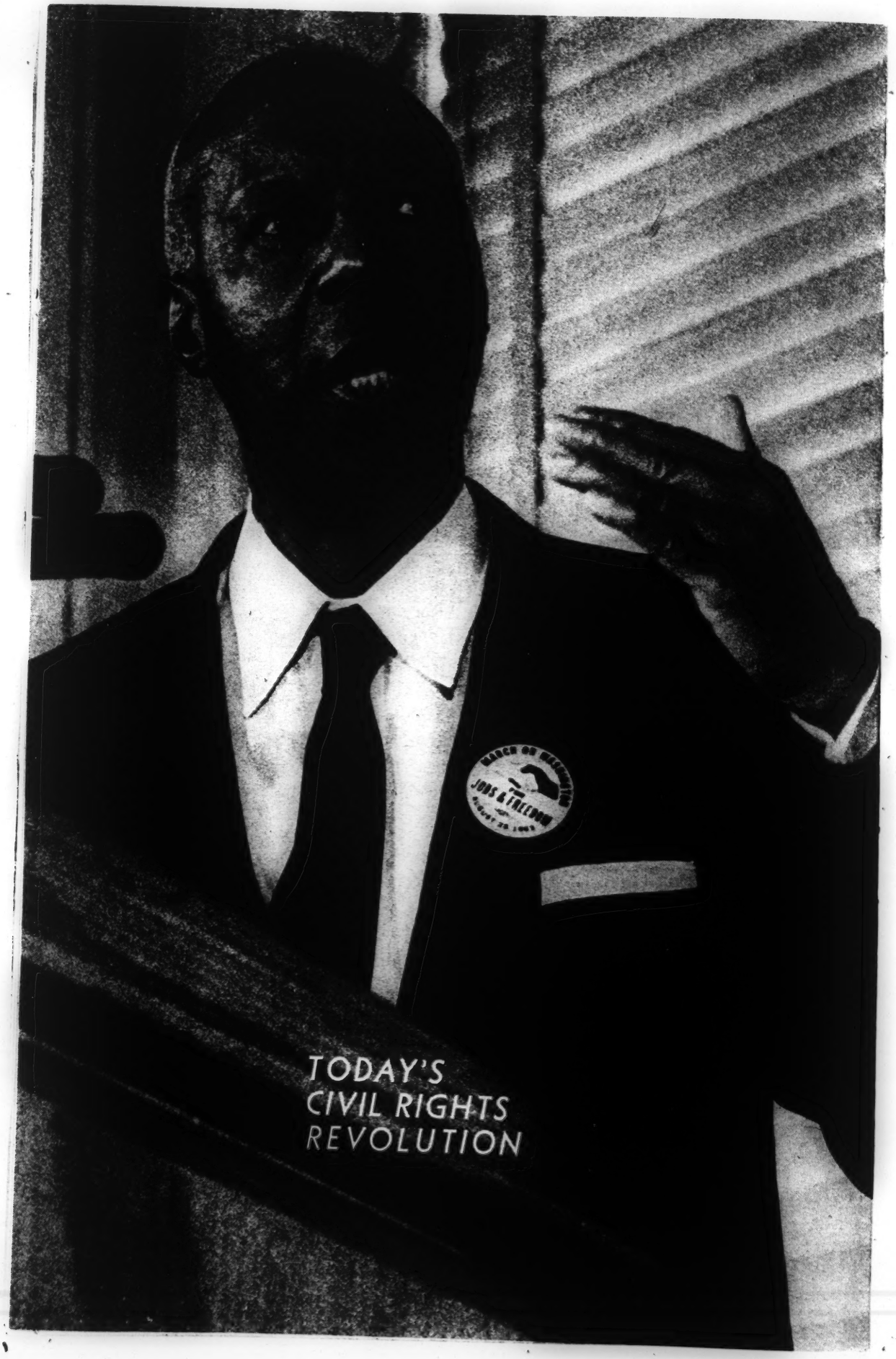
But what we need to understand is that, unless we work together in the spirit of good will and take rational and responsible action, the vacuums created by our failures will be filled by the apostles of hatred, and reason will yield to riots and brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed, and we will shatter the very fabric of our free society. Therefore the great choice in America is not whether we are going to solve the civil rights revolution. The great question is how. Will we do it by good will and cooperation and understanding, and will we wrap up all the things that we need to do within the framework of the concept of human brotherhood, or will we merely give lip service to these things and then let the apostles of hatred fill the vacuum?

I believe that men of good will can find the answers, and I believe that men like Philip Randolph are making a great contribution in helping American democracy find those answers in the light of reason.

Therefore, it is a great privilege and a distinct pleasure for me to present to you a friend, a great trade unionist, and one of the great leaders of the civil rights revolution, Philip Randolph.

TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

an address
by
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
and vice-president of the AFL-CIO
Before the
FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
of the
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
November 8, 1963



TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

THANK you, Walter Reuther, distinguished president of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. My good friend Jim Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Union Department, and officers and delegates to this great convention:

I want to assure you of my great appreciation and delight for the invitation to share in the fellowship of this occasion. I am glad to have the opportunity to see you and mingle with you because of the tremendous program you have adopted in the interest of advancing the cause of labor and civil rights in this country.

I want to congratulate this convention on the resolution which was just read. It is perhaps the most comprehensive, the most constructive and far-reaching resolution on the subject I have listened to. It will have tremendous educational significance if it is widely distributed and circulated in various areas of the country.

Now, brothers and sisters, we are in the midst of a full dress civil rights revolution. This revolution is concerned with the transition of black Americans from second class to first class citizenship. That is a revolution. And all revolutions create and devise their own patterns of behavior.

Why do we have this civil rights revolution? We have it because Negroes in America are not yet fully free. They are not free to go to the schools they may wish to attend. They are not free to live in the areas of the country they may desire. They are not free to get the jobs they may be capable of performing. As a matter of fact, they do not have the attributes of citizenship. For the attributes of citizenship include the right of freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech; the right of petition, the right of *habeas corpus*; freedom from illegal search and seizure, and the right to vote. If an individual does not have these attributes he is not a full citizen. Negroes don't have them. Consequently we have this revolution.

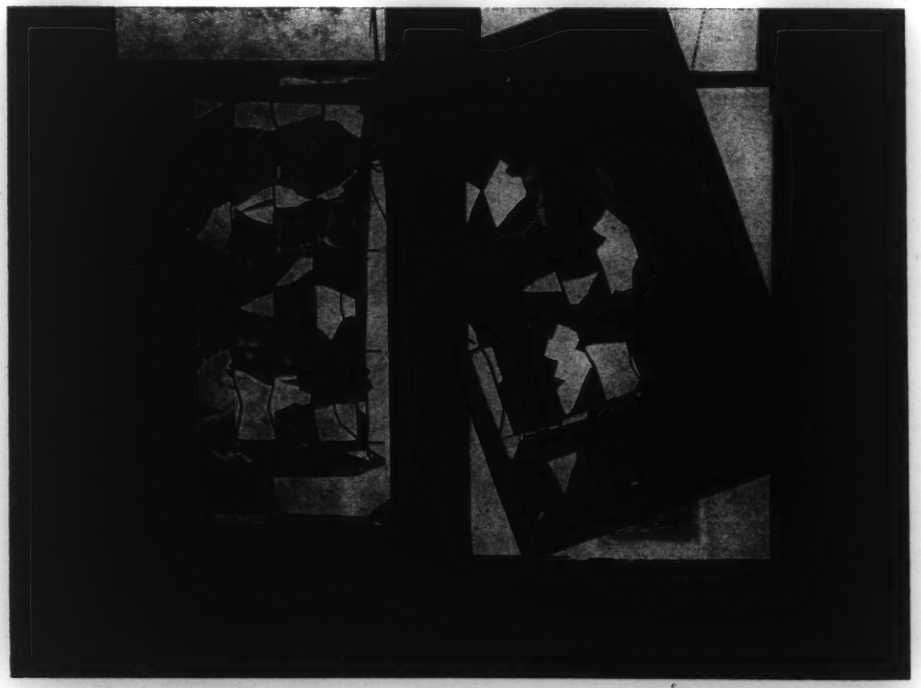
Why is it that Negroes don't have these attributes? The reason is that the Civil War revolution was never fully completed. The Civil War revolution did stop the Confederate Army. The Civil War revolution overthrew the Confederate Government, and it abolished chattel slavery. But the Civil War revolution did not go much further than that, from the point of view of the slave.

The Civil War revolution was one of the classical, liberal revolutions of the world, and the purposes of such revolutions are: first, to centralize

political power in a strong national or federal governmental system; and second, to effect the national economic unification of the country. Of course, at the very beginning these revolutions are designed to break the chains of serfdom and slavery, and to bring about a transformation of the serf or slave into a free and independent worker. Now, when you break the chains of slavery, the former serf or slave must be prepared to live in the new world. Consequently, there should be a free public school system, an integrated public school system. He should also be invested with the right of suffrage. And, as a matter of history, the revolutions of the past have provided some land for serfs and slaves.

But what happened following the Civil War? The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing chattel slavery was enacted in 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 was designed to give Negroes the status of citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 sought to guarantee their right to vote. But promptly these amendments were enacted, a counter revolution set in, and this counter revolution was designed to nullify and negate the various achievements of the Civil War revolution.

In 1875 the great Civil Rights Act—outlawing segregation and discrimination in public accommodations—was passed as a result of the work of Thaddeus Stevens, the great commoner, in the House of Repre-



Four children died for freedom in this Birmingham church.

sentatives, and Charles Sumner, the great leader in the Senate. But in 1883 this civil rights law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. And in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the Supreme Court promulgated the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine, which established the legal foundation of segregation in America.

HERE, then, you see the rising tide of a counter-revolution breaking down the democratic achievements of a Civil War revolution, a revolution which had only begun.

As Negroes began to participate in governmental activities the nation was plunged into the historic election of 1876 between Hayes and Tilden. The result of this election was the great betrayal of the freedmen. The electoral votes of four states were in dispute. But beneath this dispute were contending political and economic forces. The Republican Party, which represented very largely the extension of the national revolution begun in 1776, sought control of the government in order to effect a strong national political organization in the interest of carrying forward the forces of American capitalism. To achieve their goal, it was essential that their candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, be elected.

The Republicans struck a deal with the Tilden forces. The terms were that the disputed electoral votes would go to Hayes in return for his promise to remove the last remaining federal troops from the South and to support federal economic aid for Southern "improvements." Hayes was elected, and when he withdrew the federal troops from the South, the freedmen were left to the mercy of their former masters. In other words, the Reconstruction Democracy came to an end. It died in 1877 as the result of a deal made between the Republican party and a rising, new industrial regime in the South.

But the road to 1877 had been paved in advance. By the early 70s, the Ku Klux Klan had arisen and began to drive the Negroes from the ballot boxes with shot guns. Why? For the purpose of enabling the former slaveowners to re-establish control over the state machinery throughout the South. President Grant and his successors failed to quell the violence of the Klan and other terrorist groups. Thus, the betrayal of 1877 only formalized the federal government's growing indifference to the Negro and its eventual abandonment of him to the Southern oligarchy. Instead of being transformed into genuinely free workers, the ex-slaves became sharecroppers, tenant farmers. The former slaves were landless, voteless, moneyless, and friendless. They had nothing, and con-

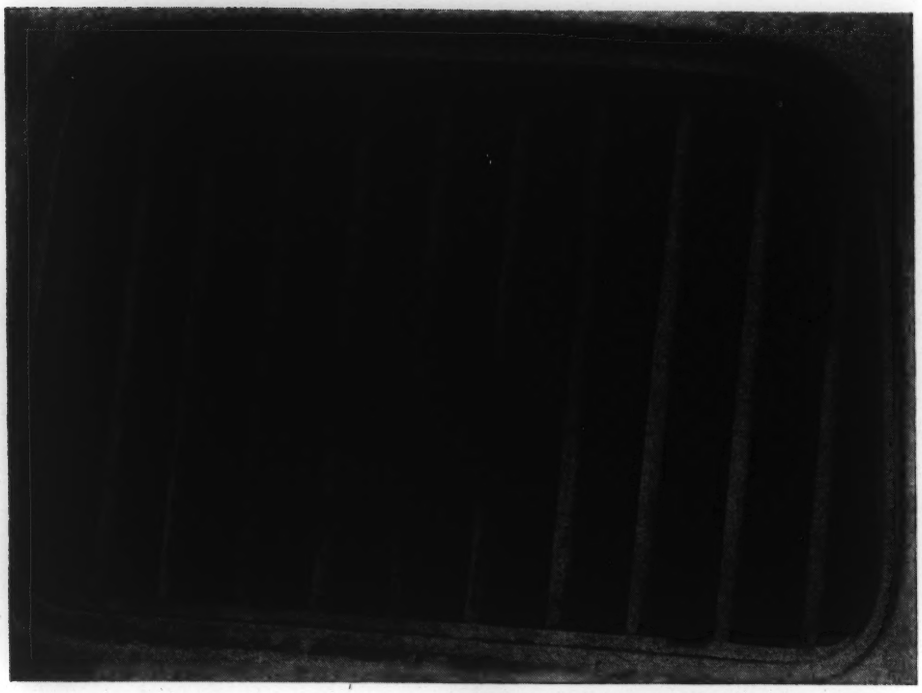
sequently they were easily victimized by the commissary system set up by the plantation owners. By this system, the freedmen obtained supplies on credit, to be paid for when the crops were harvested. But, knowing little arithmetic and denied access to the planters' books, the freedmen soon found themselves deeply in debt. Moreover, whenever a freedman was seen on the street, he was adjudged a vagrant, and as a vagrant he was put into prison. Then the plantation master would come along and pay the fine with the provision that the freedman would work out the cost of the fine on his plantation. As late as 1925 there were instances of peonage in various states of the South.

AND so, a counter-revolution to the Civil War revolution had emerged in the form of a Confederate counter-revolution. Since then a new revolution has emerged to overthrow the Confederate counter-revolution. That revolution is now underway—the civil rights revolution.

In 1909 W.E.B. DuBois, one of the great intellects of the Western world, a Negro, founded the Niagara Movement. Then, in 1910, he helped set up the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization went to the courts for the purpose of establishing the illegality of racial discrimination and segregation. It has scored tremendous successes. It was able to knock down some of the poll taxes in various states through legal action. And so, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became the voice and spearhead of this new revolution. Of course, the NAACP won that monumental and momentous decision from the United States Supreme Court in 1954 for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Simultaneously however, there appeared new voices calling upon the people to make haste, to move with greater rapidity. In Montgomery Alabama, a massive bus boycott was led by Dr. Martin Luther King in the philosophy of nonviolent resistance. In 1960, from Greensboro, North Carolina, came the sit-in movement of courageous young Negro students. And then there were the Freedom Rides, and demonstrations began to spread throughout the nation, demonstrations for human dignity, for equality, for freedom, for social justice and racial justice. These demonstrations will continue.

It is important, my brothers and sisters, to realize that it has been over a hundred years since the Negro was supposedly freed. No one can blame these people for the demonstrations they are conducting throughout the nation. And we must understand that these demonstra-



"How long, O Lord, how long?"

tions will not fit any preconceived pattern of human behavior. These demonstrations will be adjusted to the social changes they face from day to day.

In every revolution there are phases of irrationality, phases of irresponsibility. This has been true of every revolution in the history of the world. Therefore, we must not expect that the civil rights revolution is going to be meticulously beautiful and worked out according to certain niceties. Negroes have suffered too long, too much, and too sharply to look at this question in terms of niceties. An issue is either right or wrong. Negroes don't have time to make the fine distinctions that come with exposition and logical analysis. They are working towards one end, the abolition of racial bias, the abolition of racial discrimination. They are working for the abolition of racism in every area of American life, and they are pointing to where it lies.

This, my dear brothers and sisters, is the manner in which this great struggle, one of the greatest events in the history of this country, is now surging forth. And the labor movement has a tremendous stake in this event, this civil rights revolution.

LABOR had its revolution, too, beginning around the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Nor did the labor revolution move along a path of particular niceties. Not at all. You had the Haymarket riot in 1886. You had the Homestead strike in 1892. Then you had the great railroad strike in 1877; the whole nation was in the grip of that strike. Then you had the Ludlow Massacre in 1913 and 1914. Why did these labor struggles take place? Because labor, seeking to win dignity and first class citizenship, demanded the right of self-organization, the right to designate their leaders without intimidation, coercion, or interference.

Thus the path of labor has been moistened with blood and tears. How can you expect a revolution of any other group under the heel of oppression and exploitation to be different?

Labor was not the only segment of American society to revolt. There was an Agrarian Revolt between 1870 and 1896. William Jennings Bryan was the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in 1896, but he was supported by the Populists, and the Populists were opposing the railroad rebates, high interest on loans, and so forth. As a matter of fact, the country was so split as a result of the contest between the Eastern bankers and the farmers of the West and South that the nation was shaken to its very foundation. This revolution of the small farmers made the first inroads in this country into the "free enterprise" system. They demanded government intervention to protect Americans from the abuses of freewheeling Eastern capitalists.

And so, our nation is no stranger to revolutions. Now you have the Negro stepping upon the stage of history to change his position. He believes confidently that this position will be changed, and he knows that he must take the leadership in changing this position. He must be willing to suffer. He must be willing temporarily to give up his freedom in a jail cell. He must be willing to give up his life in order that his children might live as a free men. This is the spirit of the civil rights revolution.

I want to express my appreciation for the observations made by Brother Reuther concerning the civil rights organizations and also for the comment made by Brother Meany that Communists did not inspire these demonstrations. Suffering and anguish, agony of heart and soul—these were at the bottom of the demonstrations. If there had never been a Khrushchev, if there had never been a Bolshevik revolution, there would still have been an uprising of black people in America against insult and humiliation, against discrimination and exploitation. These

The view from a Negro ghetto window.

great masses of black people are rising because they want to be free. They want to be free men in a free country. They will never rest until they are fully free.

I ALSO want to take this opportunity to say a word on behalf of the Committee of Ten that directed the great March on Washington movement, of which your distinguished president Walter Reuther was a member. Here was an organization of Negro leaders, Jewish leaders, Protestant leaders, and Catholic leaders—all concerned with mapping out and carrying forward a great program set out meticulously and analytically in the interest of achieving a great objective. And the labor movement played a tremendous role. Our good friend Jack Conway was a tower of strength in that committee. The UAW and ILGWU picked up the tab for the elaborate sound equipment needed for the great March.

And so, although labor did not endorse the March, labor certainly supported the March. For this we are grateful. The March on Washington was a great moral crusade in the interest of human dignity, not for black men alone but for all men—because the great masses of white

people in America are not fully free either. The March on Washington movement was a massive expression of the people, struggling to register their conviction and dedication to the great ideal of freedom and justice to which our country has been committed through the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The March on Washington movement helps to make this country free, to keep it free; to make it strong and keep it strong; to make it great and keep it great.

Thank you very much.

'Jobs And Freedom For All'

The following resolution on civil rights was adopted unanimously by delegates to the IUD Convention:

THE discovery of an enslaved Negro sharecropper in South Carolina last week is a dramatic reminder, as we meet in convention, that the bonds of slavery have not been fully struck from nearly 20 million Americans.

The August 28 March on Washington, in which thousands of union members participated, was, we remember, a march for jobs and freedom. Jobs and freedom for all Americans is still the foremost concern of all of us who want to see an American democracy that lives and flourishes. The labor movement's own struggle for these two inseparable goals gives us a special sympathy for the present struggle of Negro Americans.

IUD's commitment to this endeavor was expressed at the March by its president, Walter P. Reuther, one of the convenors of that historic event. "It is the responsibility of every American to share the impatience of Negro Americans," he said at the Lincoln Memorial. "We need to join together, to march together, and to work together until we've bridged the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights."

Today, as then, we see the civil rights question as a moral question, transcending partisan politics. This convention is another opportunity to pledge ourselves to "the total effort to mobilize the moral conscience of America."

We begin by recognizing, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the enormous disadvantages that still confront American citizens who happen to be colored .

In employment, "the hard central fact," as Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz has pointed out, "is that among male family breadwinners, the unemployment rate today among nonwhites is three times what it is among whites." Even more alarming is the realization that Negroes are falling behind in getting jobs and that the unemployment rate is increasing at a faster rate for them than it is for whites.

The Labor Department finds that nonwhite workers recover from unemployment at a slower rate than white workers do and increasingly

Eighty-three percent of all rural Negroes live in poverty.

bear the burden of involuntary part-time work. Among younger workers, opportunities for advancement and for participation in apprenticeship and vocational training programs are still too often blocked by race.

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its latest report, finds that government programs enacted to deal with unemployment have benefited Negro workers only slightly. About 70 per cent of the Negroes hired through these programs were hired as laborers. Few have received skilled and white collar jobs. And while they have been helped by job retraining programs, their participation in the vocational opportunities opening up is, the Commission says, "meager."

In education, Negroes still bear the brunt, both North and South, of poor schools and overcrowded schools. Nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, most American children still attend segregated public schools. Only eight per cent of the Negro pupils in the 17 Southern and border states are presently attending school with white children. In the 11 states that have been most resistant, 98 per cent of the Negroes in desegregated districts still go to all-Negro schools.

The situation is scarcely better in the North, where the flight of white families to suburbs that are closed to Negroes has been steadily resegre-

gating urban schools. In New York City, for instance, 40 per cent of the students attending public school are either Negro or Puerto Rican, an increase of about 10 per cent in the last five years.

Remedial help for those who suffer from deprived backgrounds is still inadequate and there are many institutions of higher learning to which Negroes are still denied access.

In public accommodations, more than in any other area of our daily lives, discrimination manifests itself in its plainest and ugliest form. From the time Negroes leave home in the morning, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP observed in Congressional testimony earlier this year, "en route to school or to work, to shopping or to visiting, until they return home at night, humiliation stalks them." A simple auto trip becomes a harrowing experience, fraught with nightmarish hazards when the Negro traveler hunts for a place to eat or sleep or faces the prospect of traveling hundreds of miles to find the ordinary convenience of a rest room.

In voting, in spite of the enactment of the civil rights laws of 1957 and 1960, the latest Commission report finds "little inroad has been made

Negro breadwinners suffer twice the white unemployment rate.

in doing something about establishing voting rights" and that "abridgment of the right to vote on the grounds of race persists in the United States in direct violation of the Constitution."

In housing, in spite of the President's Executive Order of last year, millions of new suburban homes are still closed to Negro homeseekers, either through subterfuge or through the inadequacies of the directive. Even good older neighborhoods in many parts of our cities are closed to Negroes through the tacit understanding of white homeowners and white real estate dealers. Thousands of Negroes who can afford better housing are often penned up by discrimination, in the deteriorating ghettoes of the central cities. Millions caught in this trap find themselves condemned, through the shortage of good public housing and the connivance of unscrupulous landlords, to live in squalor.

In the administration of justice, race is too often weighed in the balance against the Negro defendant. The long list of unsolved bombings in Birmingham, the police attacks on peaceful demonstrators in Albany and Plaquemine and in dozens of places in the South deprive Negro citizens of any hope of ordinary protection from the forces of law and order and any hope of justice from the courts. Yet we dare to ask them to observe law and order when their oppressors do not.

In health facilities and services, Negroes as patients and doctors, still face discrimination in many hospitals receiving federal aid.

The terrible disadvantages from which Negro Americans suffer work to the disadvantage of all of us. Discrimination is a grave hindrance to the economic growth of the country. The President's Council of Economic Advisers estimates that because of inefficient use of the labor force and failure to develop potential skills, our economy loses between $13 and $17 billion a year in national income and product.

Worse than the economic loss is the gulf between white and nonwhite Americans. That creates a situation in which all of us become susceptible to the poisons of fear and distrust; the promise of our democracy is often negated; and we are made hypocrites by a system that makes it difficult and often impossible for us to live according to what we profess to believe.

We earnestly resolve to do whatever is within our power to tear down the barriers between us:

IN UNIONS—Trade unions were formed to secure social justice for workers. The reason for our being is to build a free society dedicated to human dignity and happiness. The achievement of this goal is predicated on equality and brotherhood. Thus, our history and our very

purpose demand that we be in the forefront of the struggle to assure first class citizenship to all people—to all colors; to all creeds; to all citizens, without regard to national ancestry.

We call upon all union members in our ranks to search out and eradicate all vestiges of discrimination and segregation in the labor movement. Labor can hardly point a finger of scorn at others when there are still segregated locals and when Negroes and other minorities are barred from apprenticeships because of race.

Time is of the essence! We cannot wait any longer.

IN CONGRESS—The moral crisis in American race relations grows worse. The President warned in June that "continued federal legislative inaction" will result in increased "tension, disorder and division." We call this warning again to the attention of Congress and urge Congressmen to redouble their efforts to enact a broad comprehensive civil rights bill in the remaining weeks of this session.

While the bill approved on October 29 by the House Judiciary Committee contains significant improvements over the original bill proposed by the Administration, it can still be strengthened. While we are gratified to see an FEPC provision in the bill, we want a Commission with more power, one that could issue its own final orders, enforceable in the courts. We pledge ourselves to work for the strengthening of the FEPC provision as well as for provisions that will open *all* places of public accommodation to all citizens and give the Justice Department greater power than the compromise bill does, to protect peaceful demonstrators and workers for constitutional rights from harassment and police brutality.

THE EXECUTIVE—We note with satisfaction that President Kennedy and the Administration through executive action have pursued an affirmative and aggressive policy and program of achieving equality for all Americans. We applaud this achievement of the President and his Administration, but there is much more to be done. Therefore we urge the President to extend Executive Order 11063 so that it covers not only FHA and VA-insured mortgages but also conventional mortgage activities of such federally-assisted lenders as banks insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or federally-insured savings and loan companies. We also urge him to establish by Executive Order, a Community Relations Service such as he originally pledged to do in his Civil Rights message of June 19. The fact that the Service has been deleted from the bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee puts an additional obligation upon the President to establish a service that would

seek voluntary solutions of community relations problems arising out of discrimination.

IN THE NATION—We call upon all individuals in and out of the labor movement to speak out against discrimination and to act in their daily lives to end it. Only the hourly, daily actions of millions of us will make a brotherhood more than a platitude and launch, at last, "a great moral crusade to arouse America to the unfinished work of American democracy to the end that all Americans may enjoy the privileges of first class citizenship in all phases of our national life."

'Freedom . . . Here And Now'

Walter P. Reuther gave the following address at the Lincoln Memorial to participants in the August 28, 1963, March on Washington.

BROTHER Randolph, fellow Americans and friends. I am here today with you because with you I share the view that the struggle for civil rights and the struggle for equal opportunity is not the struggle of Negro Americans but the struggle for every American to join in.

For 100 years the Negro people have searched for first-class citizenship and I believe that they cannot and should not wait until some distant tomorrow. They should demand freedom now. Here and now.

It is the responsibility of every American to share the impatience of the Negro American. And we need to join together, to march together and to work together until we have bridged the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights. American democracy has been too long on pious platitudes and too short on practical performance in this important area.

Now one of the problems is that there is too much high octane hypocrisy in America. There is a lot of noble talk about brotherhood and some Americans drop the brother and keep the hood. To me the civil rights question is a moral question. It transcends partisan politics. And this rally today is the first step in a total effort to mobilize the moral conscience of America and to ask the people in Congress of both parties to rise above their partisan differences and enact civil rights legislation now.

Now the President, President Kennedy, has offered a comprehensive but moderate bill. That bill is the first meaningful step. It needs to be strengthened. It needs FEPC and other strong provisions and the job question is crucial because we will not solve education or housing or public accommodations as long as millions of Americans, Negroes, are treated as second-class economic citizens and denied jobs. And as one American I take the position, if we can have full employment and full production for the negative end of war then why can't we have a job for every American in the pursuit of peace. And so our slogan has got to be fair employment but fair employment within the framework of full employment so that every American can have a job.

I am for civil rights as a matter of human decency, as a matter of common morality but I am also for civil rights because I believe that freedom is an indivisible value, that no one can be free unto himself. And when Bull Connor, with his police dogs and fire hoses, destroys freedom in Birmingham, he destroys my freedom in Detroit. And let us keep in

mind, since we are the strongest of the free nations of the world, since you cannot make your freedom secure except as we make freedom universal so that all may enjoy its blessings, let us understand that we cannot defend freedom in Berlin as long as we deny freedom in Birmingham.

This rally is not the end, it is the beginning. It is the beginning of a great moral crusade to arouse Americans to the unfinished work of American democracy. The Congress has to act and after they act we have much work to do in the vineyards of American democracy in every community. Men of good will must join together, men of all races and creeds and colors and political persuasion and motivated by the spirit of human brotherhood. We must search for the answer in the light of reason through rational and responsible action because if we fail, the vacuum of our failure will be filled by the apostles of hatred who will search in the darkened night and reason will yield to riot and brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed and we will tear asunder the fabric of American democracy.

So, let this be the beginning of that great crusade to mobilize the moral conscience of America so that we can win freedom and justice and equality and first-class citizenship for every American not just for certain Americans, not only in certain parts of America but in every part of America, from Boston to Birmingham, from New York to New Orleans, and from Michigan to Mississippi. Thank you.

After a hundred years, nonviolence is still the weapon.

For Additional Copies, Please Write:

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District 65 Remembers A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, 65's special friend, was presented with Senior 65ers Award in 1963 by Israel Rubin (left) and Pres. David Livingston.

District 65 joins in the national mourning at the death of labor warrior A. Philip Randolph. Requesting that this column be devoted to a recollection of the days we stood together, President David Livingston said: "We mourn his death, but we remember his principled life and the struggles in which we joined him."

After establishing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1929 and winning recognition from the Pullman Co. in a bitter struggle, Randolph rose to become a Vice President of the AFL, then later of the AFL-CIO. He emerged as one of the great labor leaders and humanitarians of his time, bolstering the strength of all labor by championing the cause of the most oppressed workers.

Recognizing that Black workers were being shut out of key industries during World War II, Randolph organized sufficient pressure to convince President Franklin D. Roosevelt to establish the Commission on Fair Employment Practices. Later, he was the driving force behind President Harry Truman's decision to issue an Executive Order abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces.

Randolph's influence was always strongest and most effective within the labor movement, where he challenged trade unions to put their house in order and fulfill their destiny of providing leadership in the struggle to create equality of opportunity in the work place.

Over the years, the officers and members of District 65 marched shoulder to shoulder with A. Philip Randolph. Going back through the issues of the union newspaper, one finds that he returned to the union hall time and again as a reliable base of support in his struggles or to lend his weight to campaigns initiated by our union.

In 1959, for instance, Vice President Randolph's defense of Black workers brought an outburst from AFL-CIO President George Meany, who publicly said: "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negroes in America?" Returning from the confrontation, Randolph got solid backing at a '65' meeting where he was urged to establish a coalition of Black trade unionists. This led to the formation of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC).

Another such battle began in October, 1961, when Vice President Randolph, the only Black on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, urged the Council to take action against affiliates that continued to discriminate. He proposed to enlist the great strength of the AFL-CIO to win for Black workers those academic and vocational training opportunities which could open the doors to skilled jobs in all fields. He was accused of being "divisive" and censured by the Council for the suggestion.

On October 30, 1961 a special meeting of District 65 members was called by the union officers and the '65' Negro Affairs Committee. Chaired by Secretary-Treasurer Cleveland Robinson, the meeting gave a warm welcome and vote of confidence to Randolph. President Livingston lashed out at the AFL-CIO leadership for their personal attacks on the Black trade union leader. Promising to rally 65ers, Livingston insisted that the AFL-CIO should be made to accept the challenge of wiping out discrimination wherever it exists in organized labor. At the November General Council, a resolution was adopted to be presented to the upcoming AFL-CIO convention.

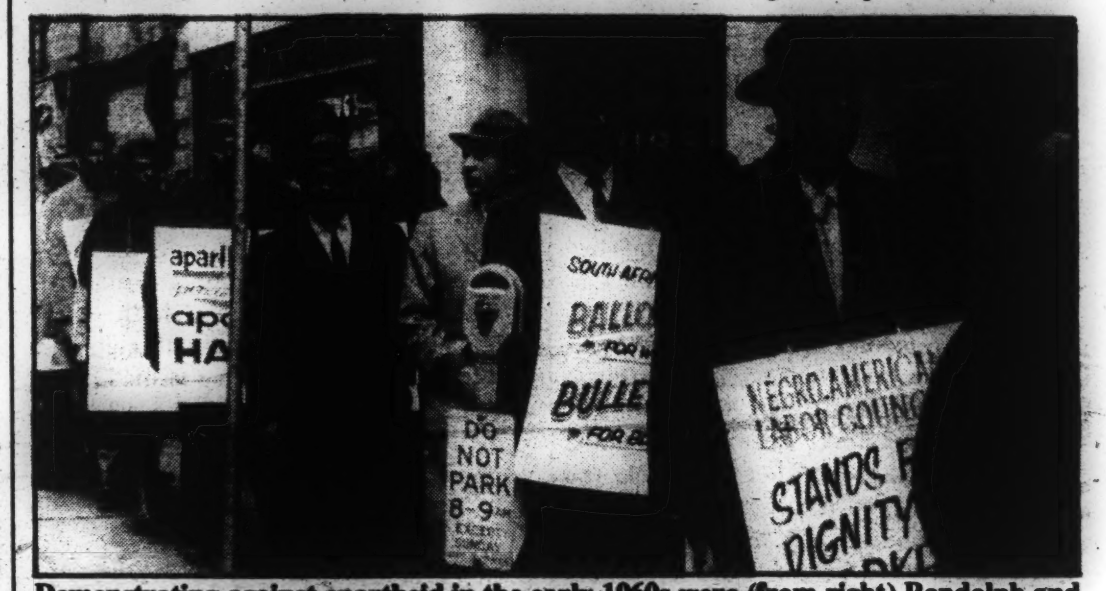
Secretary-Treasurer Cleveland Robinson, who appeared arm-in-arm with Randolph in every struggle, led a '65' delegation to a meeting in early December between AFL-CIO President George Meany and leading Black trade unionists. They expressed concern and laid the basis for action at the AFL-CIO Convention which opened on December 7, 1971. After two days of discussions at the Convention, in which 65ers played an important role, the censure against Randolph was dropped for all practical purposes and the federation's Civil Rights Committee was significantly strengthened, giving it the right to investigate and initiate complaints of violations. Randolph expressed his satisfaction with the outcome.

Randolph's persistent efforts eventually won over those who were hostile in the ranks of labor. The AFL-CIO became more sensitive to Black trade unionists and Blacks assumed leadership positions in unions. Even those who opposed him initially came to love and respect Randolph, and value his leadership. In the end, they understood that he did not create division but built real unity.

'Father of Civil Rights Movement'

During these years, Randolph served as President of the NALC. Through this forum, he was able to constantly bring the crushing problems of Black workers to the public's attention. Encouraged by Pres. Livingston and Sec.-Treas. Robinson, large numbers of 65ers made important contributions to building this organization.

In November, 1962, District 65 leaders suggested that a "way be found to converge on Washington" to demand massive government intervention to tackle the problem of Black unemployment. That same month, Randolph, who had celebrated his 72nd birthday, installed Robinson as NALC Assistant President to handle "the great responsibilities that I am not capable of carrying out alone." Randolph and Robinson soon fully mobilized the NALC to help undertake just such a March. They worked together with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with Robinson serving as Administrative Chairman of the March. Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and countless others joined in providing leadership for the demonstration.



Demonstrating against apartheid in the early 1960s were (from right) Randolph and Sec.-Treas. Cleveland Robinson, and Ossie Davis (at left).

Randolph led 300,000 marchers to the Lincoln Memorial on August 28. The historic demonstration attended by some 4000 65ers made it possible to gain passage for the Civil Rights Bill which was pending in Congress. When he rose to speak, Randolph praised '65' for the physical and financial support that it gave early in the organization of the demonstration when "the March was not so popular." He also praised Robinson for his special contribution. Later, when he retired in 1966, he encouraged Robinson to keep up the pressure for progress as the next NALC President.

While these and other historic events stand out in everyone's mind, many 65ers remember A. Philip Randolph as the man who walked our picket lines, visited our hall and expressed his solidarity in many warm and quiet ways. He was an outstanding humanitarian and labor leader, a socialist of great vision and courage, a constant and loyal fighter for every working man and woman. To 65ers, he was also a special friend. A. Philip Randolph will not be forgotten.

Demanding jobs for Blacks are (back to front) Randolph, Rev. Donald Harrington, James Farmer, Pres. Livingston and son Danny, Norman Thomas and 65er Ruby Schochet.

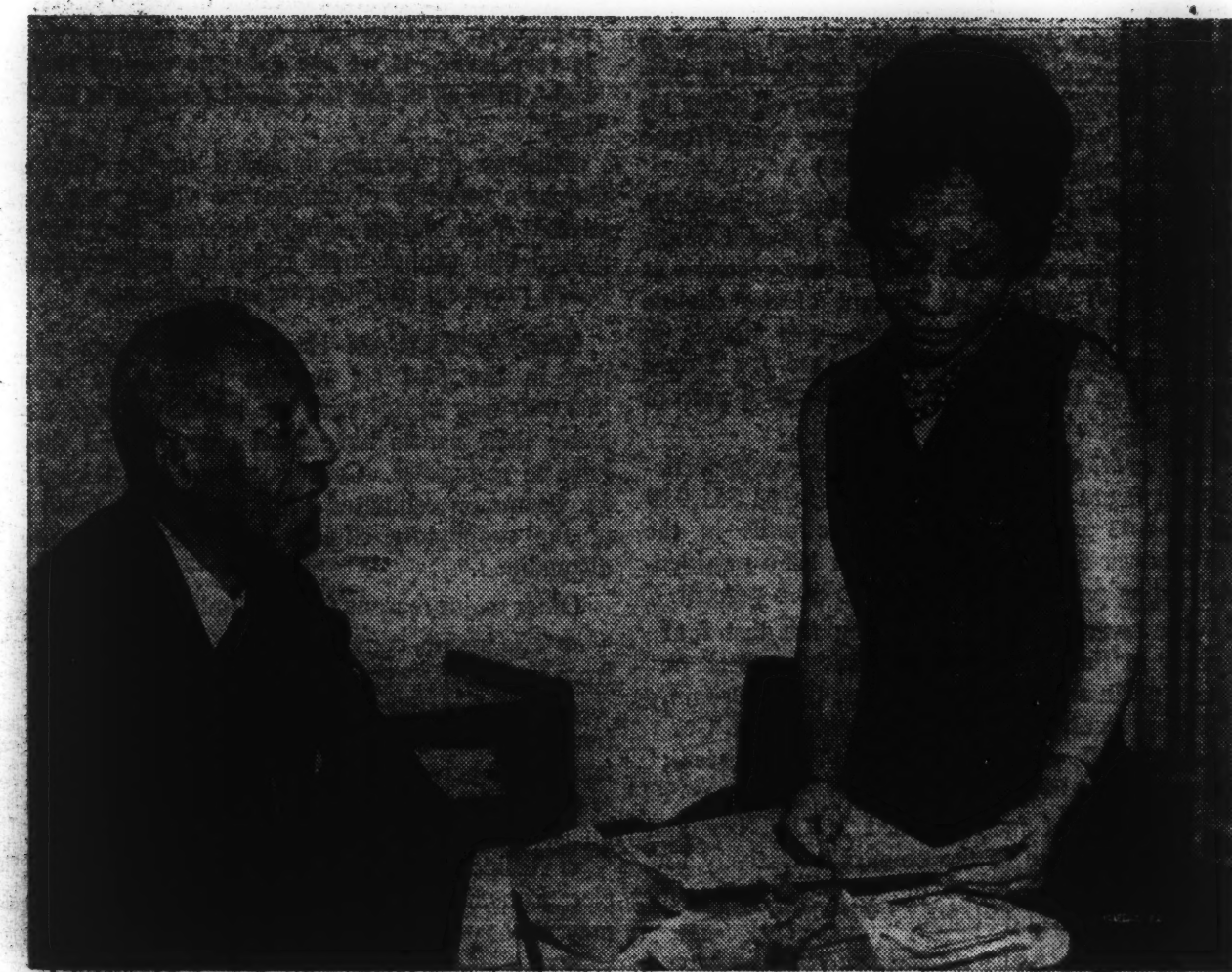
Petrie Wins '65' Program

Petrie 65ers ratified their new three-year contract on March 29, achieving $51.50 in increases with cost of living protection in the second and third years. The pact calls for an immediate boost of $17.50 a week retroactive to February 19, 1979.

Covering close to 400 workers, the contract provides for the complete union program, including increased Security Plan contributions, ½% for the Education Fund, $10.50 increase in minimums, establishment of a health & safety committee and a long list of improvements on shop issues, reports Vice Chairperson Verdell Harvey.

The large rank-and-file negotiating committee was able to win extra break time; better severance pay; an additional sick day; the right to use Fridays or Mondays as personal days; concessions on classifications, plus a commitment to resolve the remaining problems in this area; pro-rated vacation pay and pay for unused sick days for those who resign; recognition that the ½-day off election day should cover every worker, not just U.S citizens.

The negotiating committee consisted of Chairperson Ruby Cohen, Vice Chairperson Verdell Harvey, Stewards Gloria McCollum, Dorothy Kennedy, Frankie Palmer, Raul Santo, Herman Hoyt, Raul Rodriguez, Gloria Gordon, E. Guerrero, and Marie Cooper, Marina Rodriguez, Mary Farley, Florence Lee, Phillip Tuozon, Doretha Nesmith and Kim Romano.



WORKING WITH Pres. A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters is Danielette Nelson, a student from Liberia. Thirty-four national and international unions employed African students last summer and had high praise for the ability of the young men and women.

MR. RANDOLPH, MR. STULBERG AND MR. JENNINGS

Tom Mboya (left), the head of the Kenya Federation of Labor, has a chat at Brussels with AFL-CIO Vice-President Randolph.

Over all view of the AFL-CIO Executive Board in session.

00877

Philip Randolph has done more than any other living man toward earning Negroes an equal chance at better jobs

The Porter Who Carried Hope to His Race

Condensed from "Labor U.S.A."

Lester Velie

U. S. NEGROES have achieved more in the last 17 years than in the preceding 77 years since the Civil War. They have won Fair Employment Practice acts in 15 states—and a chance at jobs on assembly lines, streetcars and buses, in stores. Jim Crowism has been abolished in the armed forces. And the unions which stand as a gate to jobs in many fields have begun to drop their color bars.

For all this, one man is largely responsible. He is A. Philip Randolph, founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Although his union is one of the AFL-CIO's smallest (8000 members), Randolph is considered one of the top half-dozen labor leaders of the country. Now a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a member of its executive council (a governing position denied to many union leaders with more members and power), he has fashioned from his small but disciplined organization a wedge to pry gains for his entire race.

At 69, Randolph, his tall figure

"Labor U.S.A.," © 1959 by Lester Velie, is to be published in June, at $5, by Harper & Brothers, 49 E. 33 St., New York 16, N. Y.

an $18 wage—or 25 cents an hour. Tips brought his gross monthly income to about $100, from which he bought his uniform, shoe polish and dining-car meals—and so used up approximately one third of his earnings. Sometimes he'd wait all day at the Pullman office—at no pay—for an assignment. All this was set down in a "labor contract" negotiated with the company by a union formed and financed by the employer.

In constant fear of idleness and hunger, the porters were afraid to organize. Randolph began visiting them secretly in their homes, holding meetings in railroad yards. In three years he painfully put together locals with a total of 5000 members.

Nine years of organizing rolled by. It was 1934, a depression year, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters still had no contract and no improved conditions. The porters' treasury was bare. Randolph's wife, a graduate of Howard University, had lost her social-work job. There was nothing with which to feed the family: Randolph, his wife, his mother and sister.

This was a dark hour. And now was added temptation. The late Fiorello H. La Guardia, then mayor of New York, offered Randolph a $12,000-a-year job on the city payroll.

"You'll never organize the porters," La Guardia said.

How could La Guardia understand that the fight to organize the porters was more than a union drive alone? If Randolph could hold out, he would show that a Negro could achieve a goal under the most adverse conditions. The whole Negro community was involved.

Randolph borrowed subway fare to go down to City Hall to say "No" to La Guardia.

Three years later Randolph won a National Labor Relations Board employe election and with it a contract from Pullman. It called for a 40-hour week, a base $100 monthly salary, machinery for settling grievances.

To the Negro, the Brotherhood with its initial 18,000 members was a more significant organization than the United Automobile Workers with its then 400,000 members. Randolph had triumphed under conditions that gave the Negro pride. Before Randolph, the Negro had sought to stir the conscience of the country by complaining to the white man. Randolph called this "propaganda of the word." Now, with the Brotherhood as a rallying center, money raiser and leader, Randolph turned to "propaganda of the deed."

The first "deed" was a drive to open war plants to Negroes, largely barred from everything except janitor work.

"We talk a lot about being the arsenal of democracy," Randolph said to Milton Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood. "Suppose we dramatize the fact that in this arsenal of democracy there is no democracy for the Negro citizen? Suppose we march 100,000-strong in protest on Washington?"

Randolph and his aides scoured Harlem to recruit marchers. The

held with dignity, his look serene, is a leader of great moral force. Among labor's elders, who pride themselves on their ability to make a rousing speech, he is respected as the most eloquent orator of all. Once, in debate, an opponent threw up his hands. "How can we cope with this man?" he complained. "He is the only one here who has had the advantage of studying logic, of studying philosophy, of studying ethics, of studying the humanities—and human nature!"

Randolph is the product chiefly of his own vast reading. He is also the product of a faith in man's ability to overcome his environment.

Overcoming his own environment was his earliest challenge. As an inquisitive lad in Jacksonville, Fla., he couldn't browse in the public library or borrow books; he was restricted to the meager "colored section." When he went downtown with his brother to pick up newspapers to sell, the white boys would keep them at the end of the line—unless they battled their way out.

Randolph's father, an impoverished minister, had an inspired way of dealing with the problem of rearing children in the world they lived in. He hammered pride into them by teaching them that color has nothing to do with intellectual capacity or with character. What they'd be in the world depended solely on them. Instead of good clothes, he outfitted his boys with fine English speech and passed on to them his own eager interest in books.

One book, William E. B. Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk,* gave Randolph the driving idea of his life. This was the idea of the "talented tenth": one of every ten Negroes must be educated for leadership. Du Bois taught that Negroes, like other races, have among them persons of superior intellect who should be the leaders to help fellow Negroes rise to whatever jobs their talents and education fitted them for. Fourteen-year-old Philip decided to be one of the "talented tenth."

He had the good fortune to live in a community where the American Missionary Association had established a high school for Negroes staffed with a white faculty from New England. These dedicated teachers not only brought their pupils book learning but also urged them to serve as examples to other Negroes and to work for equal economic opportunity.

When Philip graduated, he drifted north to make his living at Negro jobs—as elevator boy, waiter—and to study evenings at New York's City College. Concentrating on political science, economics and philosophy, Randolph turned himself into one of the educated, talented tenth. Now, to give himself an operating base and to create a symbol of Negro achievement and stamina, he undertook one of the toughest organizing jobs in union annals: the 12-year fight to form the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In 1925 the Pullman porter worked about 70 hours a week at

idea caught fire, and from Chicago, Detroit and faraway Los Angeles, Negroes began to organize. President Roosevelt dispatched Mrs. Roosevelt, a friend of Randolph's, to talk him out of the idea.

"Where will you put up 100,000 people in Washington?" Mrs. Roosevelt asked. "There might be rioting. You might be killed."

"No earthly price can stop us," Randolph replied.

Mrs. Roosevelt telephoned her husband. "Ask Randolph to come to a White House meeting," he said.

Roosevelt brought in Cabinet officers, War Production Board executives and other dignitaries to underline the solemnity of the meeting. He turned on his most dazzling charm. Randolph sat in quiet dignity and merely rumbled in his deep voice: "The plants must be opened to Negroes, Mr. President. Or I must let my people march."

Roosevelt yielded and issued the historic executive order which commanded war contractors to drop color barriers. To enforce the order, the so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee was created. From it later flowed FEPC's in 15 states.

In 1948 Randolph's "propaganda of the deed" wrested a second landmark victory. When returning Negro war veterans brought indignant stories of discrimination in the armed forces, Randolph dispatched Brotherhood organizers to Negro colleges and other campuses to sample opinion among young Negroes about to be drafted. Armed with the results, he sought a White House interview and told President Truman: "I haven't found one Negro interested in serving his country in a Jim Crow army. I may break the law by urging my people to refuse to serve, Mr. President, but I'll be serving a higher moral law by opposing discrimination."

Truman capitulated with an executive order that wiped out segregation in the services.

Until now, however, Randolph had been only partially successful in the area where victory could mean most: the unions which control jobs. The railroad workers' unions, for instance, not only barred Negroes from membership but forced railroads to fire them if they already held jobs.

Randolph's first rescue expedition was to save the jobs of Negro locomotive firemen. This meant war with the powerful all-white Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen.

Firing a steam engine used to be hot, backbreaking work—so Negroes were welcome to it. But when automatic stokers and then diesels arrived, the white unions started a drive against Negro firemen.

When the Negroes sought justice in the courts, the unions used the full might of their treasuries to fight them. When all else failed, Negro firemen were shot out of their cabs. Between 1931 and 1934 ten Negro firemen were killed and 21 wounded in the lower Mississippi Valley alone. Next, the white unions coerced 21

For bold, original inventiveness and sheer technical ability, it is hard to beat the French. Look at this outstanding postwar record

Don't Sell France Short!

By Robert Littell

THE FASTEST electric locomotive in the world, the highest aerial cableway, the deepest canal lock, the tallest gantry crane, the tiniest micro-tools, the biggest truck, the quietest commercial jet . . .

All these mosts, bests, biggests and many more are the product of France. Yes, of lovely, pleasure-given, froufrou France, a land of food and fashions, wines and perfumes, but surely—one used to think—not quite up to making serious hardware.

Never has the stereotype of a frivolous, deliciously backward France been less true than it is today. The great postwar surge of French inventiveness, of sheer technical ability, has surprised her friends, and even France herself. The dismal fogs of French politics have veiled the solid accomplishments of a France that can compete with the best in science, industry or technology anywhere.

And a France that exports creative brains as well as vintage bottles. French engineers have been building an oil refinery in Finland, a telecommunications network in Greece, pipelines in Kenya, a fertilizer works in Pakistan, a jet-age runway in Hong Kong, a sewage system for Auckland, New Zealand; a steel mill in the Colombian Andes, a four-lane vehicular tunnel under Havana Bay, ammonia plants in Alabama and Missouri.

The French may not yet have peddled coal in Newcastle, but they have built ships for the English and the Norwegians; they have equipped paper mills for the Swedes and

Southern railroads in 1940 to stop hiring Negroes altogether and to fire Negroes even though they had as much as 20 years' seniority.

Randolph couldn't organize a firemen's union of his own since the white union had the jurisdiction. Instead, he formed a "provisional committee" of Negro firemen and, with Porters' union money, began suing the white union for damages: loss of pay due to loss of jobs. They battled their way to the Supreme Court, which in 1944 outlawed the anti-Negro union deal with the railroads, thus ending that phase of the war against Negro firemen.

In the building-trades unions Randolph met a tougher problem. Here the union, rather than the employer, does the hiring. The contractor who needs a dozen carpenters or a couple of plumbers calls the union hall. But Negroes who can't get into the plumbers' or the carpenters' union can't get into the job-dispatching hiring hall either.

Randolph could achieve only limited results through the courts because of the nature of some of the unions' exclusion devices. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for instance, does not bar Negroes. In fact, it welcomes them if they have the training. But the coveted apprentice openings—which ultimately will pay off with high hourly wages, plus other benefits—go only to sons of members or other close kin. And since Negroes were excluded years ago, and there are only a handful of Negro members now, the chance for Negro boys to become electricians is slim.

Meanwhile, it is true that the great industrial unions—the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Packinghouse Workers and others whose members are largely unskilled—have welcomed Negroes. As against an estimated 300,000 Negro union members in the old AFL 20 years ago, there are probably two million Negro unionists in the AFL-CIO today. Yet equal treatment in the plants and an equal chance at better jobs are still denied to the Negro in many parts of the country.

In 1955, however, Randolph achieved a breakthrough which holds much promise for the Negro unionist. When the AFL and the CIO merged, he battled through a mandate in the new constitution: affiliated unions must stop discriminating on racial grounds. Effective enforcement of this mandate has been delayed, but a department has been created to fight race bias.

Randolph's Sleeping Car Porters are today dwindling in numbers as Pullman travel declines. In recent years, except for his union work, Randolph has largely dropped the reins of Negro leadership. But, nearing 70, he leaves behind him a monument of achievement and an idea that is developing young new Randolphs—the idea of the "talented tenth": the lesson that in education for leadership and in self-reliance lies the hope of the Negro.

»»««

DIGGING FACTS

By Luther A. Townsley
Dir., International Negro Press

DIGGING FACTS—

A few weeks ago, New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the illustrious pastor of Abyssinian Baptist church, advised the nation's Negro voters to boycott the coming November presidential election. Simultaneously he launched a fusillade of charges against Illinois Congressman William L. Dawson, branding him as an "Uncle Tom."

His advice to Negroes and his blast against Mr. Dawson resulted from an alleged "sellout" of civil rights during the recent Democratic National convention, he claimed. The dignified Illinois Congressman refused to reply to the "Uncle Tom" charges, thereby ending what promised to be an ugly public controversy between the only two Negro representatives in congress.

Whether Mr. Powell was right is becoming daily more and more questionable. Already labor leader A. Phillip Randolph has decided against boycotting any national election. During a meeting of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters last week, he advised Negro voters to turn out in full strength for the November election. Negroes have fouth too long and too hard for voting rights, to boycott any election of such importance as the election for the Presidency of the United States, Mr. Randolph remarked.

That was the first top Negro leader to disagree publicly with the Rev. A. Clayton Powell on whether Negroes should boycott the 1952 November elections. It is known that other top Negro leaders agree with Mr. Randolph on this issue. But the count now stands Dawson 1, Powell 0.

Time, and we mean the few days ahead before November, will tell whether Mr. Powell was wise in sticking his neck out. If he was a bit too hasty, we fear his national reputation may be dangerously hurt. Great and deep thought should be given to a proposition as deep as the one involving a boycott of national elections by a struggling minority group which is still fighting for suffrage rights in some sections of the country. It appears better to vote, thereby exercising the right of franchise, than not to vote, though we may deeply question the calibre of candidates we are electing.

Above all, Mr. Powell should appreciate and evaluate the qualities of Mr. Dawson rather than take things for granted. Whether he likes it or not, he should realize that Congressman Dawson has something on the ball, meaning he knows the business of politics. The Illinois Congressman is an extremely capable and efficient executive, as his record will prove. Rising from poverty, he has learned the hard way to be practical.

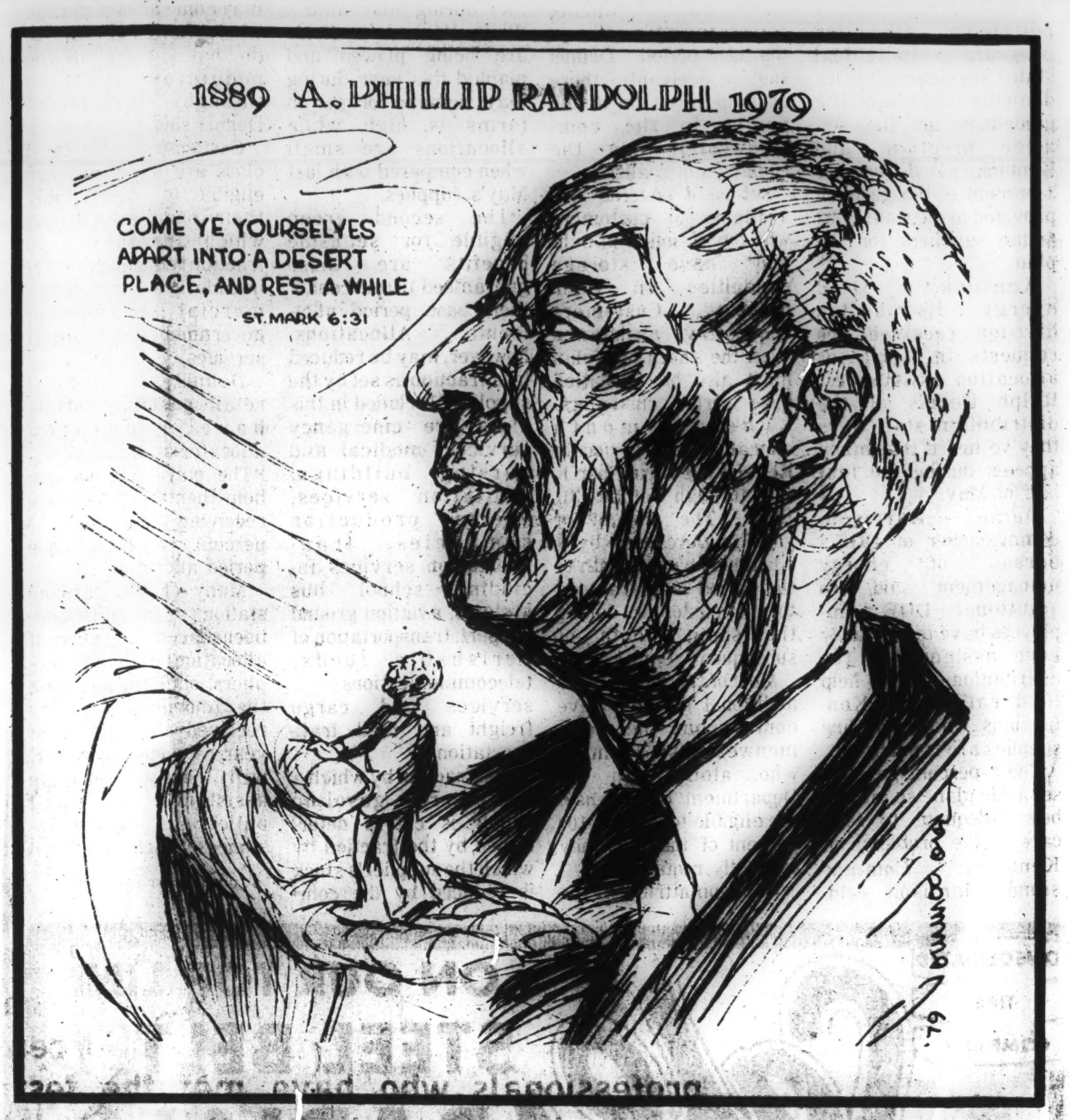
And above all, the Illinois Congrescman added a few stars to his crown when he declined to reply to the Powell blast. Such an action would have done more harm than good for both men, not considering the danger to the national Democratic ticket this coming November.

WRONG THOUGH RIGHT

By William Henry Huff for ANP

It matters not if you are right
Since all are wrong who are not white;
In this land color is the thing
And they will seat you in the back
If you are yellow, brown or black.
Their tongues are thick. They cannot sing
That rapturous song, equality.
Yet, they could ultra-modern be
And lay aside that cruel hate
Which causes them to segregate
By reason of a peoples' race.
We now demand that they desist,
Turn to the light and from the mist;
This is the time, this is the place.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "to fulfill these rights" is opened by A. Philip Randolph, elder statesman of the civil rights movement and AFL-CIO vice president. The applause is led by Vice Pres. Hubert H. Humphrey, the keynote speaker.



They Had a Dream

Randolph Always Fought Back

By GEORGE REASONS
and SAM PATRICK

In the entire history of the American labor movement, only one black man ever emerged as a national leader. That one man was A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 and its president for more than 40 years.

Randolph also was a vice president of the AFL-CIO with which the brotherhood was affiliated, and a member of the AFL-CIO's executive committee. From that base, he fought for the laboring man and also battled discrimination both within the unions and without. He came to be recognized as one of the most influential leaders in the civil rights movement and one of its most effective spokesmen.

BORN IN CRESCENT CITY, FLA., in 1889, Randolph was the son of a minister in the African Methodist Church. As a boy he worked as gorcery store clerk, sold newspapers and picked up other odd jobs. When he grew older, Randolph laid track for the railroad.

When he finished high school at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Randolph left home for New York City where he worked as an elevator operator, porter and waiter while attending New York City College.

A self-styled radical at 28, Randolph joined with a friend in publishing a monthly magazine called the Messenger. It was billed as "the only radical Negro magazine in America. Later he contributed articles to other publications and then took a fling at politics by running unsuccessfully as the Socialist candidate in 1921 for New York secretary of state.

Randolph was active in the labor movement almost from the day he arrived in New York. He helped organize an elevator operators' union and lost his job for attempting to organize the waiters on a local railroad.

IN 1925, HE DECIDED to try to organize sleeping-car porters who worked up to 400 hours a month for a wage of $87.50. It took him 12 years to win the union's first contract which cut porters' work hours in half and more than tripled their salaries.

Randolph was a warrior and conflict was what he came to expect. "You've got to fight for what you get," he once said. "I've been at many a conference-table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without extracting it from the other side."

He carried this philosophy into the labor movement itself, agitating for equal treatment of blacks by the union and becoming a thorn in the side of AFL-CIO president George Meany. In 1961, he was censured by the union for the accusations he made.

In 1941, Randolph organized a march on Washington to protest discrimination in defense plants. The march was called off when President Roosevelt yielded to the pressure and signed an executive order banning such discrimination.

Seven years later, Randolph and other black leaders launched another fight against discrimination in the military, which resulted in another executive order signed by President Truman.

RANDOLPH CONCEIVED and organized the march on Washington in 1963, which drew 250,000 persons and brought pressure on Congress for civil rights legislation.

Five years later, Randolph retired as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

On April 15, 1979, his 90th birthday, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller honored the labor leader by designating the day "A. Philip Randolph Day."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

VICTOR RIESEL: Inside Labor

WASHINGTON: President Johnson ran a "reverse teach-in" dinner the other night. It was unique right down to the grape cheese. It was full of surprises, but went unreported, though that State dining room was filled with many of the nation's most influential men.

The guests ranged from Socialist A. Philip Randolph, president of the (AFL-CIO) Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to the staid Roger Blough, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel.

What made the banquet unique was Mr. Johnson's new technique in getting the men to stand up and tell him bluntly what they had on their minds.

As each of the 60 business and labor leaders left the cocktail room for the dinner hall, they drew numbers for their seats. There were 10 tables, each with 10 chairs.

At each table, in addition to a member of the Cabinet or head of a vital Federal bureau, was a bright young chap out of one of the government services. He was the host, a sort of table social director. His job was to make certain the men of industry and the chiefs of labor got around to a first-name basis.

As they were seated, a waiter came around to each table with a bowl. In it were 10 slips. This was as gingerly handled as though it were a bottle of Marquis de Montesque Armagnac. On one slip appeared the word "speaker." On each of the other nine was written "writer."

No one knew in advance what his role was to be. The guest who drew the "speaker" slip was expected to rise and shine, to voice any comment or critique of the domestic economy or any suggestions for keeping the prosperity and swinging the balance of payments in America's favor.

The nine at each table who drew the "writer" slips were asked to send their thoughts and proposals along to the President, on paper, after they returned home.

But the speakers had to hold their fire until they had heard the President, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler, Secretary of Labor Wirtz, Secretary of Commerce Connor and a string of other specialists tell them that now the basic domestic issue is cutting down the money this country is pouring out into the world and getting more back in.

There was the moment when Mr. Randolph, a veteran Negro leader, rose, his "speaker" slip in hand. Rarely if ever has Phil Randolph unleashed a speech in his sonorous voice—especially in front of a President—without reference to the civil rights revolution. Yet that night, for the first time in 50 years, Mr. Randolph put aside the struggle of his people.

He urged the President to give strong financial support to the nation's railroads. He spoke of the need for revitalizing them with Federal aid. Eloquently, the head of the Sleeping Car Porters talked of the imagination and daring the early railroad builders had shown in spanning the land. Now he said the time had come for the government to help them survive.

He was followed by husky Paul Hall, leader of the Seafarers International Union. Mr. Hall told President Johnson bluntly that some of the government officials were breaking a pledge the President himself had given when the labor people agreed to load wheat on ships for Russia.

Mr. Johnson had promised that 50 per cent of the wheat shipments would be dispatched in American freighters. Now some presidential advisers were urging that Russia be permitted to buy wheat here and have it shipped in rate-cutting foreign vessels, beyond the 50-50 agreement, just to lower the cost to the Soviets. The President made a note.

Another speaker rose. He was Henry Ford. He had just returned from Europe. The dollar was sound, he had found. The country was sound.

And so it went. All agreed that voluntary action had closed the floodgates on the outflow of American money. And that things would get better despite the war in Asia.

The President got his consensus on the home front—general agreement that prosperous years were ahead.

"My plans for a better New York." Conressman John V. Lindsay will be interviewed by Victor Riesel—tonight at 8:05 on "Behind the News"—Station WEVD (1330 AM, 97.9 FM).

LEGAL NOTICE

CITATION—THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK BY THE GRACE OF GOD, FREE AND INDEPENDENT TO: ALICE M. NICOLL, LILLIAN N. BOSSI, NANCY N. TWACTMAN, ARNOLD LOUIS BOSSI, ADRIAN BOSSI, NEVILLE HOPE BOSSI, LUCINDA PIERSON BERNHEIMER, MARK RICHARD BERNHEIMER, ANNE BOSSI TROIE and PAIGE BOSSI, being persons interested as beneficiaries or otherwise in the trust for the benefit of Edith Carlotta Nicoll created under Article Fifth of the will of Matthias Nicoll, deceased, SEND GREETING: Upon the petition of United States Trust Company of New York, a New York corporation having its principal place of business at No. 45 Wall Street, New York, New York 10005, You and each of you are hereby cited to show cause before the Surrogate's Court, New York County, to be held at the Hall of Records in said County, on the 10th day of August, 1965 at 10:00 in the forenoon of that day, why the final account of proceedings of United States Trust Company of New York, as trustee of the trust for the benefit of Edith Carlotta Nicoll created under Article Fifth of the will of Matthias Nicoll, deceased, covering the period from May 22, 1939 to and including July 27, 1964 should not be judicially settled and allowed; why a decree should not be made and entered judicially settling and allowing said account and fixing and allowing the commissions to which petitioner is entitled as said trustee and directing distribution of the balance of property remaining in the hands of petitioner as said trustee; and why such other and further relief as the court may deem just and proper should not be granted.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we have caused the seal of the Surrogate's Court of our said County to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS Honorable Joseph A. Cox, a Surrogate of our said County, at the City of New York, the 8th day of June in the year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five.

(Seal)

Philip A. Donohue
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court

LEGAL NOTICE

CITATION — THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK BY THE GRACE OF GOD FREE AND INDEPENDENT. TO: ROBERT BEK-GRAM, LEE YASUMURA, BROOK BEK-GRAM, MISS ELMININA LUCKE, MISS MARION STABLER, MISS MARJORIE STAUFFER, JESSICA LINNEMAN, LEE MAGGIORE, HARRY C. SCHNEIR, ELIZABETH R. HEASEY, MRS. RALPH TOLLERIS, DOROTHY EVANS, ELIZABETH PARMALEE, MRS. VIRGINIA KYLE, JR., MR. & MRS. JAY HAMMITT, JOHN COX, MISS ELIZABETH ZORB, CORNELIA NEWTON, GROSSE POINT UNIVERSITY SCHOOL, ISABELLE COLE, SHELLY H. SEEMES, ADELE E. STREESMAN, Individually and as Executrix Estate of JOHN STREESMAN, ESTATE OF JOHN STREESMAN, EMILY McMANUS, HAROLD JENKIN, MAUREEN E. O'DONNELL, MRS. KARL BELL ILLAVE, MRS. CATHERINE CRAIG, KATHERINE W. HOPPIN ALBERT FIELD, ESTHER DODD MARTENSEN, LESTER E. MAY being the persons interested as creditors, legatees, devisees, beneficiaries, distributees, or otherwise in the Estate of MARY ABELL WATSON, deceased, who at the time of her death was a resident of 120 East 10th Street, New York, NY. SEND GREETING: Upon the petition of HELEN BERNARD residing at 950 Woodycrest Avenue, Bronx, New York

You and each of you are hereby cited to show cause before the Surrogate's Court of New York County, held at the Hall of Records in the County of New York, on the 10th day of August, 1965, at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon of that day, why the account of proceedings of HELEN BERNARD as Executrix of the Estate of MARY ABELL WATSON, deceased should not be judicially settled.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we have caused the seal of the Surrogate's Court of the said County of New York to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS, HONORABLE S. SAMUEL DIFALCO a Surrogate of our said county, at the County of New York, on the 21st day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousands nine hundred and sixty-five.

(L. S.)

PHILIP A. DONAHUE
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court.

Fitting tribute for

A living legend

The new $5.5-million A. Philip Randolph vocational skills center in Philadelphia's East Falls section is the first of a series of planned "satellite" skills centers intended to further a new style in career education for the city's public and parochial school students.

A. Philip Randolph, who visited Philadelphia this week for the dedication ceremony, has spent most of his 86 years a step or two ahead of the times. Through his own organizational and oratorical skills, his broad vision and boundless energy he managed to persuade a lot of "big" people — U. S. Presidents, labor leaders, civil rights leaders — and a lot of "little" people to accept ideas they were not ready to accept.

Mr. Randolph's dignified bearing and eloquence belie the inner toughness and dedication to social change that prompted the U. S. Justice Department a half century ago to label him "the most dangerous Negro in America," and which sustained him during the long, bitter fight to have the union he founded, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, recognized by the powerful Pullman Co.

Mr. Randolph played a key role in persuading President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order banning discriminatory hiring in defense industry industries and in persuading President Truman to issue an order banning discrimination in the military services.

Some students at the skills center were fortunate to meet the living legend, who told them that he never considered saying "I can't do it." It is certain that the center could not have been more appropriately named.

School dollars

More accountability

Not enough taxes are going to education in New Jersey, according to Haddonfield School Superintendent Matthew Costanzo, who said the same thing about Philadelphia when he headed its public schools last year.

The comment must have sent shudders through the 300 persons at a South Jersey "town meeting" on education the other night.

Only four other states have a higher per pupil expenditure for education than New Jersey. The cost per pupil in New Jersey in 1974 was $1,517, $1,446 in Pennsylvania and $1,485 in Delaware.

New Jerseyans — from State Supreme Court justices to many persons at the "town meeting" — are not pleased with the educational product. The system still produces an alarming number of graduates who cannot even fill out a driver's license application.

More property taxes for education is not the solution. New Jerseyans in many districts are already taxed to the hilt. The State Supreme Court wants more of the revenue to come from other sources.

The message from the "town meeting" is that taxpayers, backed against the wall, are beginning to demand an accounting of school dollars, most of which go for teachers' salaries.

It's really in the self-interest of teachers to accept statewide standards for pupil performance and relent in their opposition to this minimun means of gauging accountability.

ACKG
EDUCATION—SC

© 1965, by The New York Times Co

THE NE

f MARCH: The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (center) and his w
f Negroes and whites on the last leg of a five-day civil r
to Montgomery, Ala. The march was staged as part o

Norman Thomas, president emeritus of W.D.L. blows out candles at 80th birthday party as vice president A. Philip Randolph looks on.

THE WEEK IN

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, head of the Negro American Labor Council, addresses a Meridian Freedom School convention.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY greetings are extended to A. Philip Randolph, right, by young Tom Powell as the labor-liberal-civil rights coalition paid tribute to the 80-year-old labor leader in New York. AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany joins in joyous response to the Harlem youth's quips. In the bottom photo, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivers her personal congratulations to Randolph. New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller is at right.

A Salute to Mr. Randolph

A. Philip Randolph's philosophy said, "The salvation for race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted—it is won. Justice is never given—it is extracted."

Under his leadership in 1942, pressure was applied on President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House to issue Executive Order 8802, initiating the concept of the fair employment practice committee and improving the political-economic life for blacks and all disenfranchised Americans. Mr. Randolph also induced President Harry S. Truman to issue Executive Order 9981 which ended discrimination in the armed forces.

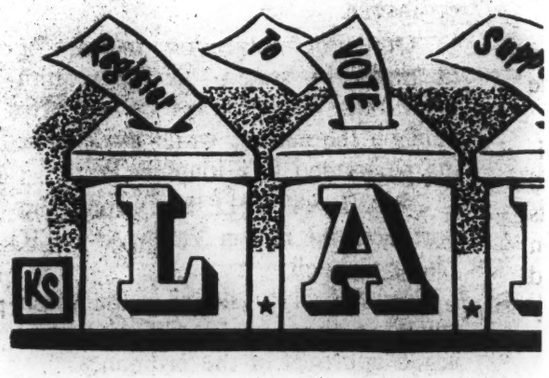
A. Philip Randolph conceived, organized and directed the March on Washington on August 28, 1963, for jobs and freedom. More than 250,000 people were in attendance.

Below are a few of the pullman porters and maids who made the above achievements possible under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph who also organized pullman porters into one of the most respected black organizations in America.

A. Philip Randolph (in picture). Standing (right to left): James Cole, Roy E. Johnson, Thomas L. Lewis, James Thomas, William James, Mrs. Mildred Smith, James Wilcox, James Charles, Fleminster Strayhand, Arthur Morris, J.D. Smith, William L. Gilmore, Garderson Bush. Seated (right to left): David Corolina, James E. Smith, and Benjamin F. McLaurin.

CIVIC SALUTE to the president of the New York City teachers' union is given at a testimonial dinner for Albert Shanker. Shown at a presentation ceremony, from the left: Pres. David Selden, American Federation of Teachers; Pres. Harry Van Arsdale, New York City Central Labor Council; Shanker; AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Frederick O'Neal; Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Randolph and AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland.

Since Labor Day is a time both to consider the future of working men and women and their families and to recall past achievements by the labor movement which represents those workers, CWA News asks its readers to indulge in a bit of reminiscence back to 1955 when the AFL merged with the CIO. Pictured above is a photo of the AFL-CIO Executive Council after the merger. The 1955 photo shows that only six of the original members are still on the Executive Council today. The original members shown in the photo above are CWA President Joseph A. Beirne, third from left in top row, President George Meany, and Council members A. Philip Randolph, Jacob S. Potofsky, Joseph Keenan and Joseph Curran.



CWA NEWS
8/72

Introducing A. Philip Randolph who refuses to be appeased in his battle for Negroes' rights

By Arnold Beichman

OFTEN when A. (for *Asa*) Philip Randolph, 54-year-old president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, offers a tip to his Pullman porter during his travels, the tip is refused with the statement, "Brother Randolph, I ought to be tipping you."

But there are an awful lot of people in this country who wouldn't tip Randolph a plugged nickel. To them, Randolph is a professional Negro, an agitator, a Red-baiter, a chauvinist or any of many other names. He has been criticized by liberals who feel that on occasion he has displayed an unfortunate "Negro nationalism."

Amidst all this, broad-shouldered, six-foot Randolph runs his union of 10,000 members and keeps asking, "If not now, when then?"

The interpretation of that is that if Negroes don't fight now, during this war, for their rights, they'll have a tough time getting them in the post-war era.

Impelled by that belief, Randolph rises year after year, at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor, with which his union has been affiliated since 1929, and asks the delegates to end Jim Crowism within the AFL.

This year, he called for the abolition of Jim Crow auxiliary locals within the AFL, into which Negro workers in hitherto 100 per cent white unions are shunted. They pay dues but have little to say in union affairs.

That, says Randolph, going back into good American history, is "taxation without representation."

[illegible] speech in Boston, cradle of the Abolitionist movement, a few weeks ago, angered AFL dignitaries. They berated him for attacking the Resolutions Committee report, which reiterated the AFL's often-expressed opposition to discrimination and its belief in the need for educating workers on the Negro question, but which failed to mention auxiliary unions.

The heat was put on Randolph to be "reasonable" and lay off the speech-making this year, but he went ahead.

To have done anything else, so far as Randolph was concerned, would have been appeasement, and that he regards as a major shortcoming of some Negro leaders.

"By appeasement," he says in his deep voice, "I mean, accepting promotion among some Negroes in the Army to high officerships but winking at segregation. Appeasement means to accept Jim Crow housing, because some housing, presumably, is better than none. Appeasement means winking at Jim Crow policy in Federal departments because a few Negroes get important Federal jobs."

Randolph has a more homely example: "Sometimes, I'm sitting in a crowded diner on a train," he explains. "I'm at a table by myself. A white couple will come in and mine will be the only table left. If the steward leads them to my table, without hesitancy, they'll sit down. But let him show the slightest distaste as he points in my direction, and the white people will prefer to stand and wait. I've seen that happen time and again."

* * *

THIS refusal to compromise or to appease—right or wrong—goes back far in Randolph's history.

He was born in Crescent City, Fla., the son of a Methodist minister who worked as a tailor. His father's people had been Southern slaves. At 15, Randolph migrated to New York City, where he worked as a hallboy for a while, then went to Jacksonville, Fla., where he attended a Methodist high school.

After graduation, he returned to New York where he attended City College. After three college years, Randolph quit to edit the *Hotel Messenger*, spokesman for the National Headwaiters Association, an organization of Negro head waiters. After a few months as editor, Randolph discovered that some of the head waiters had a little racket—mulcting the side waiters (those who do the serving) by making them buy uniforms at exorbitant prices.

Randolph exposed the racket in the magazine and was fired. With that he established another magazine, the *Messenger*, addressed to side waiters.

The publication espoused democratic Socialism, which Randolph had adopted at college. He had read Marx's *Das Kapital*, the works of Bernard Shaw, Lester F Ward (the sociologist), Franz Boas.

He organized a current issues forum in Harlem and, in 1917, joined the Socialist Party. (He resigned from the party in 1940 because "I felt that the war of the United Nations against the Axis ought to be supported.") He now works with the right wing of the American Labor Party.

He was opposed to World War I. As a Socialist, he fought the draft in those days, touring the country speaking against the war. In Cleveland, in 1917, he was jailed for four days, just after Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader, was sent to prison.

Leading Harlem politicians, irritated by his views, badgered his draft board to induct him. Randolph got his induction notice on Armistice Day.

Along about 1925, he began organizing the Brotherhood at the invitation of some Pullman porters who, having read the *Messenger*, came to him. He had six porters at the start.

He and his organizers were hounded by the Pinkertons and the Railway Audit Association, two private detective agencies. He was run out of railroad yards and recalls that he had to contend with Negro stool-pigeons.

It was 1935 before the porters were able to vote for a Brotherhood in a National Labor Relations Board election; two years later, the union got its first contract with the Pullman Co. Wages went up from $77.50 a month to $89.50 minimum. Today, the minimum is $113.50, straight cash and no deductions.

Within a few weeks, Randolph will know the results of the Brotherhood's organizing drive among railroad porters in Canada, where a vote is now under way. And next month Randolph is to meet with a delegation of Mexican railroad porters who want to join the union, which Randolph has headed from its inception.

During his years as a Socialist Party member, Randolph was under constant pressure to turn a friendly eye to the Communists. Rich left-wingers offered him free trips to Russia, which he rejected. Says Randolph:

"At that time, I didn't think the Communist Party had the proper technique for developing a sound revolutionary movement. Today, I think even more strongly that it is out of step with sound social policy necessary to develop a strong labor movement because the Communist Party line always is formulated with a view to Russian foreign policy."

He took quite a shellacking from the Communists because he was quick to join the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and consequently, was, to them, an "imperialist war-monger."

But he took an even worse shellacking when he announced early in 1941 that he was calling on American Negroes to march on Washington to protest discrimination in war industries.

Again the heat was put on for Randolph to compromise, to lay off. Mayor La Guardia, among others, asked him to do so. But Randolph had a price: when FDR called him to the White House, the Negro leader asked for an Executive Order with teeth in it to eliminate discrimination in war plants.

Randolph called off his proposed march, but out of his protest came Executive Order 8802 and the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, which despite its imperfections and interference from War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, has done much to give the Negro workers a better break. For this victory, Randolph received the coveted Spingarn medal (awarded annually to an American Negro for high achievement) in 1942.

I asked Randolph what his first step would be, if he had the power to help his people. Without hesitation, he replied:

"I'd issue a national proclamation against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces against the Negro serviceman. The Negro soldier today is the major symbol in the life and thinking of the Negro people.

"This insult to the Negro soldier is a stab in the back of the Negro people. A proclamation ending such segregation would go a long way in regaining the lost confidence of colored people throughout the world in the avowed war aims expressed by the United Nations."

Randolph's program for the modern emancipation of the Negro includes:

- Organizing the Negro into the trade union movement.
- Joining political organizations but on crucial issues disregarding party labels.
- Acquiring scientific and technical education. Randolph criticizes Negro colleges for emphasizing cultural studies.
- Developing a major demonstration, in wartime, for Negro rights, "which in the long run are everybody's rights." That's why Randolph is planning a national fight for Sgt. Alton Levy, convicted by an Army court-martial about treatment of Negro soldiers.

"The Negro must be hitched up in the fight against anti-Semitism," he asserts, "because he must understand that anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism stem from the same source."

Randolph's home is in Harlem in the Paul Laurence Dunbar Apartments, where he lives with his wife. They have no children.

There is little rancor in Randolph. He talks deliberately, almost impassively. But he never forgets his job or that he is a Negro—even when he's at a baseball game which is quite often. He likes the Yankees, the Dodgers, above all the Cardinals.

"The Cards are a good ball team," he says with a broad smile, "but I don't like the fact that Negroes are barred from the St. Louis grandstand."

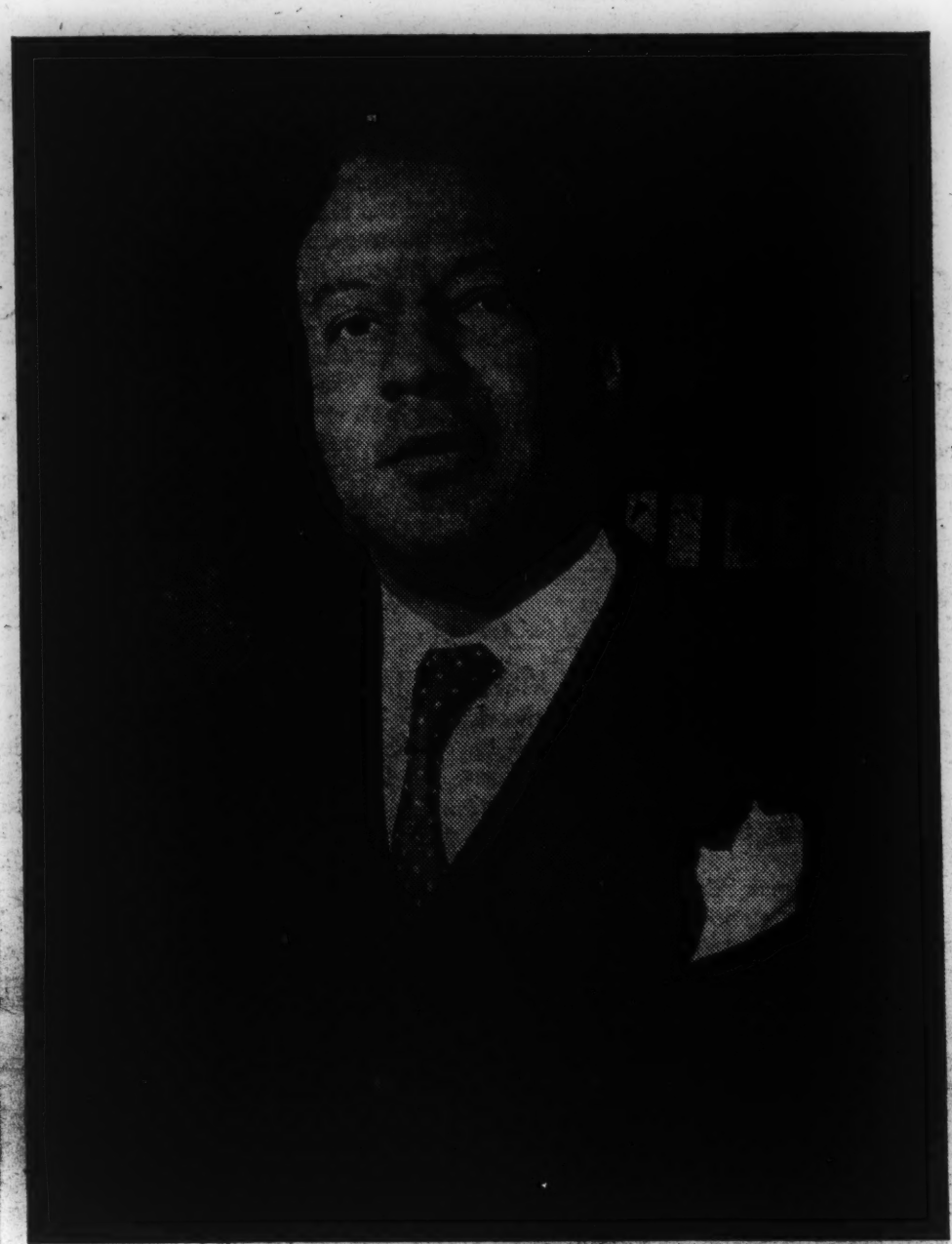


PHOTO BY DALE ROOKS

The founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has headed that organization of 10,000 since 1925. Behind him in this picture is a model Pullman car named for him, with comic-strip portraits in its windows.

NEGRO PIONEERS

IN THE CHICAGO

LABOR MOVEMENT

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
EDUCATIONAL FUND/50¢

PREFACE

Salutations, and forward to our devoted and stalwart black trade union leaders in the struggle for more and better jobs.

It is a challenging and outstanding historical truth that a revolt of the oppressed against their oppressors is ever inevitable. This is the casual motivation of the existing black revolution against all forms of oppression and exclusion; it was the stimulation of the American revolution of 1776 against British rule; the Civil War revolution of the 1860's against chattel slavery, and every revolution in the history of man.

Congratulations upon the living, unforgettable and interesting sketches of pioneering black workers building labor unions in Chicago. Of course, the sketches in this pamphlet do not tell the entire story of black workers, but more pamphlets will follow about other men and other cities. And the story will be a long one, for today there are two million black trade unionists who stand in solidarity with their white union brothers. Together these black and white workers have forged the strength of the labor movement. Together they are struggling for a just society in which no man need be poor or exploited. The role of black workers in this struggle is a vital part of American life, and I am profoundly grateful that their story is now being told.

A. Philip Randolph

INTRODUCTION

by Bayard Rustin

The profiles of Negro labor leaders in Chicago which are collected in this pamphlet represent the beginning of a significant educational program. It is, indeed, only a beginning, for the men whose life and work are considered here are but a few of the hundreds and thousands of black workers who were pioneers in the trade union movement.

Each union discussed in this pamphlet, whether it be of musicians, barbers, meat cutters, postal employees, or Pullman porters, grew organically out of the needs of the workers themselves. Their fundamental need, once they had secured employment, was to organize themselves so that they could struggle together to improve their wages and working conditions, and, if I may risk a phrase that is loosely thrown about today, to gain some control over their destiny. Their only strength was in numbers and solidarity, and they used these advantages, as must any worker, to achieve for themselves a decent life.

All of the nine unions treated here are predominantly black, but it is the intention of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund to do other profiles about the role of Negroes in unions where they make up only a minority of the work force. The Educational Fund will also produce profiles of Negro labor leaders in cities other than Chicago. In short, the objective is to give a brief yet comprehensive picture of the history of black workers in the entire American trade union movement.

It is essential that this history be presented in a form that is easily accessible to trade unions, community groups, and students. For one thing, it is a history that has not been adequately recounted even though it is of great interest and importance. Were it not for this pamphlet and others that will follow, much of this history would be lost to the past. This would be a great tragedy, particularly in light of the growing desire of many young Negroes to learn all there is to know about their heritage.

A fair treatment of the role of black workers in the labor movement is essential in another respect. There are many people today, among both blacks and liberal whites sympathetic to the Negro cause, who feel that the trade union movement has nothing to contribute to the struggle for racial justice. In some cases their hostility to the unions is based upon knowledge or experience, but more often than not it derives from a glaring ignorance of the historical facts. This can lead to some unhappy consequences, for there are other people, who are both anti-union *and* anti-Negro, who have an interest in driving a wedge between the unions and black workers. It is important, therefore, that the record be set straight and that the story be told "like it is." This pamphlet is the first step toward this end, and as such, it is an important contribution to the historical education of many Americans as well as to the cause of racial justice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The compilation of these essays of working men and women has been a labor of love, and does not bear the social scientist's objective analysis. However, as one who shared many of the experiences related by trade unionists, their friends and families, I hope that these essays give the reader some insights into the varied, subtle, and complex economic and social structure out of which Negro workers developed a life style.

I thank my colleagues who spent so many hours answering questions and supplying data of which very little is recorded. And I am grateful to Roselilyan Harris, Fritz Faulkner, Judy Pletke, Bob Keely, and Mrs. Pinkye Harris. This small faithful band researched, typed, criticized, and encouraged me. They were indispensible to the completion of this project.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Caroline Ware, whose inspiration, encouragement, and financial assistance helped to make this pamphlet a reality, and to Jim who is a walking encyclopedia of labor.

Maida Springer Kemp

AMERICAN

FEDERATION of LABOR

DOTH GRANT THIS

Certificate of Affiliation

To M. F. Webster, George W. Clark,
John E. Mills, J. M. Bell,
Nathaniel Bell, E. Blackburn,
Joseph Byrd,

and to their successors legally qualified, to constitute the Union herein named and known under the title of

Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 16070, Chicago, Ill.

for the purpose of a thorough organization of the trade, and to more perfect Federation of all TRADES and LABOR UNIONS. And the Union being duly formed & organized and authorized to initiate into membership any person or persons in accordance with its own laws. And to conduct the business affairs of said Union in compliance with the best interests of the trade and labor in general. The autonomy of the Union is hereby established and secured.

Provided, That all such Union do conform to the Constitution, Laws, Rules and Regulations of the **AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR**, and to defend them, or any part thereof, as may be the Certificate of Affiliation may be suspended or revoked according to the laws of the **FEDERATION**. And should the said Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 16070 be dissolved, suspended or forfeit this Certificate of Affiliation, then the persons to whom this Certificate of Affiliation is granted, or their successors, shall immediately surrender the same with such other property as shall properly belong to the **FEDERATION**. And further, in consideration of the premises of the above, the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

does hereby bind itself to support the said Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 16070 in the exercise of all its rights, privileges and autonomy as an affiliated Union.

In Witness Whereof, We have subscribed our Names and affixed the seal of the American Federation of Labor, this Twelfth day of May A. D. One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-nine.

Executive Council

Wm Green, President.
Frank Duffy, 1st Vice President.
[illegible], 2nd " "
[illegible], 3rd " "
[illegible], 4th " "
James Wilson, 5th " "
[illegible], 6th " "
John Coefield, 7th " "
[illegible], 8th " "
Martin F. Ryan, Secretary.
Frank Morrison, Treasurer.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

The International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters holds so many distinguished firsts in the history of the economic salvation of the Black worker that any assessment of the union and its leaders, can only serve as an introduction to this union's leadership in the state and in the nation.

The struggle between the Brotherhood and the Pullman Company might be compared to that of little David with Goliath. Except that the struggle of the young Negro Union against the giant of industry spanned several years of confrontation, years bitter with discouragement and suffering. And that there were at least two modern Davids – A. Philip Randolph, not an employee of the Pullman Company at all but a crusading journalist, and Milton P. Webster, president of the union's Chicago division and vice-president of the International Brotherhood. In those relatively recent days, when the struggle between capital and labor raged at its fiercest, an army of Davids appeared helpless before such a power as the Pullman Company. But the little men, the pioneers whose accident of race seemed to foredoom them to defeat, won that struggle, one of the most significant of modern times: the wages and improved conditions obtained for the Brotherhood were tangible proof of the victory of labor.

In the worst years of struggle, between 1925 to 1937, A. Philip Randolph was described by the Pullman Company as a "wild-eyed uppity Negro hustler who never made up a Pullman berth in his life." And so he hadn't. And he might indeed have been uppity, if that meant to look always upwards, towards the stars and a place in the sun; and might have been wild-eyed, if that characterized a man whose eyes were filled with a vision. And yes, he was a Negro. But what A. Philip Randolph was in truth was a man of the kind who took the long lonely road not the shortcut to achieve his goal. His road towards victory for the union, for his race, was invariably the road that ends with firm ground underfoot, the ground of solid gains honorably won. A man of action as well as intellect, the depths and complexity of character which made him a leader made him also suspect as a revolutionary; suspect to the point of persecution as all farseeing, deeply probing men are suspect and persecuted by the entrenched forces of their time. At a raw moment when the nation was engaged in Europe with a war to make the world safe for democracy, Randolph's personal vision came under the influence of such pioneers of social reform as Eugene V. Debs, the arch-fiend of the Pullman Company; Norman Thomas, the socialist, politician, and director of the League for Industrial Democracy; and the sociologist Lester Ward; an influence which resulted in his founding *The Messenger*, an avowedly radical magazine, the message of which caused the Lust Committee, the government's witch-hunting agency of those pre-McCarthy days, to call him the most dangerous Negro in America – the danger apparently residing in his fight for civil rights. The Pullman Company fought him and the union, of which he accepted the presidency, with every means at its command. And practically every means that money could buy was at its command.

On its side, the Brotherhood had such support as the AFL permitted its president, William Green, to extend. The Garland Foundation granted $10,000 towards the struggle. But the handful of porters and their leaders from California to New York were for the most on their own.

Their struggle to win collective bargaining rights on behalf of the members of the Brotherhood was compounded by the fact that the transportation industry was governed by the National Railway Labor Act, and the Brotherhood's membership comprised of locally chartered unions was not recognized under the act. Therefore, their very existence was continuously threatened by other unions seeking to absorb them. Finally in 1934 the Brotherhood won a contested national election, held under the supervision of the National Mediation Board. This was the first national election held by this board under the procedures of the 1934 amendments to the National Railway Labor Act. This then consolidated the Brotherhood's national identity in law and in fact. But the law and fact, notwithstanding the struggle with the Pullman Company, went on for three years and it was the determination, sacrifice, and courage of men like John C. Mills, in Chicago; Dad Moore and C. L. Dellums on the West Coast; T. T. Patterson and Ashley Totten in New York; J. E. Bradley and T. D. McNeal in St. Louis; Bennie Smith in Omaha; William H. Bowe and B. F. McLaurin of New York City, and A. R. Blanchette of Montreal that made it possible for A. Philip Randolph and Milton P. Webster to continue the struggle to ultimate victory. Finally, in 1937, a committee of Brotherhood officers headed by Brother Randolph and Brother Webster sat down with the Pullman Company and signed the first contract ever made between a white employer and Black Labor Leaders. The agreement covered the porters, maids, attendants, and bus boys in the service of the Pullman Company. In the light of today's standards, the gains seem small; but for the Pullman car attendants who, prior to the agreement were on duty 24 hours a day and could be relieved only at the discretion of the conductor—and whose wages were $15.00 a week, and for whom vacations and hospitalization were unknown—the economic gains in the contract were a miracle. But the greatest gain of all was the respect and sense of personal dignity which each member of the Brotherhood shared with his leaders.

THE LADIES AUXILIARY

The part played by the wives, sisters, mothers, aunts and cousins of the men in the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood is a poignantly beautiful, but not yet fully told story. Organized in May, 1926, as the Colored Women's Economic Council to the Brotherhood, they had a slow start and then went on to do outstanding work. They manned picket lines, ran street meetings, carried on an aggressive door to door campaign to inform and persuade the families of the Brotherhood members not to get weary, and to encourage and support the men in the struggle for improved wages, conditions of service, and the right of their choice of leadership. This last was most needed, for the Pullman Company had introduced an Employee

Representation Plan which was a company union and not in the interest of the employees.

In the heart of the depression, they formed a consumer cooperative in order to pool their buying needs. They organized meatless days and demonstrated against high prices for inferior goods. The dues payment by the members would fluctuate because of layoffs, fear, and sometimes indifference. These Evangelists of the Brotherhood would hold all kinds of fund-raising events; dances, dinners, raffles, teas, and some women even permitted their homes to be mortgaged in order to insure that the rent, light, telephone, and other basic necessities of the union were paid. But their most challenging task was informing an often hostile public conditioned by the Pullman Company Public Relations, which had suddenly come to hold the Negro press and the Negro church in warm regard. But these ladies, individually and in concert, continued the message of the men fighting for economic justice and dignity. These women of conscience and courage began with Mrs. Mary Dawson, who was the first president and was followed by several dedicated women. In 1931, Mrs. Halina Wilson became the president and had the longest tenure of office during the grim battle for survival. Fortunately, many of the women who had shared in the mean, lean days of the Brotherhood were able to share in the national and international acclaim which the union richly deserved. The tradition of the Ladies Auxiliary continues today with greater emphasis on community activities.

Mrs. Rosina McLemore has been the president for 4 years. Mrs. McLemore was elected to that office in July of 1965. She has attended several AFL-CIO conventions as a delegate from the Ladies Auxiliary. In 1967, she was elected National Vice-President of the AFL-CIO's Ladies Auxiliary. The Chicago Division's Ladies Auxiliary works with the NAACP and the Urban League in Chicago. It also takes an active part in the National Council Women's Division and Illinois Conference of Women Leaders for Traffic Safety. Mrs. McLemore was appointed in 1965 by Governor Kerner to help set up the council.

The Chicago division of the Brotherhood, the largest and one of the most aggresive divisions of the union, was the special target of the Pullman Company. It levelled some of its sharpest attacks at this division. Milton P. Webster, the big, deep-voiced president, was equal to the challenge, and the labor movement of Illinois rallied to Milton P. Webster's and the Brotherhood's side. In Chicago, WCFL Radio, the Chicago Federation's voice, gave the struggling Brotherhood strong support. The station was open to the Brotherhood to get its messages across for all occasions. This active display of support from the Federation was an energy source for the embattled leaders of the Brotherhood and helped to keep the morale of the active workers high.

At this writing Leroy Shackelford, President, and U. C. Crowder, Secretary-Treasurer, are the principal officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Their combined membership in the Brotherhood represents 76 years, and their work as active volunteers represents more than 40 years of service and dedication. But what they did is a capsule of the thousands of man hours other latter day pioneers

gave to strengthen the Brotherhood.

Leroy Shackelford Sr. was a member of the Brotherhood, and when young Shack, as he was often referred to, was employed by the Pullman Company, the fact that he joined the union less than a month later could have been predicted. But his unflagging interest, regular attendance at meetings, constant questioning, even to the annoyance of some of the old timers, was the measure of his union commitment. He caught the attention of Milton P. Webster, President of the Chicago Division, who challenged young Shackelford to work as well as talk. As a volunteer he collected information and edited the Chicago news events for the Brotherhood's house organ, the *"Black Worker":* he was on the education committee, and sang in the Choral group as well. But this still did not satisfy Brother Webster. There would be constant telephone calls from Webb (the affectionate union label for him) requesting more and more of young Shack. Finally, young Shack explained that during his free time he worked as a taxicab driver to supplement his income. For those who knew Milton P. Webster, this was hardly a persuasive argument. Shack gave up his paid employment to work in the office of the union learning the responsibilities of the finance department and attending the hearings on grievance procedure. In 1954 he was asked to join the staff of the union, and has served as Secretary-Treasurer and as first Chicago Vice-President. When his mentor, Milton P. Webster died, he became President of the Chicago Division.

Shack is active in much of the work in the community, a Board member of the NAACP, active in his Church, and involved in the political work of the city. He asks members of the union to give time to voter registration and rings doorbells and distributes literature along with the rest of the concerned people in the community.

With a date on his membership card of December 3, 1925, U. C. Crowder is one of the veterans in the long struggle between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood. Early in his activities as a member of the union, he was selected as a captain for membership recruitment. This meant talking union to fellow porters on the job from Chicago to California. And it meant being skillful enough to carry on his campaign without getting fired and getting the converts fired. At home his work continued in the church, on the street corners, in the pool halls, and in the Barber shop. He did his work so well that, Ernest Smith, the then Secretary-Treasurer of the union, asked him to spend his layover time in the railroad yard collecting initiation fees and dues. The joining fee was $5. and the dues each month were $1. The men paid these obligations, many of them, at the rate of 25 cents a week. The bookkeeping that this required was undoubtedly the apprenticeship training which prepared U. C. Crowder for his present post as Secretary-Treasurer of the Chicago Division. In 1953, he joined the staff of the Brotherhood as a field representative. In this capacity, he prepared grievances of the men who constantly brought their problems to the attention of their union. The grievances that could not be settled developed into investigations which often resulted in hearings. However, in these early times the grievance procedures for the Brotherhood were still new and Brother Crowder, having had considerable experience on the road,

was expected to answer any and all questions and justify the position taken by the union on behalf of its members. Brother Crowder developed such a fine technique, he was often referred to as an exceedingly imaginative representative of the workers. In 1965, U. C. Crowder became the Secretary-Treasurer, a post he retains up to the present.

Passenger travel on the railroads has diminished. Luxury travel by train cannot compete with fast air travel nor with the comfortable and less expensive long distance busses. This has seriously affected the employment of the men who service the trains. However, the safeguards that the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters negotiated on behalf of the members maintain the dignity, respect, and economic justice of every Brotherhood member as against the time, in the late 1920's and 1930's, when the best an aging porter could get was uncertain employment in one of the transient sleeping quarters which the Pullman Company owned or rented. The aging porter was there to insure that the porters got up in time to make their runs, and to register them for a place to sleep. The competition those few jobs only robbed the men of their own self-esteem.

U. C. Crowder and Leroy Shackelford Jr. preside over the affairs of the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood. They do so with interest for their members, with tact and with technical skill, and even a disgruntled member knows this is his instrument and has the personal satisfaction of knowing that this is the union which he helped to build.

BSCP

For more than forty years, the leaders of the Brotherhood have helped White America to reduce its myopia about the grievances of Black America. We are becoming more visible.

It was A. Philip Randolph and the Brotherhood whose threat to march on Washington in 1941 was largely responsible for President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, the 1942 wartime measure barring discrimination in federal contracts and led to federal and state legislation outlawing racial discrimination in industry, labor unions, and government.

1948 A. Philip Randolph demanded a Presidential order outlawing military segregation. In his testimony before the Senate Armed Forces Committee, he pledged to "Openly counsel, aid, and abet youth, both White and Negro, in an organized refusal to register and be drafted." President Truman subsequently issued Executive Order 9981, abolishing Jim Crow in the Armed Services.

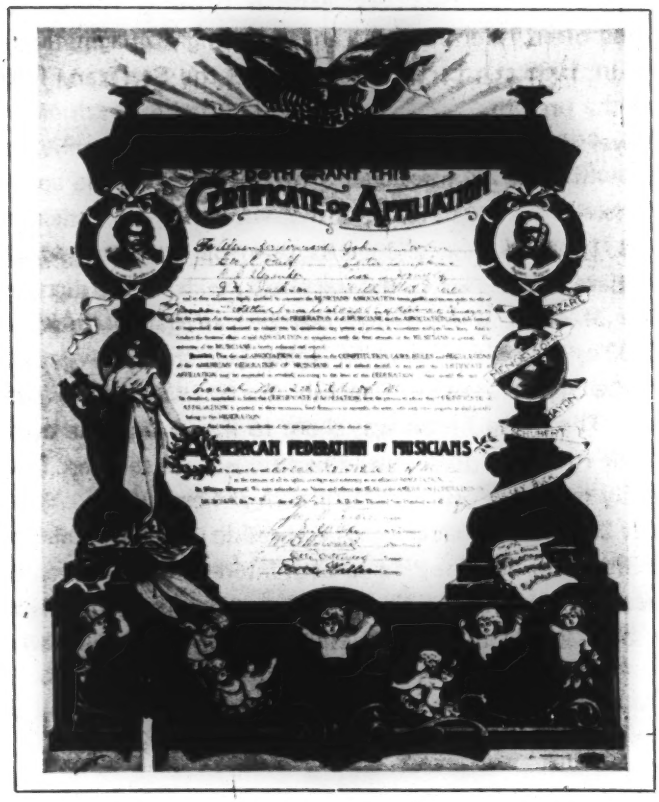
1963 A. Philip Randolph was the catalyst for the march on Washington for jobs and freedom in which more than 200,000 men and women of all races, ages, religions, economic and social positions, and political affiliations petitioned their government with dignity. The march was the forerunner of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1965 The Freedom Budget — an analysis of the way in which our resources could be budgeted to achieve "Freedom from want", emphasizing the Federal government's responsibility to initiate programs for decent housing, better health services, full educational opportunity for all, adequate minimum wages, guaranteed incomes for all unable to work, and full production and economic growth.

1966 The Joint Apprenticeship Training Program of the Workers' Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund.

1968 - '69 - '70 Voter Registration — Education and the power of the ballot.

Our Charter



Our Presidents

ALEXANDER ARMANT,
1902 - 1904

EDWARD SMITH,
1905 - 1915

GEORGE A. SWAN,
1917 - 1919

GEORGE A. SMITH,
1918 and 1922
1929 - 1931

HARRY W. GRAY,
1938 ——— 1945

HUGH C. SWIFT,
1919 - 1921

DR. ROBERT E. GILES,
1923 - 1925

VERONA L. BIGGS,
1926 - 1929

ARTHUR T. STEWARD,
1932 - 1937

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS LOCAL 10-208

Wm. Everett Samuels	*Administrative Vice-President*
Carter Webster	*Supervisor, Contract Department*
Edward J. McCants	*Supervisor Pension and Welfare Fund*
Harold A. Youngblood	*Business Representative*
Thurman Orice Cooper	*Business Agent*
Oett "Sax" Mallard	*Member Examination Board*
Walter H. Dyett	*Member Board of Directors (Deceased)*
King Fleming	*Member Board of Directors*

The music of the Negro is the music of America. In that music both the blue note and the overtone of affirmation are the Negro's gift. It is a music of struggle but of ultimate victory. The struggle of the men who made that music from their heritage is capsuled in the profile of the oldest and largest Negro union in the American Federation of Musicians.

As long ago as 1902, a handful of Negroes in Chicago, mostly members of Alexander Armant's Illinois National Guard band, were granted a Federation charter under the name of the Musicians Protective Union, Local 208, with bandmaster Armant as president and his principal musician, George E. Dulf, as vice-president — names to be remembered, though throughout the history of Local 208 there were many such men, as far-seeing as they were gifted, pioneers no less than musicians.

Neither Armant nor Dulf saw reason for the existence of two unions, one Negro, one white, when the aims of all organized musicians were the same. Their view was shared by the president of Local 10, but such an intelligent reading of the trade union ethic of a common brotherhood was not accepted by the general membership of the white local, with the result that Local 208 started life as a segregated union, and it remained so until a national directive of the AFL-CIO in 1960 requested the merging of all segregated unions. Accordingly, in 1966, Local 208 merged with Local 10.

Fortunately, for most of the sixty-three years of its life of separatism Local 208 and Local 10 had a uniform policy as to wages and contracts, and cooperated in a number of other matters pertinent to their work. But the Negro's struggle for his rightful place in the labor movement was none the less hard for this cooperation.

In spite of the difficulties with which unionized musicians had to cope, in those decisive years of shameless exploitation, intimidation, scarcity of work, cut-throat competition, and backsliding by its members, Local 208 survived. Sometimes its survival seemed a fantasy, as there were times when its affairs were conducted in the back room of a barber shop. And times when Brother Dulf paid its expenses out of his own pocket. Nevertheless, thanks to the skilful administration of its leaders, and that of their successors, Local 208 grew, and prospered. It is impossible to over-estimate the contribution which those pioneers made to the labor movement at large, as it is impossible to over-estimate their gift for carving the enduring place of honor which the Negro occupies in the world of music today. Their ideals, their courage, aside from their administrative skills, have more significance for us today than it had in their times of struggle. Pioneers in every sense, they were leaders for the reason that they themselves created their goals. They were victorious leaders for the reason that they never lost sight of their goals.

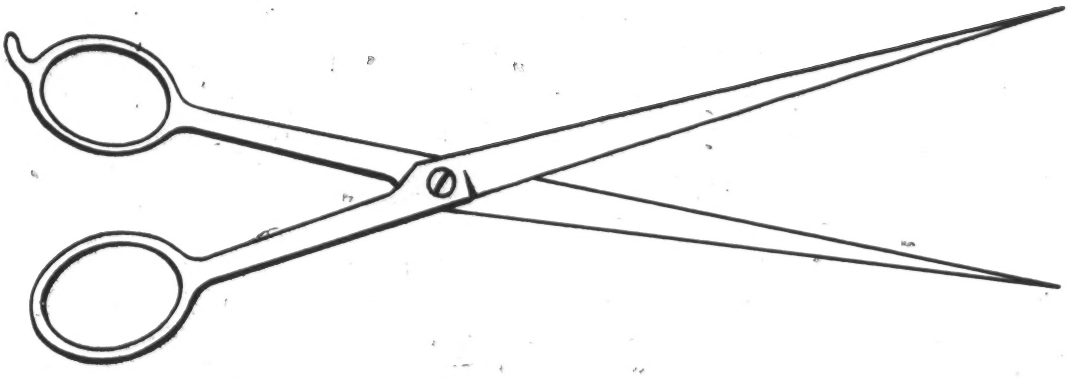
Each successive president of Local 208 set himself a goal. "A home of our own" was the goal of President George Smith; and in 1918, only sixteen years after its founding, Local 208 moved into its own home. It was the right move at the right time, providing as it did the still far from stable union with a base from which to fight its necessary battle against the intolerable conditions imposed upon musicians by the operators of the movie and vaudeville houses and the cabarets, all of which, in those boom years — boom years for at lease a segment of the nation, though

quite the opposite for the have-nots — were doing a business never seen before nor since, but a business the profits of which never reached the exploited musicians. During this time of troubles when the young local fought for nothing less than its reason for being, the Chicago Federation of Labor gave full support to the valid union demands; but it was not till public sympathy was aroused in its behalf that Local 208 emerged the victor in its struggle for better wages and improved working conditions. Real victory, however, was short-lived — a bank failure, no phenomenon in those days of the worst depression within memory, left the Local's treasury bare.

It was in such hopeless circumstances that in 1932 Arthur Steward assumed the office of president. Most men would have been hard put merely to hold the union together, but the new president and his Ways and Means Committee wrested success from what seemed certain defeat. Against all odds, back salaries were shortly paid in full. From the various activities it promoted, such as, for one, weekly dances, Local 208 found employment for many musicians and eventually made possible a musician's unemployment fund.

Harry W. Gray, a nationally known musician who had settled in Chicago, became Business Agent for the union in 1935; and though times were bad, and respect for Local 208 at a low ebb, Brother Gray boldly continued the fight to improve working conditions for its members, a battle that grew more determined when, in 1938, he became the local's president. One of his first attacks was to serve notice that union agreements were as binding on employer as on the employed musician — a stand concerning the terms of contracts that brought Local 208 into conflict with a powerful chain controlling about five hundred places of entertainment, but a stand which, when the battle with the amusement chain was over, taught the employers the long overdue lesson that Brother Gray and his Negro local was their peer not their supplicant. For twenty-seven years, President Harry Gray served his union both as bulwark and as architect of innovations which steadily increased the musicians' benefits. His was the first local to establish a credit union and the first to invest in housing for its members. Under his dynamic leadership — and that of such later union officers as Vice President Charles Elgar, Recording Secretary William Everett Samuels, and Financial Secretary-Treasurer Edward McCants — this extraordinary local was the predecessor of the NAACP and the Urban League in the struggle for equality of opportunity, decent wages and working conditions, and decent housing at a fair cost.

These first unionized musicians might today take pride in the organization, solvent and strong though segregated, which they had made of Local 208 by the time of its merging with Local 10 — pride in the outcome of their struggle for economic opportunity and for recognition and respect for their profession. But Local 208's real greatness lies in the spirit of fraternity its leaders shared with the struggling black unionists in Chicago. They gave office space to some, and to others funds for organizing campaigns; by the help they gave to all, they were indeed their brother's keeper.



GOLDEN SHEARS
CIVIC ACHIEVEMENT AWARD
JOURNEYMEN BARBERS UNION LOCAL 939

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS UNION LOCAL 939

There is a built-in difficulty to organizing the professional service trades, barbers and beauticians — individualists all, working in a sense on their own in the splendid isolation of creative activity. Moreover, despite the fact that, throughout the history of labor, an affiliation with the Crafts or Guilds was an honor, at the same time many professional service workers came to feel that union membership implied the loss of their individuality and independence, a feeling their employers naturally encouraged. Such considerations make Local 939's achievement all the more remarkable. For it was Local 939 that made the professional service trades truly professional, by giving them real dignity and real independence.

But it took more than seven attempts to organize the professional service trades — attempts made at a time when both wages and working conditions cried out for the improvement that only a strong union could enforce. Local 939 had to struggle to make the 8-hour day and the 5-day week a reality.

Though the national pattern was that of wartime prosperity — full employment, good pay, and a 40-hour week — the pattern in Chicago was the opposite. Negro barbers worked round the clock, week days, Saturdays, and Sundays, totalling sometimes 84 hours a week or more. For this 7-day grind, they were paid $35 plus commission; no benefits; few safeguards. Many shops reflected the worst features of the dismal social scene — frequently unsanitary, with inexpert operators, they were sometimes little more than all-night hangouts.

Local 939 changed all that. Through the tireless efforts of a group of idealistic but aggressive union men, Local 939 was issued a charter by the Journeymen Barbers, Hair Dressers and Cosmetologists International Union of America. That date, May 9, 1946, is a red-letter day for Chicago's Negro barbers and beauticians. George Bynum, the local's first secretary-treasurer; Lonnie Johnson, and their pioneering colleagues brought Chicago's Negro barbers and beauticians their first real individuality in the form of decent wages, decent hours, decent working conditions — and the prospect of even better things to come. Thanks to the men who never gave up till they established Local 939, Chicago's Negroes in the professional service field at last enjoyed the benefits identical with those enjoyed by the members of the three white locals.

The impact of Local 939 on Chicago's Negro community is almost too great to assess. Its influence was felt on many levels. Demanding better wages for its members, the local demanded of its members better skills. An advanced training center, complete with barber chair, was established in the union hall, where instruction in the craft was given by Bynum, himself a Master Barber, as well as by other officers and members. The latest methods of grooming were taught; the newest products displayed and distributed. And equally as important, members of the local were made familiar with state legislation that affected or pertained to barbers and to owners of shops. And all such services were free. The innovations, however, did not stop there. Its credit union, though only one of Local 939's

achievements, is the only credit union of its kind – by and for barbers – with interest rates as low as state law permits. Lonnie Johnson, the local's president, has been the lifetime treasurer of the credit union; and Mary Frances Powe, its lifetime recording secretary. The credit union has made it possible for members to buy new equipment and in a number of instances to start businesses of their own, the goal of almost every barber.

The qualities of leadership implicit in the men who founded and built Local 939 was focused on George Bynum in 1959, at which time he was elected a vice-president of the strong Illinois State Federation of Labor. This recognition of the leadership of Negro barbers brought George Bynum an invitation to join the staff of the Barbers International, for which he travelled coast to coast and to Hawaii, helping both white and colored workers in their organizing campaigns, all with such success that in 1962 he was made an International vice-president, a post he retained until 1967, when Local 939 withdrew from the International Union.

The social conscience and concern which throughout its life the local has displayed may be clearly seen in its role in the civil rights struggle. Local 939 is a life member of the NAACP, and supports the Urban League's Equal Opportunity programs as well as supporting certain activities of the other civil rights groups. Women barbers have from the first been members of Local 939. A large number of women are at present working in shops all throughout the local's jurisdiction with equal pay for equal work – an admirable demonstration of the practice recommended by the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

Owing to its close and constant contact with the social scene, the barber shop has always been one of the great political forums in our national life. Out of this political and social awareness grew, in 1947, Local 939's Civic Awards program, an annual event highlighted by the presentation of an award to some outstanding citizen – Congressman William Dawson; John Johnson the publisher; Cardinal Stritch; and Reuben Soderstrom, of the Illinois Federation of Labor, have been among the recipients. Almost one feels, however, that an award might be presented to the founders and the leaders of the local itself. Local 939 remains what it was when it was founded, "only more so" – an extraordinary union.

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, LOCAL 547

On March 12, 1930, in the heart of the depression, a group of Black men were chartered as Local 547 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. These men were butchers who worked in the retail meat markets on the South Side, and the first group of Black men to be given a charter by the International.

The pioneers of this momentous undertaking were Holford Harris, William Tate, Otto Clarke, Louis Crawford, Joseph Christmas, John Randall, John Koker and Howard Pulley. Holford Harris' first post was business representative of Local 547, and ultimately International vice-president. In this capacity, he was able to bring his considerable knowledge of the butcher trade to the economic discussions with his peers; for, as a boy, he apprenticed in his father's meat market and slaughter house in Tennessee. As a Black man in search of economic opportunity, he could report on the double burden of the Black working man in the job market.

During the early 1920's, Negro meatcutters on Chicago's South Side worked between 75 and 82 hours per week. From Monday through Friday, the hours were from 7:30 a.m. to 8 p.m.; Saturdays from 7:30 a.m. to 9 or 10 p.m. Sunday being the Lord's Day, the hours were from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. For these long hours and unbelievably bad conditions, the men received an average of fifteen dollars a week; in a few shops they received $25. a week, and once in a while you heard of an aristocrat in the trade who earned $35.

In an attempt to find some remedy for their underpaid, overworked conditions, the Negro butchers assembled and invited two officers of Local 546 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Michael Kelly and James Laverty, to attend the meeting.

The organized White butchers and the unorganized Black butchers exchanged opinions and agreed that the only way that the Negro butchers' conditions could be improved was through unionization. To this end, Local 546 pledged support. As a unit of Local 546, or 546a as they were to be known during the period of sponsorship from Local 546, two organizers from the national office of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen were sent to assist their fellow Black men who worked in the retail markets on the South Side. This early campaign didn't go very well, and the national office of the union then sent Bill Tate, another organizer from the national office, into the campaign. Big Bill Tate, as he was referred to in the community, was a hugh, 6 foot 4, handsome, butter-colored Negro with a deep voice and a sense of humor. As an ex-prize fighter, he had been a sparring partner of Jack Dempsey and Harry Wills. He was most suited for the job of organizing, which required endurance and tenacity. From 1928 until the date of the charter, March 12, 1930, he worked at organizing the Black butchers, and indeed was instrumental in Local 547 receiving a charter.

Now that the local was a bona fide local union with duly elected officers, it

was still without a contract with its employers. A meeting was called for the purpose of negotiation, and the employers responded to the call. R. Emmett Kelly, from Local 546, helped the new and inexperienced officers of Local 547 to negotiate the first contract with the employers which called for wages of $25 - $35 per week. This was a very substantial increase, but still below the wage scale of White butchers. However, the exhilarating effect of the first union contract didn't last very long; for the employers didn't take the agreement seriously and few of the workers had received the proposed inreases. This state of affairs undermined the best efforts of the new and hard-working officers of the union. In desperation, they decided to call a strike in order to enforce the provisions of the union agreement. As the officers of Local 547 prepared for the strike, they counseled with their colleagues in Local 546. R. Emmett Kelly, the respected and trusted friend of the Black butchers, assured the officers of Local 547 that they would have the full support of Local 546. On a Friday morning, the strike was called and was 98 per cent effective. By five o'clock on the same Friday, the employers clearly understood the solidarity of the butchers, and agreed to abide by the contract which they had entered into with Local 547. The result of this successful demonstration of union cooperation gave the organization campaign new impetus. The union really began to grow. With a growing membership, the union leadership felt that they should have a center. Clearly, union dues and membership fees alone could not cover such an undertaking.

The wives and other women members of the butchers' families extended their activities from the picket line to the social hall. They had house parties, dances, cake bakes, and every social fund-raising event imaginable to help swell the treasury of Local 547. In all of the hard work and difficulties which the young union struggled through, the quiet competence of Mrs. Jett and Mrs. Warren, who were office secretaries and general do-alls, contributed greatly to the smooth functioning of the affairs of the local.

In due course, they moved into their own home. The first floor was used for a social hall, and the rest of the premises for the business of the union.

Local 547 now had its third election, and Jessie Morris, one of the founders of the local, was elected president, and Mark Allen elected secretary-treasurer. Holford Harris' responsibilities as Business Agent of Local 547, as well as International member, placed most of the responsibilities of the local on the shoulders of the secretary-treasurer, Mark Allen, who was so burdened with organizing as with administrative tasks that he very nearly despaired. But he had determination to see the conditions of the Black butchers more permanently improved, and the conviction that until all Chicago butchers enjoyed the same conditions, the Negro butchers could only enjoy a limited amount of success in their demand for economic stability. The goal was a Master Agreement for the Chicago area. Mark Allen worked closely with R. Emmett Kelly and Patrick E. Gorman, national officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

In 1941, after several years of effort on equal pay proposals, a Master Agreement was put into effect. All Chicago area butchers were bound by a single Master

Agreement. It is an interesting sidelight that the employers offered little of the usual resistance that usually went with contract demands. The obvious solidarity of the Black and White workers was a forceful deterrent. For Mark Allen, the long years of patient work had borne fruit. Butchers on the South Side were economic peers with their White brothers now that the "race was for the job, not the race."

Holford Harris, pioneer and effective leader of Local 547, died in 1959. Thus one half of the partnership of Harris and Allen was lost, and Local 547 was without a voice on the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Local 547's officers recognized the teamwork of Holford Harris and Mark Allen. Mark Allen became a vice president on the International Executive Board in 1960. As the principal officer of Local 547, he has continued to be reelected to the International executive board as vice president of the high tribunal of this large and influential organization. He helps to expand the union's work in Civil and Human Rights. This union has had a long history of social responsibilities, working for legislation for the best interest of the consumer by demanding high standards of sanitation and truth in packaging.

In tracing briefly the history of Local 547, the high drama of their story may not fully be made apparent, but the victory of an unorganized group of meat cutters in dingy shops, suffering the humiliation of second-class economic citizenship, is clear. All the indignities of the unorganized, not the least of which was the 75 to 82 hour week, to present 40-hour weeks with decent wages and health safeguards, employment safeguards, family health insurance, retirement benefits, end all the conditions which assure the members of this union that they can look back with pride of 40 years of achievement as union members.

Chicago, Illinois Branch, National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees

Officers

William S. Lewis, President
Wesley Young, Vice-President
Dorothy M. Irvin, Corres.-Rec. Sec'y.
Robert L. Steward, Financial Secretary
Claude L. Robinson, Treasurer

Trustees

Clarence Scarborough
Harry L. Moran
Oliphant Young

Conrade Gibbs, Vice-Pres. Motor Vehicle
Charles S. Taylor, Vice-Pres. O'Hare Field
Josephine Mc Clellan, Vice-Pres. N. Suburban

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The focus of this article, as with the rest of the profiles in this series, is Chicago's pioneer Black Labor leadership. However, without a brief review of the remarkable men who founded the Alliance in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1913, the story of Chicago's leadership would be incomplete. For the founders of the Alliance were civil servants with grievances who had no recourse to redress those grievances.

The National Alliance is the official organ of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. The philosophy is succinctly stated as follows:

"To keep the membership informed as to what transpires in the Postal and other branches of the Federal Service, to improve our efficiency for the good of the service; and to prove that all citizens form an integral part of the American civilization and none need any peculiar arrangements set aside for them to hold certain positions within the government service; but all are entitled to the same equality of opportunity to play their part in the function of our National government."

Among the best informed and politically astute chroniclers of the Negro people's quest for equity have been the members of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. Their knowledge of legislation and legislators across the country is as essential as their ability to pass Civil Service Examinations.

The founding members of the Alliance were the Railway Mail Clerks, for the Railway Mail Service was the most important sector of the postal service. The entrance examination was more difficult and the study requirements more complex. This was considered the quality job. Many of the Black Railway Mail Clerks were men of high learning, some with more than one degree from our best Negro colleges. Because Federal employment was not subject to recessions and depressions as was the case in private employment, Federal jobs were considered preferential jobs for the citizens as a whole. This was especially true for the Black man whose opportunities were severely limited by prejudice and exclusion. The Civil Service then should have been the haven for these men of color for the reason that the Civil Service Act of 1883 was presumed to be established on *fitness for service*, based on a qualifying examination. Negro men had been in the Railway Mail Service almost since its inception and had by examination and performance proved themselves to be eminently qualified. Nevertheless, even here they were subject to outright discrimination in job classification, upgrading, and seniority by a hostile Postmaster. To add to their misery, they were excluded from membership in the White Railwaymen's Association.

They convened their first official convention with what seemed like a roll call of the thirteen colonies, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.

The objectives of the Alliance are as significant today as when the handful of courageous men banded together to begin to make America whole in the function of our National Government.

Having set its course as a national organization, the Alliance moved to strentthen its organizational activities. Ten years later, in 1923, membership in the Alliance included any Postal employee who desired to join, thus making the Alliance the first industrial union in the Federal Services. While the Alliance was a child of adversity and was organized because Negroes were denied membership in the existing Railway Mail Association, the National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees has never barred anyone from membership because of race, creed, religion, or sex, and indeed, there are hundreds of non-Negroes among its members.

Between 1913 and 1923, the period of great expansion for the National Alliance, the United States had been engaged in World War I. During this period of acute labor shortage, women entered the Postal Service, but as soon as the war ended many of these women were released on one pretext or another. The problem was a difficult one, for women had not been included in the Civil Service Act of 1883. The Alliance waged a determined and successful campaign in their behalf. Today one fourth of the work force in the Chicago Postal Service are women, and 90% are Negroes. The campaign the Alliance waged to redress the grievances of the women postal workers is in keeping with its practice regarding all the problems that affect Postal employees. A nailhead review of a few of the remarkable battles which the Alliance has waged and won are:

1) The elimination of photographs from examination and application forms for employment.
2) Ashby Carter's name is synonymous with the bitter struggles, the successful growth, and the moral victories of the Alliance. The most famous, of course, was the skillful and victorious but costly defense of Alliance members who were suspended during the infamous McCarthy purges of 1948–1952. He served his union well as Chicago Branch president and subsequently as national president.
3) The Alliance's efforts to broaden apportunity for minorities has resulted in upgrading for thousands of workers around the country.

Since 1962 Federal workers have had the legal right to organize. This, and the number of legislative acts correcting many of the injustices inherent in the Federal system, is all to the good – but legislation itself does not make for the needed changes. And every bureaucratic delay or outright retreat must be challenged.

The Chicago, Illinois Branch of the National Alliance of Federal and Postal Employees was represented at the historic founding convention of the Colored Railway Mail Clerks, which has never departed from the National Alliance's credo of the pursuit of excellence and vigilance.

The Post Office in Chicago is the second largest in the United States. The present Postmaster, Mr. Henry McGee, is a former member of the Alliance, and the Chicago Alliance takes justifiable pride in his achievement, for he epitomizes the fusion of ability, preparation, and opportunity.

There are 27,000 employees in the Chicago Postal System, about 67% of whom are Negroes. Foreign visitors often observe that there are more people employed in this post office than there are residents in many major cities in their countries.

The Chicago Alliance, like the National, believes in self-help. One of the ways in which this is demonstrated is participation in the Chicago N.A.A.C.P., which is the largest Civil Rights organization in the country. The grass roots membership of this organization is over a half million, with memberships ranging from $2. yearly to $500. for life. The Alliance and the N.A.A.C.P. have a natural affinity; for they were born at the same time in history, during the early 1900's – the N.A.A.C.P. to fight Lynch Law and segregation and the Alliance to fight all phases of employment discrimination.

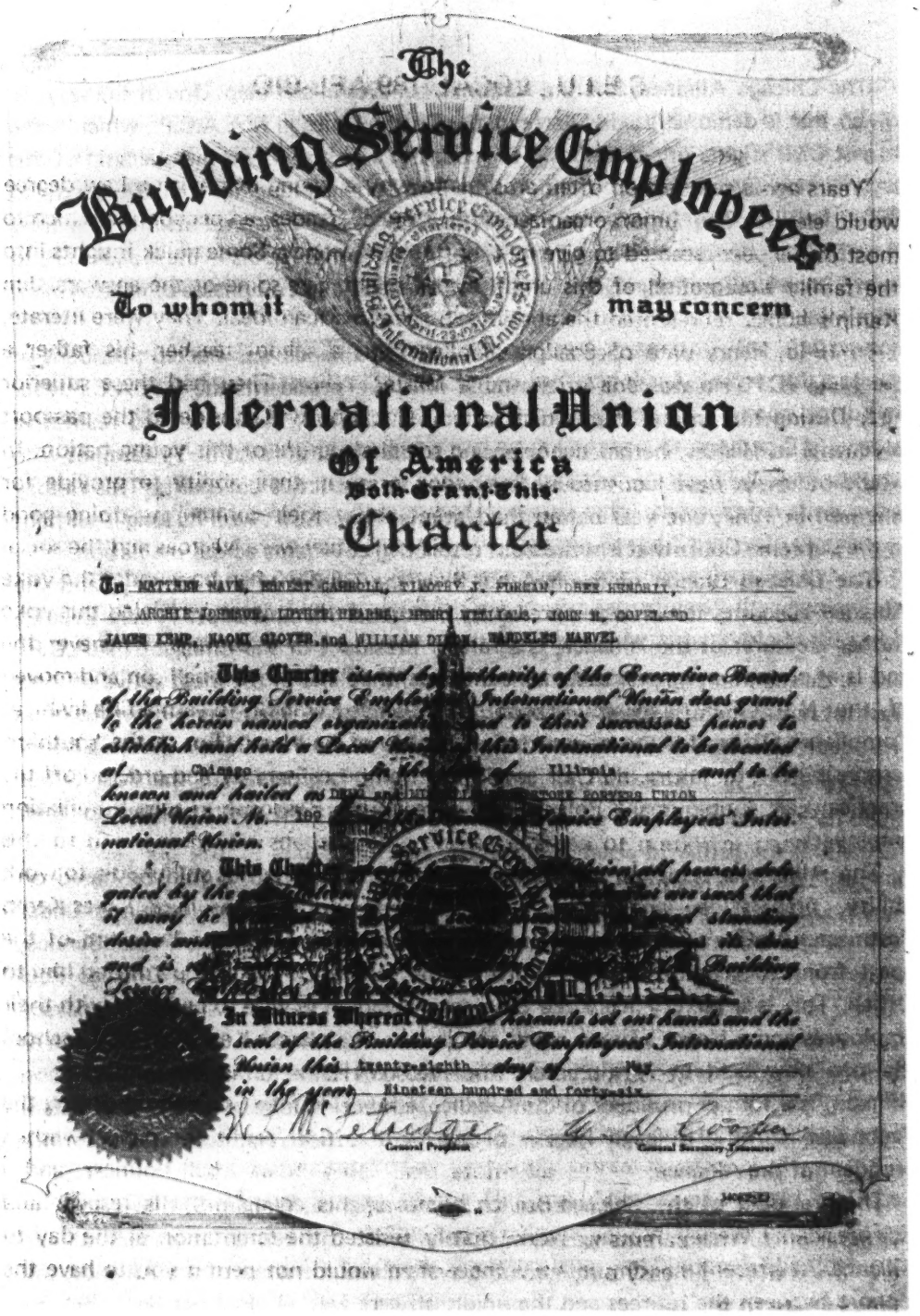
In 1945, Henry W. McGee as president of the alliance was elected president of the N.A.A.C.P. He was one of the most effective presidents the N.A.A.C.P. ever had. During his tenure as president of the N.A.A.C.P., he challenged restrictive covenants in Illinois, he led the financing of the legal defense of 21 families who would otherwise have lost their homes owing to restrictive covenants. This victory was won in 1947, one year before the National N.A.A.C.P. won its long legal fight in the Supreme Court that knocked out restrictive covenants across the nation.

The Chicago Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. is the largest in the country, and the Alliance accounts for a large part of its individual memberships. Albert Brooks, former treasurer of the Alliance, is a former president of the Chicago N.A.A.C.P., and is at present a vice-president. He continues to be one of the most active officers of the N.A.A.C.P., Chicago Branch. Mr. Brooks in his day-to-day duties is Compliance Officer for the transportation section of the Post Office. This is a heavy responsibility: to insure that all employees doing business with the Post Office practice Fair Employment Policies and offer promction opportunities to their employees.

The Alliance's principle that the criteria for promotion should be based on ability, preparation, and equal opportunity is in constant evidence under Postmaster McGee's leadership. The highest ranking woman in the Postal Service, apart from Washington D.C., is Gloria Parker, an executive in the Chicago Post Office. This is a far cry from the days when women were considered temporary employees and a Negro woman could not dream of a top Civil Service post such as the one now held by Mrs. Parker. The Assistant Director of Personnel, Leon Hillman, is a former president of the Alliance. Ishmael Madison was the Real Estate Technician for the Chicago Region of the Post Office. He, too, was a former president of the Alliance.

The president of the Chicago Branch of the alliance, William S. Lewis and the vice-president, Wesley Young, work closely with the retired members of the Alliance. At a recent meeting with a number of retired members of the Alliance, the rapport between the retirees and the union officers was an eloquent testimony to the pride and respect which the retired members have for their organization and its officers.

Identification with retired members and active participation in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. are only one small portion of the work of the Alliance. Dorothy M. Irvin, Corres.-Rec. Secretary; Robert L. Steward, Financial Secretary; Clarence Scarborough, Trustee; Harry L. Moran, Trustee; Oliphant Young, Trustee; all these members and officers of the Alliance are to be found in the myriad community action programs which the Black community is addressing itself to daily.



The

Building Service Employees

To whom it may concern

International Union

Of America

Doth Grant This

Charter

To NATHAN WAYE, ERNEST CARROLL, TIMOTHY J. FURGIN, DREE KENDRIX, ARCHIE JOHNSON, LUTHER WEARNE, HENRY WEELKAS, JOHN H. COPELAND, JAMES KEMP, NAOMI GLOVER, and WILLIAM DIXON, BARONESS MARVEL

This Charter issued by authority of the Executive Board of the Building Service Employees' International Union does grant to the herein named organizat[illegible] and to their successors power to establish and hold a Local Union of this International to be located at Chicago in the State of Illinois and to be known and hailed as [illegible] FOREVER UNION Local Union No. 100 [illegible] Building Service Employees' International Union.

This Ch[illegible] Union all powers delegated by the [illegible] are used that it may be [illegible] and standing decisions [illegible] all dues and is [illegible] Building Service [illegible]

In Witness Whereof [illegible] hereunto set our hands and the seal of the Building Service Employees' International Union this twenty-eighth day of May in the year Nineteen hundred and forty-six

H. D. McCoy — General President

G. H. Cooper — General Secretary-Treasurer

EXECUTIVE BOARD

JAMES KEMP

DANIEL STARK

FRANKLIN SMITH

JAMES SMITH

S.E.I.U., LOCAL 189 AFL-CIO

Years ago, the question often arose as to why a young man with a Law degree would elect to be a union organizer in the Service Trades, an occupation which to most of his peers seemed to give neither status or money. Some quick insights into the family background of this union leader might give some of the answers. Jim Kemp's family represented the absolute in the American ideal. They were literate, his mother a graduate of Spellman College and a school teacher, his father a graduate of Tuskegee University and a Master Tailor. They had these superior qualifications in an era when a high school education was considered the passport to upward mobility in the economic and social structure of this young nation. In addition, they were industrious. They took pride in their ability to provide for themselves. They were Christians and went about their community doing good works. There was only one drawback to this idyll; they were Negroes and the social structure of this society demanded that Black men and women bow under the yoke of second-class citizenship and prejudice. But the Kemps never permitted this yoke of repression to make them spiritless nor to lessen their courage. Whenever the social or economic pressures become onerous, they took their small son and moved on. In some communities, it was possible for James Kemp Sr. to earn a fine living at his trade, but in these communities he could not be a man. For in the southern states such as in Texas and Oklahoma, he could be called boy and ordered off the sidewalks by ignorant, vulgar men who were White. Response to such humiliation was an open invitation to beatings, prison, and perhaps a lynching, and so this family kept trekking until they landed in Chicago. Here he was still unable to work at his best skill, but he could work in a more compatible atmosphere. James Kemp Sr. retired from active employment as a respected member of Local 46 of the Building Service Employees Union. His earnings and job security permitted him to keep his family in a decent, modest way and allowed his wife to be home with their son, James, during those important, formative years. James Kemp, Sr. was a school janitor, head of his household, and a respected gentleman in his community.

This lesson was not lost on James, Jr. As a young man growing up during the Depression, he sold newspapers at a quarter of a cent profit per paper, washed dishes in hash houses, was a substitute mail carrier, dance hall bouncer, and a part-time shoe salesman in order to complete his education. His respect and admiration for his parents was such that he resisted the temptation of the day to give up and find an easy out, since the system would not permit you to have the opportunity to try.

This brief history of the Kemp family is cited not because they are unusual, but rather because they are a microcosm of thousands of Negro families in America. The only difference between the Kemps and the often analyzed *Negro Problem Family* is that the spirit of the *Negro Problem Family* succumbed to the system and believed themselves to be inferior. They became faceless, they lost hope.

The forming of Local 189 of the Service Employees International Union began

with the most dispossessed and forgotten workers in the bottom end of the service trades. But to Jim Kemp, these workers were an extension of his family; those who didn't know who they were and buckled under the weight of White America's relegation of them as inferior beings. They were workers that no labor union seemed to want. Porters, maids, and janitors in the retail trades; drifters, many of them drained of whatever stamina and promise they once may have had. Until 1946, none of them had union representation. When in 1946, they were invited to form a union, it was the first time that their existence was recognized. Not surprisingly, they accepted the invitation and Local 189 was chartered. They received far more than the improved wages and conditions of employment which a union confers, something that outweighs material gain. Local 189 brought those dispossessed workers the self-confidence they must have thought lost for good. It gave them back their pride, not merely in themselves, but pride in participating in a group that had the respect of other groups. However, no union grows of itself. Local 189 was almost entirely the creation of James Kemp, who is still its president. Other founding officers were Wardel B. Marvel, the late Bob Blackburn, and Naomi Glover; all of whom served for virtually pin money, Kemp himself serving for no salary at all.

A major challenge for the newly chartered union was the attempt to organize the janitors in one of the large drug chains in Chicago, which had 135 outlets throughout the counties Cook and Lake, and Indiana's Lake County. Jim Kemp's tenacity and courage won for him the support of the powerful Teamsters' union. Such an ally, even in the background, provided Local 189 with the strength to sustain the union through its first big brush with a large chain. The victorious outcome of this struggle added much, both to the Local's membership and its morale. In 1952, Local 189 organized the service employees in the Drycleaning Industry and brought them from an appallingly low wage scale to $2.10 an hour plus health, welfare, pension, and vacation benefits. After which, followed the unionizing of the workers in funeral homes, truck terminals, and others. The example Local 189 set in organizing the so-called downtrodden brought a call for help from a semi-professional group, a large group of insurance agents in the community. They are represented by Local 189 and have been one of the strong sections of that Union.

While Local 189 is the most definite of Jim Kemp's trade union career, it is not his first organizing effort. A business agent since 1940 for Local 73 of the Building Service Employees International Union, he was instrumental in organizing all the retail trades employees on the central South Side except those handling liquor.

Jim Kemp is still an officer of Local 73 and continues to represent the retail store employees on the South Side. Some of these men and women had been his classmates many years ago, and are grandparents now, as is Jim Kemp. Many of the sales people on the South Side worked in the stores in the neighborhood for 25 consecutive years, a fact which belies another of the cherished cliches that Black workers are irresponsible.

CONFRONTATION, NON-NEGOTIABLE, AND RELEVANCE are terms that are a part of the vocabulary of 1969 militancy. But all these terms are among the oldest tools in Jim Kemp's trade union kit. For example: the respect of his members in NON-NEGOTIABLE and this takes the form of improved wages, conditions of service, and benefits.

RELEVANCE – the respected union member with better wages wants to see this reflected in his surroundings, higher education for his children, a home, a car, and once in a while a luxury vacation. To be relevant, Local 189 places its reserve funds in Savings and Loan Associations and Banks in the Black community, and the president of the union serves on the boards of 2 of these institutions, which serve the members of the union seeking credit.

CONFRONTATION: Local 189 has 400 active contracts in its files. Confrontations with employers are the daily diet of this union. And confrontations do not end there. Jim Kemp serves as a commissioner of the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission. He is an open critic of the Commission's limitations but since the majority of the aggrieved are those with limited access to redress their grievances, this imperfect state instrument is a starting point of confrontation.

The staff that shares the day to day responsibilities for Local 189 is a miniature League of Nations. Every man performs a unique service for the smooth functioning of the union.

Frank Smith, secretary-treasurer of Local 189, is a contemporary of Jim Kemp's, a school mate, and confidant who has been an officer of the union for over 21 years. Frank, in addition, is a talented musician and a Black man.

Daniel Stark has been a business agent of Local 189 for about 20 years and now is a Vice-President. He is a man of uncommon ability and integrity. He is of Dutch-Irish descent and enjoys the trust of Black and White members of Local 189 whom he serves.

Charles Kimura is pension and health and welfare clerk for the local. Chuck, as he is familiarly known throughout the industry, is an encyclopedia of information. A gentle and courteous man, he is Hawaiian born of Japanese descent. He has been with Local 189 for 8 years.

Perhaps the best observation one could make of Jim Kemp is that he is an informed and aggressive Black man. He enjoys a challenge and enters every contest with zest. He contends to win but knows how to accept defeat with little rancor. Because he knows who he is, he is able to respect other men for their ability and to have tolerance for their limitations.

UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO

A short life — but its thirty-odd years have more than sufficed to bring the United Transport Service Employees to an enviable place among labor organizations.

The U.T.S.E. was born round the time of the depression, when the railroad station workers, who in those days were called Red Caps, finally revolted against the discrimination, economic, racial, social, and political, which had been their lot for decades.

Among those workers were innumerable men who were highly educated, men whose academic degrees certified to their attainments, men with everything to offer but the opportunity of exercising talents somehow cultivated in the face of every disappointment and repression.

In the mid-thirties the Red Caps organized a number of chapters on the East Coast and in the Midwest, but these disparate groups could not combat the power of the railroad industry which demanded their services and at the same time ignored their existence as employees. January, 1938, a conference was called at which A. Philip Randolph presided. This meeting culminated in a single national union of Transport Service Employees. Willard Townsend, its first president, epitomized the quality of the men who constituted the membership of the union. For as he worked at building the national union, he also improved the quality of his own education. With a Bachelor of Law degree as a base, he became a Doctor of Jurisprudence and an Honorary Doctor of Law. This legal capability was to serve the union well in his responsibility as the leader of the nation's Red Caps, Station Porters, and a broad group of miscellaneous services including Airline Employees. The Red Caps or Station Porters, who were the basic members of the organization, had a particularly grievous problem. They were arbitrarily classified into a non-railroad employee status by the railroad companies which excluded them from all the benefits of social and labor legislation. The final ignominy of their situation was the fact that they received no wages, their income being derived solely from tips. Depending on the season and the whim of the traveler was an uncertain method of support for the families of these men.

The young union's fight was for full employee status. Its legal battle before the Federal Interstate Commission is among the classic labor struggles. September 29, 1938, the Interstate Commission in a 16-page discussion of the issue ordered the inclusion of the Red Caps within the term "employee" as used in the Railway Act, which mode the Red Caps nearly "whole" and gave them recourse to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. They now had a fighting chance. The fighting chance was tested immediately; for the railroads refused to pay the 25c minimum wage as provided in the minimum wage law. The railroads demanded that the Red Caps report their tips which would then be used to meet the minimum wage requirements, thus relieving the industry of responsibility for their employees' livelihood. These first battles, which the union won, were only the forerunners of the struggle which the United Transport Service Employees waged on behalf of its constituents.

The men who aided Willard Townsend in solidifying the union into a strong national entity were T. Wilber Winchester, its first secretary-treasurer; Eugene E. Frazier, its first vice-president; and another early vice-president, John L. Yancey of Memphis, who later served the CIO as vice-chairman of its government and civic employee organizing committee; and subsequently International Staff Representative of the AFL-CIO, and is at present Special Labor Consultant for the U.T.S.E. and Chicago Local 20467 – surely a remarkable record, but the rank and file of the U.T.S.E. contains many such records of achievement.

Small wonder that these pioneers, the militants of that era, made such a tremendous impact not only on the labor movement of which they were unmistakably a part but on the social scene in general, providing as their brains and brawn did the impetus that raised thousands of Negro families to a higher economic level.

The efforts of the union pioneers were later strengthened by such men as James Mitchell of Washington, Sylvester Carrothers of New York, Cornelius Thompson of Philadelphia, Willie Massey of New Orleans, William L. Daniels of Los Angeles, and countless others, all GEB members; as well as by Ernest Calloway, Educational Director and Assistant Editor of Publication, and Clarence Ivy, Director of Organization.

Personalities developed in later years include George L. P. Weaver of Dayton, Ohio, assistant to the president; J. P. Covington of Washington, first vice-president, and others literally too numerous to mention.

All these and many more have contributed to the birth and development of U.T.S.E., helping to guide it to the commanding position which it occupies in the American labor movement; and all have been of enormous influence on the movement. Some have gone on to national and international recognition in labor and government.

Willard Townsend's preoccupation with the affairs of his union was only one part of his many-sided interest. He served in the high councils of the Congress for Industrial Organization (CIO), and when the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in December, 1955, he became a vice-president of that giant labor federation and remained on the Executive Council until his death. But his interest in world-wide labor affairs was best symbolized in his creed "Equality of opportunity for all the people of the world." He traveled widely in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Many of the officers of U.T.S.E. were among the early Black Trade Union leaders who visited the continent of Africa and shared in the efforts to further the cause of African Trade Union development. Willard Townsend was an inspiration to many U.T.S.E. leaders. For example:

> George L. P. Weaver, Assistant Secretary of International Labor Affairs for 8 years, last year was President of the Governing Body International Labor Organization, and is now Assistant to David Morse, Director General of that organization which is composed of 114 nations;

Walter G. Davis, former Vice-President of U.T.S.E., former Assistant Director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO, currently Director of Department of Education, AFL-CIO;

Harold Snell, former Executive Member, U.T.S.E., United States Labor Attache in Lebanon, currently Director of United States Agency for International Development, Kenya;

Earl Davis, former Vice-President, U.T.S.E., presently Minority Director, Committee on Political Education (COPE), AFL-CIO;

Ike Golden, former Comptroller, U.T.S.E., Assistant Chief Trade Fairs Department International Labor Affairs;

Ernest Calloway, former U.T.S.E. Director, Education and Editor, currently IBT Research Associate.

Arthur O. Maxwell, former U.T.S.E. Vice-President, New York Department of Labor International Affairs, currently program director of American Institute for Free Labor Development, British Guayana.

Among the present officers of U.T.S.E. AFL-CIO International Union must be mentioned George P. Sabattie, who, after holding many important posts – an appointment to the Emergency Resources Planning Committee, and two consecutive terms as International President of U.T.S.E. – is at present serving a third time in this office, to which he was elected in 1968 Richard S. Hamme, one of the veterans of U.T.S.E., after serving as International Secretary-Treasurer, retired in 1968. Waddell Langford succeeded Brother Hamme as Secretary-Treasurer.

Since its founding, U.T.S.E. has undergone considerable transformation. Its work classifications are no longer limited to crafts, but embrace the industrial fields and various types of services. There is no question that its early spirit will continue to effect the same social improvement in the field of human relations which marked U.T.S.E. from its inception.

THE WAITERS, WAITRESSES, AND BARTENDERS OF CHICAGO

Nobody sees the waiter's face, the old song used to run, but nobody sang that song after October 13, 1937 when twenty-five determined Negro waiters formed the Federated Hotel Waiters and Hotel Attendants of Chicago. Henry Roberts of the Palmer House was the first president, and Hugh R. Jackson of the Sherman Hotel was vice-president. The group grew and had pride in its achievement, but both the pride and the pain is capsuled in this profile.

Negro waiters were employed in only two Loop hotels, the Sherman Hotel and the Palmer House. They worked about 14 hours a day and there was no such thing as overtime pay; all the Black employees in these two hotels were at the mercy of the manager and the head waiter. These were the quality hotels and Black employees were supposed to consider themselves fortunate to be employed there.

As a result of their union activity, the leaders of the union paid a high price for their self-respect. The president, Henry Roberts, and vice-president, Hugh R. Jackson, were fired from their jobs as waiters. That these Black men had the temerity to demand higher wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions of service in a job-scarce labor market was considered madness. Madness or not, Roberts and Jackson continued serving the union as its principal officers. The waiters from the two hotels pooled their funds weekly to take care of the families of the two men and supplemented this with fund-raising social events.

Efforts continued for nearly two years. The courage and sacrifice of the young and struggling union didn't go entirely unnoticed in the Negro community. And a sympathetic dentist gave Local 356 free office space. The officers of the union continued their campaign to organize all the Negro waiters in metropolitan Chicago.

However, on June 3, 1939, after much concerted effort to enlarge its membership which had reached 100, the Federated Hotel Waiters and Hotel Attendants of Chicago was granted a union charter. As Local 356 of the Hotel and Bartenders International Union, the leaders of the union felt they had achieved recognition and respect. And indeed, they could be proud of this organizational effort.

Local 444, a South Side local made up exclusively of Negro workers and a member of the Hotel and Bartenders International Union, was less than cooperative. Despite this antagonism by fellow Black Trade Unionists, Local 356 continued to campaign. It had the important assurance of the International that it was a bona fide labor organization adhering to the best principles of the trade union movement.

In September, 1939, Local 356 won recognition for the waiters at the Palmer House and the Sherman Hotel. The agreement Local 356 signed with these two hotels reduced the hours of work to 9 to 14 each day and stipulated overtime pay. This was a significant victory for the pioneers. This was trade union progress. The men who worked in the loop hotels were generally considered the aristocrats of the trade.

Among the pioneers responsible for the progress of Local 356, in addition to the president and the vice-president, were Nick Roberts, who became president in 1950, Willis Thomas, secretary-treasurer; William Browne, who served in many capacities from press officer to vice-president; and Winston Williams, who served as executive board member at large. These as well as many others made enduring contributions to the early rise of Local 356.

When one talks with long-time residents of Chicago's South Side, the talk inevitably gets round to the "Good Old Days" when Chicago was wide open, and of the men who were daring, proud, colorful, and sometimes wide of the mark of evangelical conduct. But the stories of the colorful men and women of a bygone period is intricately woven into the employment pattern of the Black workmen of that day.

During World War 1, Black men by the thousands were brought from the South by the captains of industry to work in the ever-expanding wartime industries. These workers needed shelter and food. The captains of industry recruited boarding-house keepers, cooks, waiters, and doubtless a few ministers to attend to the religious needs of the workers. Inevitably a new community developed, with dance halls, pool rooms, taverns, gambling parlors, and gay ladies. The men and women who operated these places of relaxation were in the main those for whom high risk was the daily routine. They expected to make a fast dollar and move on if necessary. Their businesses had the tacit consent of the captains of industry and their common identity with all employers was long hours and short money. It is into this setting that the personality of J. Levert Kelly – sometimes called "St. Louis Kelly" – took root. He reflected the rough and tumble tactics of the Prohibition Era which spawned him and the men and women in the night-life business of Chicago. He organized the South Side's Bartenders, Cooks, Waiters, and Waitresses, Local 444, and was its president until his death. During one strike which lasted almost a year, nearly every member of the union went to jail, and considered it a privilege to picket and to be arrested for the union's cause. Today to picket is a badge of respectability, but in the early thirties it was the quick way to become a social outcast. To Levert Kelly's critics, he was a fast living roughneck; to his admirers, he set the standard for wages, made their employers respect them, and he shared in their work. The really significant contribution that J. Levert Kelly made to the organized labor movement has never been properly evaluated. He was a showman and the members of his union were his showcase. Bartenders were instructed to wear clean white shirts and black ties to work, and make their union buttons plainly visible. Bartenders were to arrive 15 minutes before starting time in order to dress and be ready for service at the starting time.

A tavern, like a barber shop, is a social center and Local 444's members talked union with pride. The non-union Black workers who subsequently became steel and auto workers in this area were pre-conditioned by those ambassadors of Local 444, with whom they whiled away the hours.

Some of the men and women of those early and exciting times are still active today in the trade union movement.

In December, 1945, the local merged with Local 444, of which Wendell Jones was president and Charlie Christian vice-president. Local 356 was further strengthened when, in 1962, its membership of bartenders, waiters, waitresses, and cooks was merged with that of local 25.

Today there are no separate Black and White locals in the Chicago hotel trade. Among the pioneers serving in the merged unions are Nick Roberts, executive vice president of local 25; E. Winston Williams, business agent of local 25; William R. Browne, business representative of local 278; and Charles Christian, business representative, local 278.

The men and women in the hotel trades had a special quality which their work with the public enhanced. They had style, quick wit, and humor. We should keep the names of the men and women in the Hotel and Bartenders craft green in our memory; for whether they were the elite working at the Palmer House or the fast moving high-lifers in the Black and Tan circuit on the South Side, they had a sense of pride in themselves and in their community which we are trying to recapture today. Their life style left no doubt that they were proud, beautiful, and Black.

PIONEERS

Local 444, Bartenders, Cooks

J. Levert Kelly
Robert Murphy
Virginia Blanton
George W. Holbert
Wendell Jones
Jean Singleton
Jack Reid
Elaizbeth Russell
James Bowman
Johnny Wooley
Camelle Gladney
Sidney Gore
Beatrice O' Bryant
Kathleen Slate
Warren Stanley
Lillye B. Curry

Waiters and Waitresses

356

H. S. Hall
J. H. Presley
James Mason
R. W. Lewis
Vivian Smith
Joseph Dorrill
T. C. Jenkins
E. McKay
Duke Hodges
Isaac Hodges
Robert L. Glenon
Morris Shorter
Ralph Pitts
H. Rhone
Winston Williams
William Browne
Bennie Patton
Fred Patton
R. Mahoney
Louis Young

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

LOCAL 19

PRESIDENT	*HARRISON TYLER*
VICE-PRESIDENT	*MARSHALL BOWERS*
RECORDING SECRETARY	*JOHN E. BATES*
FINANCIAL SECRETARY-TREASURER	*CHARLIE L. JONES*
B. A.	*FRED WOODS*
EXECUTIVE BOARD	*CHARLES BENIFIELD*
	MELVIN RICHARDSON
	ROBERT WILLIS
	ALBERT WHITE
	JIMMIE A. CEARO

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION AFL-CIO

LOCAL 19

Harrison Tyler is president of Local 19 of the International Longshoremen's Association in Chicago. In October, 1969, he became one of 28 vice-presidents of the International, and the 8th Black vice-president in the Executive Council of the International Longshoremen's Association. Together with his white colleagues, he will preside over the affairs of the Great Lakes District, a district which covers Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Ontario, Canada, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and New York State (exclusive of New York City).

When first organized, Local 19 was an all white local which later became integrated. A fire five years ago destroyed all of the records of the union. With these official records destroyed, it is hard to come by other sources which would give us some of the interesting and often turbulent history of this local union's past.

When Harrison Tyler joined Local 19 in 1954, an employee could be called to work and find that the day's work might consist only of one or two hours. Today an employer has to guarantee six hours of employment or pay for the same.

The union's demand for employer responsibility for the worker's time has eliminated one of the major abuses which the men formerly faced.

The last three year agreement which Harrison Tyler and his fellow officers and committee negotiated with the Employer's Association is indicative of the careful attention which this union pays to on-the-job problems. The base pay is $3.77 to $4.02 an hour with added rates for lunch hour and midnight work. A special section of the agreement calls for paid time for handling such obnoxious cargo as aniline dyes, potash, and sulphate, to mention a few of the 43 items listed. The agreement spells in very precise detail the standard minimum size of work gangs and the conditions under which employees work. The health safeguards included in the agreement detail that the employer must furnish such items as leather aprons, goggles, lockers, and non-skid extension ladders for fitting gangs, and must comply with the Chicago Health Department requirements for sanitary facilities including paper cups for drinking, approved water containers for use of the employees, and ice or ice water from May 15 to October 15 each season.

The union's health and welfare program, which includes the families of Local 19's members, are among the best in the AFL-CIO's national benefit schemes. The men who help young President Tyler to carry out these responsibilities are the other officers and the board.

The International Longshoremen's Association holds special interest for the writer for the reason that though it is seldom listed among the unions with a liberal tradition and an active Civil Rights record, it is the only International Union in the country which can list 8 black men among its 28 vice-presidents in the policy-making body of the International union. And, even more significant, this important union policy began before World War II's accelerated Civil Rights tempo,

long before the challenges of the 60's. In 1913, the International Longshoremen's Association elected a Negro vice-president, and has continued to expand its policy of integration.

In these days of emphasized separatism, the Longshoremen's long struggle to dignify the work of the men on the docks and to secure equal pay for equal work whether on the docks of New Orleans, the port of New York, or Chicago, is a good example of the united efforts of working men toward the common objective of economic justice in spite of the artificial barriers of skin color. Since 1909, almost 25% of the International Longshoremen's Association have been Negro and since 1935 approximately 25% of the offices have been held by Negroes.

Thomas Gleason, the International President, was recently elected to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He will add a knowledgeable and timely voice to the pressing problems which trade unions are having to face up to at home and world-wide. Dock workers all over the world, but especially in the United States, will be faced with a new form of mechanization which will reduce this source of employment by 20%. Under this new system, called containerization, goods are pre-loaded in large metal boxes, then loaded in massive cargo handling equipment. Before containerization, it took 14,900 man hours to load 10,000 ton freighters. That same job now takes only 1,100. The president of the International Longshoremen's Association does not challenge innovations which improve the efficiency of the industry but insists that the industry has a responsibility to its employees, and therefore, has proposed a series of world-wide meetings of labor, shipping management, and cargo-handling equipment manufacturers to discuss and anticipate some of the problems which will effect working men and to seek ways to limit the problems which will arise through loss of employment.

The spirit of international solidarity which this union demonstrates has been observed in the ports of Africa when African workers were being exploited by employers. The stated policy of economic and social justice of the International Longshoremen's Association is actively enforced; the participation of its Black leadership from coast to coast in the administration of the union's affairs is the best testament of this union's acceptance of representative leadership.

SUMMARY

by Dr. Caroline Ware

The more we learn about the world we live in, the more we recognize the many different elements that contribute to its complex functioning. The current demand for Black history is an effort to make our understanding of contemporary society more true and complete by recognizing the reality experienced by the Black citizens of this country. We know relatively little of how life looked to the Black workers in American industry and of what went into their struggle to participate in the wealth which they created and in the political system of which they are a part.

The profiles of some few of the pioneer Negro labor leaders in the Chicago area who struggled in behalf of their fellow workers help to fill two gaps in our information: the gap in Black history – for less has been brought to light about the role of Blacks in the labor movement than about any other phase of their existence – and the gap in labor history, which has almost wholly overlooked the part played by Negroes in organizing and extending bargaining rights and in improving the working conditions and status of all workers.

It is appropriate that the subjects of these profiles have been selected from a single area, Chicago; for it is in the detailed experience of day to day living in each local community that the reality of social history is to be found. By focusing on the lives and works of pioneers in this locality, the pilot study points up not only their substantial contribution to trade union development but their contribution to the welfare and dignity of a people; indeed, of all people – for all people enjoy the benefits achieved through the struggle of these pioneers.

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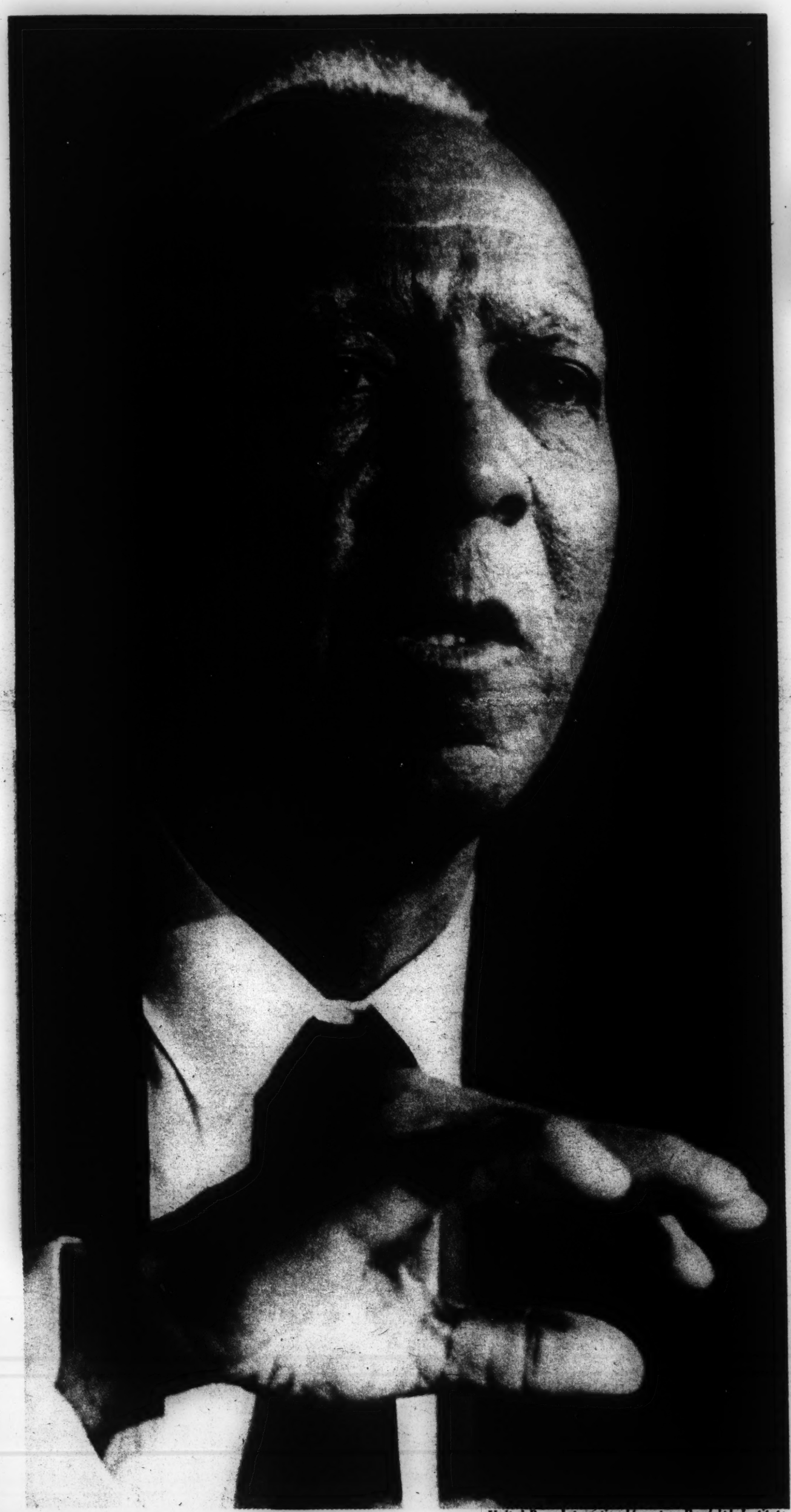
Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships.

—A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



United Press International/courtesy Randolph Institute

Homage to A. Philip Randolph on his 80th birthday

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and International President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

Mr. Randolph, son of a traveling minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889. He attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914, to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined.

In 1917, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded "The Messenger". Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Black journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Black rights, "The Messenger" spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by a Congressional committee as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"—a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the ups-and-downs of the depression, was finally won in 1937 when the Brotherhood won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, "The Messenger" became "The Black Worker", official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

With the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became more and more worried about the exclusion of Blacks from jobs in the war industries. On a Southern trip with Milton Webster of the Brotherhood, he conceived the idea of a massive Black march on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Black press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up across the country.

Because of the intense pressures Mr. Randolph inspired, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an Executive Order, in 1941, calling for "fair employment practices" in war industries, thus opening up new jobs to Blacks, who had formerly been limited to porter jobs in the corridors and bathrooms of the factories.

In another national victory a short time later, in 1948, Mr. Randolph squeezed out another Executive Order, this time from President Harry S Truman, which started the end of discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.

His efforts on behalf of the little man, during more than a half century of persuading, pushing, and pressuring, have won for Mr. Randolph the esteem and respect of all who are struggling for themselves and their children.

A. Philip Randolph is a man who does not fit easily into any one category. . . .

Is he a labor leader?

Is he a fighter for civil rights?

Is he a dedicated Socialist?

He is all of these men, and more.

Certainly, Mr. Randolph will not sit still for the old, tired ways.

He defies the bigots.

He rejects the fashionable.

He prods our consciences.

This is the man we salute . . . a man of many parts, any one of which would have sufficed for you or me.

To the Student and to the Teacher:

This supplement was written for use in the classroom.

In this man, who marked his 80th birthday on April 15, 1969, we see reflected the history of our times.

From his words and from his deeds, we can all learn a lot more about ourselves, where we have been, as well as where we have the chance to go, if we so choose.

Order additional copies of this four-page Supplement at 5¢ each (all money goes to the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee) from The United Teacher, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Civil Rights Leader

The words and deeds of A. Philip Randolph show us the unyielding strength of his life-long struggle for full human rights for the Blacks and all the disinherited of the nation.

In his cry for freedom and justice, Mr. Randolph is echoing the fury of all the enslaved. They are fighting for their freedom, with the kind of desperate strength that only deep wounds can call forth.

With none of his words, however, does Mr. Randolph turn aside the help of others.

But these comrades-in-arms must share the vision that has led Mr. Randolph through his long years of search for equal human rights.

From the day of his arrival in Harlem in 1911, Mr. Randolph had been in the thick of the struggle for freedom for Black Americans. The civil rights revolution which began in the 1950's was a result of his efforts and the work of men like himself.

Even when he had become an "elder statesman," his passion for justice remained as youthful and vigorous as ever. He still planned and organized such activities as the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill, the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration and the 1963 March on Washington.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 are all the fruits of the seed he and his co-workers sowed many years before.

A. Philip Randolph has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights.

At the same time, he did not let himself be led astray by the impractical economic promises of a man like Marcus Garvey, who called for a "return to Africa" back in the 1920's.

As a man living in the bread-and-butter world, Mr. Randolph knew that a good weekly pay check had to be won first. Then, after the children were fed, a better fight could be waged for dignity and self-pride.

With this always in mind, Mr. Randolph traveled throughout the nation just before World War II, in 1940 and 1941. His mission was to unite Blacks against the discrimination which shut them out of well-paying jobs in the factories.

Although many whites, and even Blacks, knocked his efforts in the beginning, his message caught fire. All over the United States, committees of Blacks were forming to "March on Washington" in protest.

United Press International Photo

On August 28, 1963, A. Philip Randolph led 250,000 people in a "March on Washington" for jobs and freedom. Here, he is shown before the Lincoln Memorial.

Influential people tried to turn Mr. Randolph away from his goal, but he remained strong and steadfast.

Finally, recognizing that Mr. Randolph could not be swayed, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an order, six months before Pearl Harbor, in June, 1941, which called for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs. Here was the beginning of "fair employment practices." This, the first "March on Washington," never had to be held. The most powerful leader in the world, the President of the United States, had yielded to the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

From this start have come all of the many laws trying to guarantee a fair and equal chance to all Blacks looking for jobs.

About seven years later, in July of 1948, Mr. Randolph again moved to fight discrimination. This time, it was against segregation and Jim Crow in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Once more, the power of his persuasion and the justice of his complaints swayed another President of the United States, Harry S Truman. President Truman signed an order commanding that there would be an end to this kind of discrimination not only in the armed forces, but also in federal civil service jobs.

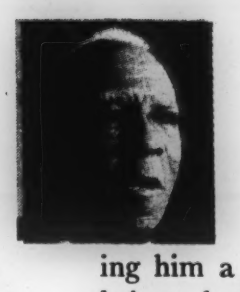
In 1963, another high point in Mr. Randolph's struggle for equality for oppressed people was reached when he headed the famous "March on Washington," in which more than 250,000 Americans joined together under the slogan of "Jobs and Freedom."

Still relentlessly pressing for full economic freedom, Mr. Randolph then presented, in 1966, the Freedom Budget to the nation. This called for the spending of $185 billion over ten years by the U.S. government to fight against poverty.

United Press International/courtesy Randolph Institute

Shortly before the opening of the 1948 Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, pickets, led by A. Philip Randolph (left), appeared outside the convention hall, demanding equal rights for Blacks and an end to Jim Crow in the armed services.

Labor Leader



"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor." So spoke A. Philip Randolph from the convention floor of the AFL-CIO. And so believed A. Philip Randolph all his life long.

It was this belief that sustained his spirit through the long, long, bitter years when he was the voice crying in the wilderness.

It was this belief that enabled him to go on with the uphill fight for racial equality and opportunity for all Americans.

The story of Randolph the labor leader is the story of many beginnings, a tale of many defeats and many victories. Even in defeat he sowed the seed that afterwards blossomed and bore fruit—for Black workers and white workers alike.

By the early 1920's, Mr. Randolph could look back upon "a career of glorious failures," as one writer put it. He had run for Assembly twice and Comptroller once and lost each time.

As far as organizing Blacks went, he had been at it from his first days in Harlem, but had little to show for his efforts.

He began to come into his own when a group of Pullman porters came to him for help. The porters wanted the right to bargain for better wages and improvements in working conditions. They wanted a chance to run their own affairs.

After a number of secret meetings, the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was announced at Elks Hall, on August 25, 1925.

But it was going to be a long and tough fight to get the powerful Pullman Company to sit down and bargain with the workers. It took all of 12 years.

The odds against the newly-born union were huge. The company used all of its strength in attacking Mr. Randolph, calling him a Bolshevik and accusing him of being a hustler out for a fast buck. Pullman fired union members. It tried to put fear into the men by threatening them with tougher assignments, fewer assignments, or no work at all.

The law also failed the Brotherhood. Mediation failed, so did arbitration. And when the men prepared for a strike as a last resort, the company recruited strikebreakers and private police.

At the last moment, the strike was called off. The leadership of the union decided that the Brotherhood was simply not strong enough to win at that time.

Now began the struggle to keep the organization together—without funds, without much support from the outside, and in the midst of a depression.

Mr. Randolph would travel to Chicago on Brotherhood business and have only a one-way train ticket in his pocket. But somehow he survived and his message with him.

Wherever he went, Mr. Randolph had one important sermon for the porters. They were Black men who were being called upon to prove that "Black men are able to measure up." And the men never forgot that message and in the end it won for them.

By 1935, not only had the Brotherhood survived, but it had won an election supervised by the National Mediation Board. The same year, the American Federation of Labor reversed its previous position and voted to grant an international charter to the Brotherhood. It took two more years of negotiations but finally the Pullman Company signed a contract.

This was more than a victory for better wages and working conditions. As one scholar wrote: "A small band of brothers —Black—had stood together and won against a corporation that had said it would never sit down and negotiate with porters."

In 1936, A. Philip Randolph was drafted for presidency of a new organization called the National Negro Congress. The NNC was made up of a number of groups which planned to build a Black mass movement by working with and through trade unions.

Although the NNC was successful in a number of organizing drives led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), when Mr. Randolph realized it had come under Communist control, he quit. He was attacked by the Communists as a traitor because he refused to support a stand against aid to the enemies of Hitler at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact. But when the Germans turned around and invaded Russia, he was again attacked by the Communists, this time for refusing to help the war effort on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Throughout the hard years of struggle to obtain dignity and decent treatment for porters, Mr. Randolph never forgot that there were other workers who also needed help.

As one observer wrote: "He became a familiar and lonely figure on the floor of AFL-CIO conventions," in his role as champion of the underdog.

He was to be the conscience of organized labor in seeking to get the trade union movement to set its own house in order and to remove the last remnants of racial discrimination from within the ranks of the AFL-CIO.

He spoke up strongly and without fear or favor about the need to right the wrongs of segregation and discrimination inflicted upon Black Americans. He called for all organized labor to join in the Black man's struggle for freedom and in that way "rise to its full moral stature."

He spoke for all other dispossessed, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites alike.

He helped to draft "the strongest statement of labor's position on civil rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO." This resolution put organized labor in "a front line role in the civil rights revolution."

A. Philip Randolph's chosen home is the labor movement—which he believes is the real home of all working men. Since 1955 he has been a member of the AFL-CIO's Executive Board, and in 1959 he helped to found the Negro American Labor Council.

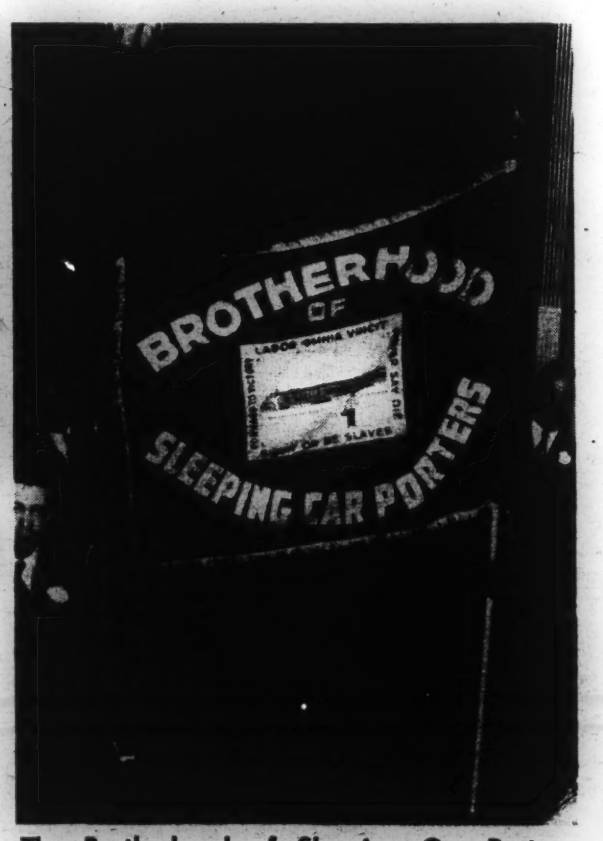
The NALC's job is to present Black workers' demands to the labor movement and to do what Mr. Randolph has always tried to do—keep the Black people and organized labor together and working for common goals. This is far from an easy task because unions are part of society—which is still racist—and men tend to cling to their prejudices.

A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, is also a dreamer of dreams. He has tried to put flesh and bones on his dreams by working for a labor movement that would be free of all prejudice and which would play a key role in changing society for the better.

It is that dream that has made A. Philip Randolph one of the giants of the American labor movement.

Photos by Brown Brothers

Leading a labor parade in Harlem in the 1920's was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Notice the old trolley tracks.



The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founded in 1925, stuck together despite tremendous pressures against the union. Above, their banner is proudly displayed at a meeting in the 1930's.

Socialist

At the heart of A. Philip Randolph's vision as a socialist is his belief that a decent and well-paying job is the first step towards social and political freedom.

Therefore, while he supported the needs of Blacks as Blacks, Mr. Randolph also maintained that those who are poor, or earn little money—whether they are Black or white—have basic interests in common, and that they should join together.

As a socialist, Mr. Randolph believes that workers and their labor unions are the key forces in any political effort to redistribute society's wealth more justly. Mr. Randolph has continuously advised Black people to develop political alliances with other groups—labor, liberal and civil rights groups—to fight for common aims.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned those principles that have given his outlook qualities of depth and honor. He is a firm believer in both integration and nonviolence.

As an integrationist he opposed the "Back-to-Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's, as he has opposed the separatist beliefs of the "Black Power" advocates of today. At the same time, Mr. Randolph has rejected violence as a tactic of struggle, on both moral and practical grounds.

A. Philip Randolph has not seen the problem of Black people in America as the problem of one isolated group. He views the condition of American Blacks as the symptom of a larger social illness, an illness which is caused by an unfair distribution of power, wealth, and resources.

For the socialist ideals on which his political wisdom is built, Mr. Randolph looked to the giants of American socialism —Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas.

The agent for spreading Mr. Randolph's socialism was a magazine called the *Messenger,* founded in 1917, "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by Negroes." He co-edited the magazine with Chandler Owen, a fellow socialist who came to be Mr. Randolph's closest friend. Though both men were well aware that many unions and many socialists discriminated, they continued in their conviction that only through the organization of the workers into unions could society be changed.

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen outlined the purpose of their socialist publication in an early editorial, saying:

"The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognize no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a Black man . . . they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits.

"The combination of Black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, Black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will prove that unions are not based upon race lines, but upon class lines. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class conscious, intelligent, militant group."

Though Mr. Randolph was an integrationist, he believed that organizations which had come into existence to wage the Black and working class struggle ought to be headed by the leaders from those groups. He disagreed with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader W. E. B. DuBois' claim that a "talented tenth" of the race would pave the way for its entry into society.

The gap between Mr. Randolph and Mr. DuBois widened when, during World War I, Mr. DuBois called on Blacks to "close ranks," put aside their grievances, and support the war. Mr. Randolph was definitely opposed to the war. He believed that the American idea of "making the world safe for democracy" was outright falsity and "a tremendous offense to the intelligence of the Blacks because at that time the Blacks were being lynched and denied the right to vote, in the South, especially, and were the victims of segregation and discrimination all over the nation."

The *Messenger* repeatedly stressed the anti-war stand of its editors and, as a result, the U.S. Justice Department kept a close watch on Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen. Finally, they were jailed in Cleveland on charges of treason. They managed to get out under the custody of Seymour Stedman, a socialist lawyer, and they promptly continued their public protest against the war. World War I ended just one day before Mr. Randolph was scheduled to leave for war himself as a new draftee.

As a socialist associated with radical, left-wing causes, Mr. Randolph was subject to pressures from other radical groups, including the Communists. When a split struck the Socialist Party in 1919, over the question of whether or not to support the Bolsheviks in their leadership of the Russian Revolution, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen stayed with the non-Communist faction of the party.

When the Communists began to concern themselves with the issue of Blacks in the labor movement, Mr. Randolph had already begun his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Communists were so jealous of Mr. Randolph's effort, they took pains to prevent mentioning him in their publications.

A. Philip Randolph's position, whether an attitude toward labor unions, an anti-war stand, or a political position with an aim of economic change, has consistently reflected his socialist ideas. He has always believed in a movement based on the workers as the main force, and has always been committed to the idea that a democratic redistribution of wealth is the first step toward greater freedom for all people—Black as well as white.

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United Press International Photo

A Birthday Message To America's Workers

. . . from A. Philip Randolph

- He was the father of the civil rights revolution.
- He took on the powerful Pullman Company and forced it to bargain with its porters.
- His unremitting pressures forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign Executive Order calling for fair employment practices.
- He won an Executive Order in 1948 from President Harry S. Truman to ban discrimination in the armed forces and in federal employment.
- He inspired the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration, and was a leading force behind 1963 March On Washington.
- He is A. Philip Randolph, president of the institute bearing his name and President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union he organized. April 15 marks his 90th birthday.

I AM HAPPY to have this opportunity to address my brothers and sisters as I celebrate another birthday, this one being my 90th.

For most people, birthdays offer an opportunity for careful personal reflection. They are a time for taking stock, a time for evaluating the course of events. No, as I mark the beginning of my 91st year, I wish to make a few brief comments about the difficult challenges confronting black people and all American workers.

In many important respects, today's challenges bear a striking similarity to the problems we have grappled with for decades. Essentially, they are problems of economics, and problems of politics. And, most important, they are problems which cannot be solved in isolation from the overall society.

Consider for a moment the plight of our black youngsters. Throughout the nation, thousands upon thousands of black teenagers and young adults have no opportunity of obtaining decent equipment. They are forced to waste their talents, to waste their youthful enthusiasm, indeed, to waste their lives. To make matters worse, some political leaders dismiss this scandal as a necessity, a permanent feature of our economic system.

Consider also the condition of low-wage workers throughout the so-called Sunbelt, and throughout America's great urban centers. Amid affluence and new-found wealth, thousands of workers — black as well as white — receive subsistence wages. And because so few have the protections of a union contract, they have no job security, no fringe benefits, and no rights in the workplace.

And consider the new political atmosphere in America, an atmosphere best characterized by crude conservatism, and social defeatism. From every corner of the land, we hear demands for cuts in school budgets, social security payments, health care, and jobs for the unemployed. And we hear inflation blamed on the moderate wages of workers, and the dismally low wages of those people forced to accept the minimum wage. Workers and poor people, the true victims of inflation, are everywhere scolded for their so-called excesses.

RANDOLPH BELIEVES THAT JOBS ARE THE PASSPORTS TO DIGNITY

How do we deal with these problems? Who do we look toward for support and cooperation?

In my view, we have one reliable and steadfast ally — the trade union movement. And I make this statement based on 70 years of experience in the civil rights and labor movements.

Why the trade unions? The answer, I believe, is quite simple: The vast majority of black people are workers, and the trade union movement, even with all its imperfections and failings, is the most effective, and most powerful defender of the interests of all American workers, black as well as white.

At this very moment, for example, organized labor is spearheading the attack against the Administration's so-called austerity budget. It is the trade union movement that has fought to preserve the minimum wage, and to keep the CETA jobs program intact. And it is the trade union movement that has mounted a major effort to organize low-paid and exploited workers through the South.

In the area of organizing, I hasten to call your attention to three crucially important campaigns, campaigns which hold special significance for black workers. First, there is the on-going strike by thousands of black workers at the Newport News Shipyards in Virginia. These workers, members of the United Steelworkers of America, were forced to strike by a company which refuses to recognize their right to join a union and negotiate for better wages and working conditions. As the company cleverly evades the real issues by filing appeal after appeal with the courts, the workers at Newport News continue to suffer.

Similarly, the J. P. Stevens Company and the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain continue to block their employees from freely organizing into unions. The injustices at these two companies are well known, thus, I urge you to support the boycott of Winn-Dixie stores, and the boycott of all J. P. Stevens products.

In addition to taking an active interest in the struggles of black workers, we must also intensify our activity in the political arena. Last November, for instance, black people in Missouri and Philadelphia dramatically demonstrated the power of the united black vote. In Missouri, black voters overwhelming opposed an anti-labor question on the ballot; and in Philadelphia, black united together in opposing a proposed change in the city charter. Yet despite these two impressive examples, black voters throughout the country seem to be withdrawing from politics.

While I can surely sympathize with those who despair of political involvement, I cannot condone surrender or retreat. To do so would be to grant a political "blank check" to our enemies. By withdrawing from the voting booth, we are, in effect inviting our enemies to roll-back every advance of the last 45 years.

We and our children, we and our grandchildren, cannot afford to abandon the fight. We must continue, indeed we must strengthen our political position by registering and voting in even great numbers than ever before. Our participation in the upcoming political battles will, to a very large extent, determine the outcome of our long years of dedication, and sacrifice.

You, brothers and sisters, will make the difference between ultimate victory or bitter defeat. Please, join the good fight.

(1)

Mrs Wilds

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH color 10 minutes

Biography of the black labor leader who succeeded in gaining recognition for Pullman car porters' union. Includes newsreel footage and a recent interview in which Mr. Randolph recalls his confrontations with Roosevelt and Kennedy and speaks of his continuing struggle for job equality for black Americans.

Rediscovery Productions 1977?

Labor
Civil Rights
Biography-Blacks
Black Americans

DISTRIBUTOR

ership Rutgers Award, 61. Interests: numismatics, reading. Born Feb 22, 1905, Millburn, NJ. Father: Anthony, Nurseryman; Mother: Katherine Caruso, Homemaker. Married 1941, Edna Mildred Hamilton Rajoppi, Exec Secy, 2 children. **Residence:** 2 Prospect Pl, Springfield, NJ 07081.

RAMIREZ, JULIUS. Mem, Loc 10, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 33-. V Pres, ILGWU, 74-; Mgr, Secy, Loc 32, Corset & Brassiere Workers Union, ILGWU, 70-. Local 32, ILGWU, 275 Seventh Ave, New York, NY 10001, Tel 212 255-1500. **Career positions:** Shop Chrm, Cutters, Max Wiesen & Sons, NY, 46-56; Busn Agt, Loc 62, ILGWU, 56-59; Dir of Orgn, Loc 62, 57-69. **Civic activities:** Trustee, Hispanic Labor Cttee of New York, 70-; Admin Cttee Mem, Labor Counc for LAm Advancement, 74; Mem, Admin Cttee, Amer Labor ORT, 73; Exec Cttee, Flushing Hillcrest Homeowners & Civic Assn, 47-52. Education: Ponce, Puerto Rico High Sch, 26-29, Dpl; Univ of Puerto Rico, 29; City Coll of New York, 30; Biarritz Amer Univ, France, 45-46; New York State Sch of Indl & Labor Rel, Cornell Univ; Queens Coll, NY, 65. Military service: Technician 5, US Army, Infantry, Europe, 43-46. Organization: United Hias Serv. Interests: golf, travel, reading. Born Aug 20, 1909, Ponce, PR. Father: Agustin, Chem Engr. Mother: Maria, Homemaker. Married 1946, Eileen Ramirez, Secy, 3 children.

RAMOS, JOSE ALBERTO. Mem, Community & Socl Agy Empl Union, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, 72-. Proj Dir, Recruitment & Training Program, Inc, 73-. RTP, Inc, 852 B Westchester Ave, Bronx, NY 10459, Tel 212 328-2331. **Civic activities:** Planning Cttee Mem, Bronx Budget Cttee, 74-; Exec Cttee Mem, Hispanic Counc for Involvements, 72-74. Education: Empire State Labor Coll, 75-. Military service: Cpl, USMC, Vietnam, 66-68. Interests: handball, sports. Born May 12, 1947, Fajardo, PR. Father: Agapito, Shipping Clerk Supr; Mother: Felicita, Seamstress. Married 1967, Elsie Ramos, Homemaker, 1 child.

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RAMSEY, ROBERT WILSON. Mem, Assembly of Governmental Employees. Natl Staff Rep, AGE, 75-. AGE, 1730 Rhode Island Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20036, Tel 202 347-5628. **Career positions:** Salesman, Sears Roebuck, 60-62; Off Mgr, Logan Long Company, 66-70; Field Rep, Ohio Assn of Pub Sch Empl, 70-75. **Civic activities:** Mem, Ohio Paper Indy Counc, 66-70; Miami Valley Papermakers Assn, 66-70; Warren County Area Progress Counc, 66-70. Education: St Clairsville High Sch, OH, 54-58; USAF Accounting & Fin Sch, 62; Miami Univ, 68. Military service: USAF, 62-66, Distinguished Unit Citation. Interests: sports,

reading. Born Jan 8, 1940, Key, OH. Father: Newell Wilson; Mother: Stella Virginia, Homemaker. Married 1962, Carolyn Ann Ramsey, Registered Nurse, 3 children. **Residence:** St Clairsville, OH.

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Movement, 41-42; Founding Pres, Natl Negro Cong, 36-38; Mem, Mayor LaGuardia's Conf on Race, 35. Education: Bethune-Cookman Coll, Jacksonville FL, 03-07; Coll of the City of New York, 12. Organization: Masons. Awards: Presidential Medal of Freedom, 64; New York City Bronze Medallion, 74; 17 Hon Degrees from Univ, 41-74; Spingarn Medal, NAACP. Interests: reading, spectator sports. Author: *Terms of Peace and the Darker Races; Truth About Lynching*. Born Apr 15, 1889, Crescent City, FL. Father: James William, Minister; Mother: Elizabeth. Married 1914, Lucille E Green Randolph.

RANGER, JOHN CHADWICK. Mem, International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 47-. Directing Busn Rep, Dist Lodge 160, IAMAW, 74-; Secy-Treas, Washington Machinists Counc, 67-. IAMAW, 5631 S Ferry St, Suite 4, Tacoma, WA 98409, Tel 206 472-9692. **Career positions:** Trustee, Automotive Machinist Lodge 289, IAM, 52-55; Secy-Treas, Lodge 289, 55-66; Directing Busn Rep, Loc Lodge 1103, 66-74. **Civic activities:** Mem, Washington State Air Pollution Comm, 68-71. Education: Roosevelt High Sch, 39-42, Dpl; Edison Tech, 47-49, Jn, Auto Mechanics; N Seattle Airpark, 48-50, Comml Pilot Lic. Military service: Motor Machinists Mate 2nd Class, USN, 42-47, Asiatic Pacific 4 stars, Amer Theater Campaign Medal, Good Conduct Medal, Victory Medal World War II, Philippine Liberation Medal. Organizations: Lodge 92, BPOE, Seattle, WA; Automobile Club of Washington. Interests: hunting, fishing. Born Dec 27, 1925, Indianapolis, IN. Father: Halleck G; Mother: Mildred Louise. Married 1971, Bea C Ranger, Receptionist, 2 children. **Residence;** 11201 128 E Box 24-260, Puyallup, WA 98371.

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RASBURY, JAMES THOMAS. Admin Law Judge, Div of Judges, National Labor Relations Board, 59-. NLRB, Division of Judges, 450 Golden Gate, San Francisco, CA 94102, Tel 415 556-2387. **Career positions:** Dir of Labor Rel, Deep Rock Oil Corp, 47-53; Atty, Pvt Practice, Tulsa, OK, 53-57; Asst Gen Counsel, NLRB, 57-59. Education: Eastern Michigan Univ, 33-36, AB; Univ of Oklahoma Law Sch, 39-41; George Washington Univ, Washington, DC, 46-47, LLB. Military service: 1st Lt, USMC, 44-46. Organizations: Oklahoma Bar Assn; District of Columbia Bar Assn; San Francisco Bar Assn; Sigma Nu; Phi Delta Phi. Interests: golf, bridge, gin rummy, skiing. Author: numerous articless on pers & labor rel. Born Jan 21, 1915, Dallas, TX. Father: Wiley Clay, RR Supt; Mother: Minnie Mae Bostick, Homemaker. Married 1944, Phyllis Reynolds Rasbury, Homemaker, 3 children. **Residence:** 1462 Via Loma, Walnut Creek, CA 94598.

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RAWHOOF, EUGENE H. Mem, International Chemical Workers Union, 46-; International Chemical Workers Representatives Union, 68-. Intl Rep, ICW, 68-. ICW, 1655 W Market St, Akron, OH 44313, Tel 216 867-2444. **Career positions:** Busn Rep, Loc 60, ICW, 57-68; Pres, Lake Co AFL-CIO Counc, IL, 59-69. **Civic activities:** Chrm, Zion Police & Fire Comm, 63-69; Mem, Illinois On-the-Job Training Comm, 65-68. Education: Golconda Community High Sch; Univ of Illinois, Roosevelt Coll, Antioch Coll, Univ of Wisconsin, Labor Stud. Military service: Petty Offr 2nd Class, USN, 42-46. Interests: politics, fishing, travel. Born Oct 15, 1923, Rosiclare, IL. Father: James Frederick, Miner; Mother: Matilda, Homemaker. Married 1949, Virginia Rawhoof, Homemaker, 2 children. **Residence:** 2614 Edina Blvd, Zion, IL 60099.

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RAYNOR, BRUCE STEVEN. Mem, Loc 189, American Federation of Teachers. Educ Dir, Textile Workers Union of America, 74-. TWUA, 99 University Place, New York, NY 10003. Tel 212 673-1400. **Career positions:** Instr, Cornell Univ, 71-72; Staff Mem, Educ Dept, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, 72; Educ Rep, TWUA, 73-74. **Civic activities:** Mem, Educ Cttee, New York City Cent Labor Counc, 73-; Bd of Dir, New York Labor Theater, 73-. Education: Malverne High Sch, NY, 66-68; Cornell Univ, Ithaca, NY, 68-72, BS; City Univ of New York Grad Ctr, 72-73. Author: numerous articles on problems of textile workers; *Contract, Contract,* TWUA film. Born Feb 15, 1950, Levitown, NY. Father: Robert L, Retail Store Mgr; Mother: Muriel D, Saleswoman. Married 1973, Rena F Raynor, Law Student. **Residence:** 590 16 St, Brooklyn, New York, NY 11218.

READ, JOHN CONYERS. Counselor & Exec Asst to the Secy of Labor, US Department of Labor, 75-. US Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20210, Tel 202 523-8231. **Career positions:** Operation Rch Analyst, HEW, 71-73; Exec Asst to the Dir, Cost of Living Counc, 73-74; Chief Econ Adv to the Gov of Massachusetts, 74-75. Education: Kent Sch, 60-65; Harvard Coll, 65-69, AB; Harvard Univ Grad Sch of Busn Admin, 69-71, MBA. Author: articles on inflation & the Massachusetts economy in *The Boston Globe*. Born May 21, 1947, New York, NY. Father: Edward C K, Pub Rel; Mother: Louise G. Married 1968, Alexandra Gould Read, 3 children.

REBACK, MARCIA BEVERLY. Mem, Loc 958, Providence Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers, 67-. Pres, Loc 958, Providence Teachers Union, AFT, 73-; Mem, Exec Bd, Rhode Island Fedn of Teachers, 73-; V Pres, Rhode Island AFL-CIO, 74-. Providence Teachers Union, 199 Acad Ave, Providence, RI 02908, Tel 401 421-4014. **Career positions:** Secy, Loc 958, Providence Teachers Union, AFT, 68-73. **Civic activities:** Bd of Dir, United Way, 75-; Rhode Island Group Health Assn, 74-. Education: Univ of Rhode Island, Kingston, 62-66, BFA; Rhode Island Coll, Providence, 67-73; Univ of Connecticut, Storrs, 72-73, MA. Organization: Phi Kappa Phi. Editor: *A Metropolitan Region-Providence*. Born Dec 28, 1944, Fall River, MA. Father: Samuel; Mother: Ruth Kaufman. Single.

RECORD, ERNEST ALBERT. Mem, International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 68-. Pres, Loc Lodge 2342, IAMAW, 68-; Pres, Dist Lodge 109, IAMAW, 75-; V Pres, New Hampshire State Labor Counc, AFL-CIO, 69-; V Pres, New England Conf of Machinists, 69-. WW Cross Co, 77 Webster St, Jaffrey, NH 03452, Tel 603 532-8332. **Career positions:** V Pres, Dist Lodge 109, IAMAW, 73-75. **Civic activities:** Bd of Dir, Sullivan & Cheshire Co Community Action Prog, 69-72. Education: Wayland High Sch, 42-45. Military service: Aviation Machinists Mate 3rd Class, USN, World War II. Organizations: Charity Lodge 18, Free & Accepted Masons, Jaffrey, NH; Hope Lodge 20, Free & Accepted Masons, Washington, DC; AASR, Washington, DC. Born Oct 5, 1928, Winchendon, MA. Father: Joseph O, Moulder; Mother: Marion H Soper, Homemaker. Married 1948, Nell G Boyd Record. **Residence:** Gilmore Pond Rd, Jaffrey, NH 03452.

REDDEN, JAMES A. Treas, State of Oregon, 72-. 102 State Capitol, Salem, OR 37310, Tel 503 378-4330. **Career positions:** Mem, Oregon State Legis, 63-69; Mem & Chrm, State of Oregon Pub Empl Rel Bd, 70-73; Chrm, Gov Cttee on Collective Bargaining in the Pub Sector, 72. Education: Boston Coll Law Sch, Massachusetts, 54, Law Degree. Military service: US Army, 46-48. Organizations: Mass-achusetts State Bar Assn; Oregon State Bar Assn. Born Mar 13, 1929, Springfield, MA. Father: James A, Dentist; Mother: Alma C, Homemaker. Married 1950, Joan Johnson Redden, Homemaker, 2 children. **Residence:** 546 Welcome Way, S, Salem, OR 97302.

Haynes
Commentary
4/15

(A. Philip Randolph
Birthday)

4:00

WNDT - News
Channel 13
4/15

(1) Clym

It must be delightful to have survived fourscore years---as A. Philip Randolph has---- as a man considered for most of these years---a dangerous man.

~~[illegible]~~

Mr. Randolph was born eighty years ago today in Crescent City Florida. His father was a circuit riding preacher for the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He came north when he was in his early teens. He got a job as a hallboy in an apartment house at 89th street and Columbus Avenue. He scrawled P. Randolph swept here in the hall.

He read, went to College---never finished, met Eugene V. Debs--joined the Socialist party in 1911, and he started organizing---as an elevator operator, he was fired---for organizing. As a maintenance man--- fired---for organizing, a waiter on a pleasure boat, fired for organizing. He married ~~[illegible]~~ Lucille Green, who

died in 1963 after 50 years of marriage.

Randolph and Chandler Owen edited the Hotel Messenger for a union of Negro headwaiters, but were fired for wiriting an article about the headwaiters exploitation of sidewaiters.

They kept the magazine going---the Messenger---for ten years. The government thought that little journal the most dangerous of all Negro publications. A. Philip Randolph wrote a seathing article on the war---the first world war, in which he told President Wilson----Lynching, Jim Crow segregation discrimination in the armed forces and out, disenfranchisement of millions of black souls in the South---all these things make your cry of making the world safe for democracy a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and a travesty on common justice."

The Lust committee---the precurser of the Dies committee called young Randolph---the most dangerous Negro in America. The Messenger was banned from the mails. Randolph took to the streets.

During the twenties, as white America returned to normalcy, and Marcus Garvey preached return to Africa to black America, k A. Philip Randolph, then in his thirties, had a kind of eminence,but as one writer put it---it was a lonely eminence.

Randolph began a drive to organize 10,000 sleeping car porters on August 26th,1926. That set off some of the choicest invective against him. The railroads called him: A Bolshevik,free love advocate." One of his opponents said he was--- "a wild eyed uppity Negro hustler who never made up a Pullman berth in his Life." In 1937---after a 12 year fit the railroads gave in---and signed a contract with Randolph's Brotherhood of sleeping car Porters. He was 48, and if that is all he had accomplished,it would have been a lot.

In 1941, Randolph scheduled a March on Washington to secure jobs for Negroes in defense plants.

The President tried to dissuade Randolph from carrying the march through. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor Fibrella LaGuardia were dispatched to try to talk him out of the March. No gx deal. FDR called him [illegible] to the White House---turned on the charm. No deal. Finally---Roosevelt--beaten---drafted the Fair Employment Practices Committee executive order. Randolph sent it back. Not tough enough! X Roosevelt submitted, and on June 25,1941,signed an effective the FEPC executive order.

Randolph was rather given to disputes with Senators and Presidents. He read Harry Truman out about Jim Crow in the xxx armed services. Truman got furious with him. Randolph took to the street. He is at the left outside the convention hall in Philadelphia,1948. Shortly after that convention, Truman in executive order--9981---abolished xg segregation in the U.S. Armed forces.

This is A. Philip Randolph in 1947 after he and Senator Ellender of Louisiana had

battled in a senate hearing over Ellender's refusal,

refusal to call Randolph Mister.

For almost the last twenty years, Randolph has been sought out as a---civil rights leader. This is a 1958 White House meeting--Eisenhower, Randolph, William King, Rogers, the attorney general.

In the Kennedy years, he was called to the white house a number of times---including the capstone of his great career---the 1963 March on Washington. John F. Kennedy received leaders of the March, August 28, 1963 in the late afternoon.

Lyndon B. Johnson awarded him the Medal of Freedom---the highest award for civilians---in 1964.

Today---at 80---with a lot of projects still going---Mr. Randolph has run into that chief hazard that old radicals face----acceptance and affection.

If we may say so---many thanks, and many happy returns.

Clippings

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York,N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I thought I might send along this piece Newsfront asked me to do on the occasion of Mr. Randolph's 80th Birthday. It is a working script,and there are some deletions for time,otherwise I hope my respect for all those lonely years shines through it.

Milt

Milt Haynes
Newsfront
Channel 13

Cello. Randolph
(Thoughout)

①

It must be delightful to have survived fourscore years---as A. Philip Randolph has---- as a man considered for most of these years---a dangerous man.

~~Inthisxfirstxworld~~

Mr. Randolph was born eighty years ago today in Crescent City Florida. His father was a circuit riding preacher for the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He came north when he was in his early teens. He got a job as a hallboy in an apartment house ~~at 80th Street and Columbus Avenue. He remembered A. Randolph swept here in the hall.~~

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2

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BUT In 1941, Randolph scheduled a March on Washington to secure jobs for Negroes in defense plants.

Pix: Randolph + Roosevelt

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OFF: Pix

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Pix: Convention

Pro: Pix: Randolph (Head)

This is A. Philip Randolph in 1947 after he and Senator Ellender of Louisiana had

battled in a senate hearing over Ellender's refusal

refusal to [redacted] Randolph Mister.

TO: PIX: Randolph + Ike

For almost the last twenty years, Randolph has been sought out as a---civil rights leader. This is a 1958 White House meeting--Eisenhower, Randolph, William [redacted]. Rogers, [redacted] the attorney general.

TO: PIX: March

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TO: PIX: Randolph + JFK

John F. Kennedy received leaders of the March, August 28, 1963 in the late afternoon.

TO: PIX: LBJ + Randolph

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OFF: PIX

Today---at 80---with a lot of projects still going---Mr. Randolph has run into k that chief hazard that old radicals face---acceptance and affection.

If we may say so---many thanks, and many happy returns.

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
12TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

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BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11216
(212) 587-3500

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Congressional Material

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON INSURANCE

MISS TRAVIS CAIN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

MR. WESLEY McD. HOLDER
DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE

May 2, 1969

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Bayard:

Enclosed is a copy of the testimonial statement which I intend to put into the Congressional Record on Monday, May 5.

As soon as I get a copy of the Record, I will send it along to Mr. Randolph.

Cordially yours,

Shirley Chisholm

Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman

SC:pb

Enclosure

REPRESENTATIVE SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
For insertion into Congressional Record, May 5, 1969

Mr. Speaker,

Tomorrow night at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City there will be a testimonial dinner to mark the 80th birthday of one of the greatest living Americans, A. Philip Randolph. When the history books are rewritten to give black citizens their due share of the credit for building our nation, Mr. Randolph's stature will become more widely known.

Even now it is impossible for the most biased historian to deny him his page in the history of the labor movement, for his monumental achievement in creating and winning recognition for his union in the face of unwavering, bitter opposition from the railroads and from the railroad brotherhoods.

But how many high school history students realize that when President Harry Truman is given credit for ordering desegregation of the armed services, or Franklin D. Roosevelt for setting up the Fair Employment Practices Commission during World War II, that these are really A. Philip Randolph's achievements? Without the moral pressure that A. Phillip Randolph exerted by warning Truman that black Americans would not register to be drafted into a Jim Crow army, and by threatening Roosevelt with a march on Washington to secure a fair share of wartime employment for blacks, it is not likely that either of these milestones in the civil rights struggle would have been reached.

Future historians will, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, ensure that A. Philip Randolph will be remembered as one of the great men of his time, and pay him his just tribute for the role he has played in trying to make this nation, become, someday, truly the land of the free.

UPI Roto Service

STILL FIGHTING AT 80
(Set of Six)

In union circles he is known as "Mr. Black Labor," but to a wider audience A. Philip Randolph is representative of the great Negro leaders who have been battling for civil rights for the past half century.

Randolph is still in the fight as he turns 80 (on April 15), busily involved with the institute that bears his name, which has, in just three years, become a vital force in the nation's continuing struggle for freedom and justice.

The A. Philip Randolph story reads like a chronicle of the fight for human rights in the 20th century.

The son of an itinerant preacher, Randolph was born in 1889 in a rural town near Jacksonville, Fla. By the time he was 21, he joined the Socialist Party, which he saw as the most progressive political organization in America. At this point he was in New York, working during the day and studying journalism and economics at night at City College.

As a Socialist Party member, the young student learned one tenet that has guided him throughout his work: that the poor of all races are united by their economic deprivation.

In 1917, Randolph founded The Messenger, which boasted to be "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by and for Negroes."

A lone voice to some 20,000 readers, The Messenger was a spokesman for minimum wage laws, universal suffrage, the eradication of racial discrimination, the right of unions to bargain collectively and other such, for that time, pioneering programs.

In 1925, Randolph became the leader of the campaign to organize the predominantly Negro sleeping car porters -- a venture that was to make possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. For ten years he battled the railroad companies, and finally, in 1935, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining rights. Within a few short years, porters had quadrupled their income. Never a pullman porter himself, Randolph nevertheless became the union's first president.

On two separate occasions, Randolph planned to press demands for racial justice by leading a massive march on Washington. In 1941, he agreed to call off the demonstration only after President Roosevelt established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. For the first time in history, Negroes had achieved a victory through the concerted power of their own numbers.

It was twenty-two years later that the march on Washington actually did take place. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964 pending before Congress, Randolph, at 75 years, once again issued a call for Americzn Negroes, liberals, and unionists to march on the nation's capital. The 200,000 civil rights partisans --black and white--came from every corner of the country -- on foot, car, bus, truck, train and plane.-- and participated peacefully in the now historic march.

When the AFL and the CIO merged in 1955, Randolph became a vice-president of the new organization. He was decisive in fashioning the AFL-CIO's civil rights stand, and in the passage by the federation of resolutions opposing discrimination in the trade union movement.

These United Press International photos trace the career of A. Philip Randolph.

CREDIT (UPI PHOTO) 4/12/69 (SR)

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

August 8,1963

Dear Phil:

Enclosed is a biographical sketch of you which the Voice of America will broadcast on or before August 28th. This will be the third time I have told the world what a great guy you are. And I mean every word of it. I count myself among the "host" I speak of in this script who values your friendship very highly.

If I have made any mistakes in this brief biography, please correct them. And if you can manage to find ten minutes before the march on Washington to make a tape recording of the quotes I have used, that will be greatly appreciated. I will send an engineer with a recorder to your office either in New York or in Washington at any time convenient to you.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the AFL-CIO in Washington in case you are too busy to get to New York.

Sincerely,

Liston

Liston M. Oak
Labor and Economics Editor
Voice of America

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR ANALYSIS #
LISTON M. OAK

A.PHILIP RANDOLPH, NEGRO LABOR STATESMAN
(For use on or before Aug.28)

ANNCR: There will be a "march on Washington" on August 28th, to urge Congress to promptly pass the civil rights bill proposed by the Kennedy Administration. Over 100,000 persons, Negro and white, are expected to rally in front of the Lincoln Memorial, to exercize their right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. There will be delegates from all over America, from all sorts of organizations -- civil rights groups, labor unions, fraternal organizations, churches, and others. The labor delegation is expected to be the largest.

The initiator and director of this demonstration is A.Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. To give you a brief biographical sketch of this Negro labor statesman, here is VOA labor and economics editor, Liston M. Oak.

NARRATOR: In 1925 , when he was organizing the Sleeping Car Porters, Phil Randolph was called "The most dangerous Negro Socialist in America" by a Congressional investigating committee. Today he has a host of friends and admirers all over the world, from the poorest Negro to top-flight diplomats. He has been invited to the White House for consultation by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. In 1948 he persuaded President Truman to issue an executive order banning racial segregation in the armed forces of the United States. He is a vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is the father of the Fair Employment Practices Commission concept, which forbids racial discrimination in hiring. He is president of the Negro American Labor Council, which has led the fight to abolish the remnants of discrimination in the ranks of labor.

Always militant and uncompromising in his leadership of the struggle for full equality, Mr. Randolph has been called recently an "Uncle Tom" by certain Negro extremists. That is because he believes in the tactics of Mohandas Gandhi which won independence for India. He is a moderate, who advocates peaceful progress through reform, not through violent revolution. But he is impatient with the slowness of integration -- he demands equality now, not in the distant future. He says "We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go before we reach the goal of full equality."

(OPT) A tall, austere man of massive dignity and magisterial mein, Asa Philip Randolph was born in Florida in 1889, the son of a circuit-riding Methodist minister, who was also a tailor. His early ambition was to be an actor and singer, but his strict, puritanical parents would not hear of it. He went to New York as a youth, and worked his way through college as an elevator operator, dishwasher and waiter. He partly fulfilled his early dreams by organizing an amateur threatrical group and playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo. He is one of the most eloquent orators in the AFL-CIO, and often quotes Shakespeare to prove a point, in his deep bass voice. His stage presence is impressive. When he mounts the rostrum to speak at a noisy convention, silence descends upon the audience. (END OPT)

In 1925 six Negro employees on sleeping cars visited Randolph to ask him to help them organize a union. He was then editor of a Socialist magazine entitled THE MESSENGER. He agreed, and his wife quit her beauty parlor to help him. It took ten years of hard work to get Negro employees of railroads added to the list of those whose rights are protected by law. And it was not until 1937 that his union signed a contract raising a porter's wages from $67.50 a month to $80.50. Today the average is $410 a month and working hours have been cut from 366 to 205. The union is now threatening to strike if

wages are not again raised and hours shortened, and fringe benefits improved. At the request of President Kennedy, the strike has been postponed and collective bargaining resumed.

Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, once sent greetings to a convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He said:

VOICE: "Your union has made a name for itself as one of the most respected and forward-looking unions in America. It has contributed to the welfare not only of its members but of all Americans. I agree with A. Philip Randolph that 'the struggle for civil rights by Negroes is tied up with the struggle of labor for its rights. They must go together.' I will always work ceaselessly for these rights which you have done so much to advance."

NARR: (OPT)Former President Eisenhower also sent a message congratulating Mr. Randolph for his contribution "to the progress toward making available to all our people equal job opportunities and full enjoyment of the rights of American citizens." Ralph Bunche, American Negro diplomat, is another of a host of friends who praise Phil Randolph as a labor statesman who has advanced the cause of equality and social justice. (END OPT)

Mr. Randolph told the delegates to the last convention of his union that:

VOICE: "Aside from the tremendous accomplishments of the Brotherhood in winning economic gains and job security, the union gave the Negro a sense of self-respect and a sense of belonging to the great family of organized labor. The AFL-CIO has brought black and white workers together and made them aware of their common goals and their common enemies. Among our enemies are the Communists who seek to exploit the faults of our democracy and particularly the grievances of Negroes in the Kremlin's conspiracy against all democracy."

NARR: The march on Washington which will take place on August 28th will not be the first such march in the cause of freedom that Mr. Randolph has organized. In 1942 he was given the coveted Spingarn Award, honoring him for his crusade for the rights of Negroes, part of which was a march on Washington of fifty thousand advocates of equality.

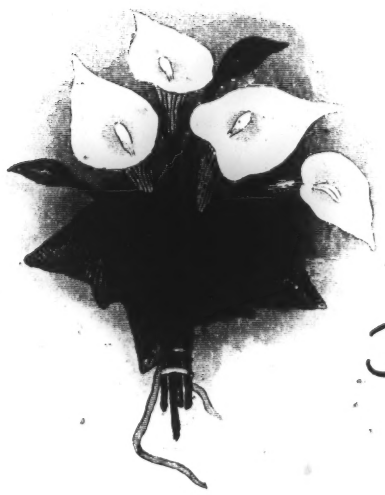
(OPT) When the Communists invaded South Korea in 1950, Mr. Randolph urged all dark-skinned peoples to support United Nations policy, pointing out the stakes they have in defeating Communist imperialism. A life-long opponent of colonialism, he has declared:=

VOICE: "Since the end of World War Two, six hundred million people in former colonies have won their independence. In the same period, more than that number have fallen victims to the worst form of colonialism in history -- Communist colonialism." (END OPT)

NARR: As a militant idealist, he recognizes the great progress that Negroes have made, but he is intolerant of complacency and of half-measures. He asserts:

VOICE: "As long as there is a single employer who practices discrimination, or a single segregated local union, or a single school that segregates Negroes, or a single colony under foreign oppression, the fight is not finished. Every last vestige of racial discrimination and colonialism must be uprooted. The remedy is not Communism, but a more perfect democracy. Our objective is full and complete equality and freedom in every crevice of political, economic and social life. We will not rest until we have reached that goal."

NARR: One final quotation. Randolph once said that "The best thing that ever happened to me was that my grandfather was brought over from Africa to America as a slave."



In Memoriam

With the sympathy of

Boston College Alumni Association

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for

A. Philip Randolph, MD.

Rev. Francis B. McManus, S.J.

Boston College
Alumni Association
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
Member Audit Bureau of Circulations

2340 EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027
TELEPHONE ACADEMY 2-7800

Bayard:

Keep me informed on progress.

Must h u r r y!

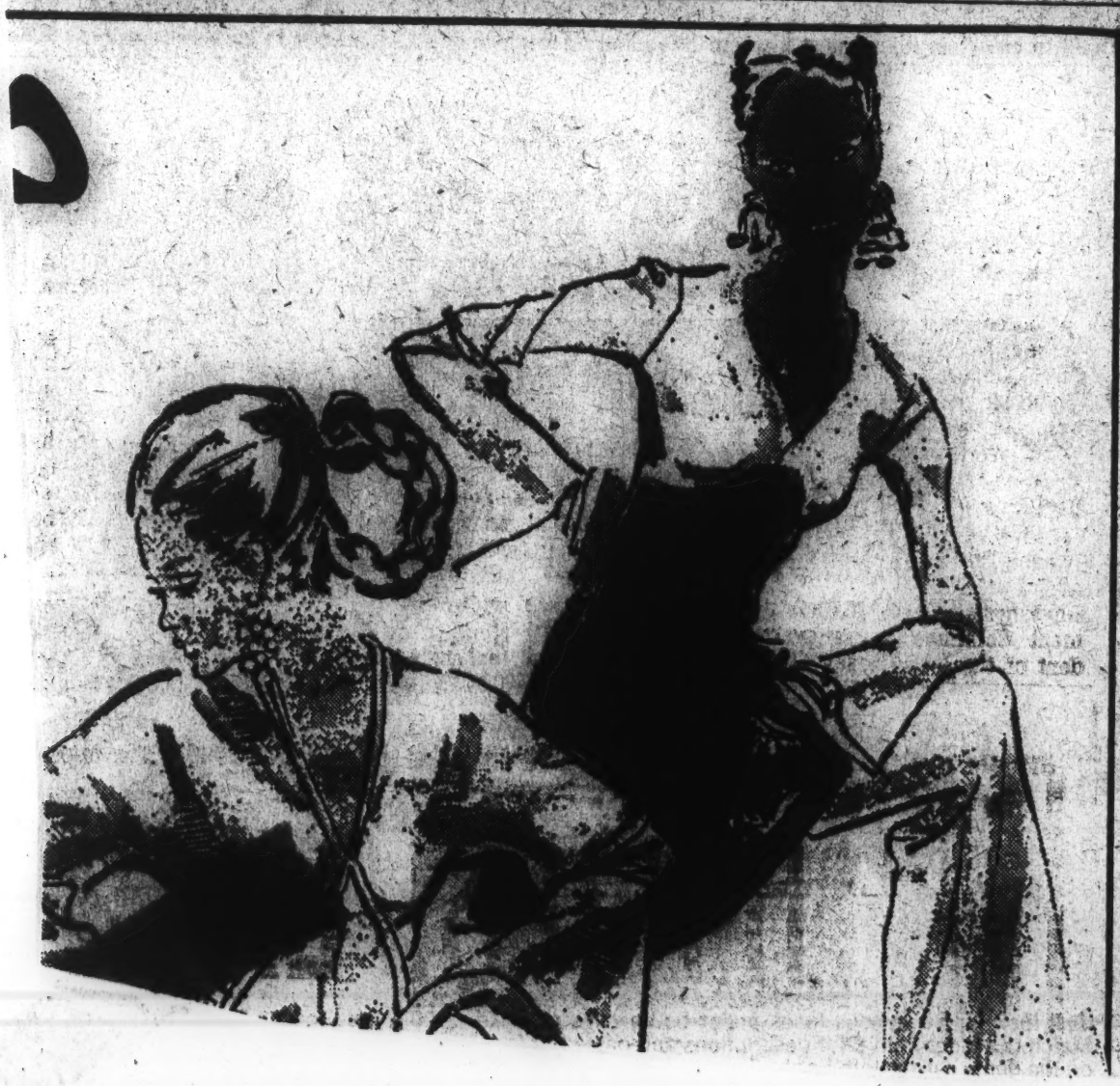
Cathy

Cathy

Marshall, Meany Lead Salute To A. Philip Randolph Here

An A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, president, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader, it was announced by Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Highlighting the tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 [illegible] Waldorf Astoria. Other ev[illegible] are planned as well. Goal [illegible] the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.



Sponsors of the birthday tribute, for which Justice Marshall and Meany are chairmen, include national labor leaders, industrialists, educators, clergy of all faiths, and political leaders including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey.

Honorary Chairmen of the Birthday Committee are Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; C. E. Dellums, president, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters; Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Bayard Rustin; Whitney Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president, emeritus, Morehouse College, will serve as Treasurer.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Rustin recounted Randolph's achievements as "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to [illegible]ation through peace[illegible]," Rustin stated, [illegible] has [illegible] violence in any [illegible] against segregation [illegible] reason."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
(By William Pickens for ANP)

If anybody who ever received any medal of honor, ever deserved it, A. Philip Randolph does. As a social thinker and worker he has held fast to his course for many years, to more than 20 within the writer's knowledge. He has done so with steadfastness and brilliancy--with more steadfastness than birlliancy, for many of the men who were brilliant and associated with him in the earlier days, have fallen by the wayside or gone into less stronuous fields of endeavor. As a "Socialist", and therefore not so acceptable to the old-timers of 15 and 20 years ago, Randolph has paid whatever sacrifice and cost his opinions and his politics demanded, -- and has kept right on.

When he started to organize the porters, some of us wished him success but few believed that he would have complete success with it. Many were hostile--even most of the porters themselves. Some of the rest of us tried to help by giving Randolph a lift where he could not get a good hearing for himself. The porters, many of them, were afraid that their corporation would kill the proposed organization and really push its members off the job. There was some threat of this. Randolph and a few of them went right on.

Finally the organization got recognition and charter from the Af of L, and finally again came the New Deal and the depression, and now nearly all of the porters praise the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and about all of them belong to it.

But there is greater praises yet for Randolph as an American patriot: his hard sense on our international problems has always i pressed me. He is an American, and he knows that the best interests of American Negroes lie in and with America,--that the United States is the American Negro's country. And he has sense enough to know that one does not have to condonce lynching, segregation by race, or exclusion from a fair share in public work programs, simply because one recognizes the FACT that the Negro's only course in the United States is to be a loyal American citizen.. Randolph, although an honest and ardent Socialist as a young agitator, has never been wrong to my knowledge on this point. Many of his associates have fallen down as citizens and patriots, but never Randolph. Sometimes people have felt shaky about him, because he did not seem to discover early enough the real quality and character of some of his associates, but he has always come out right in the end, -- so far.

Medals are often not deserved, but this Spingarn medal to Randolph, and especially the HONOR which goes with it, and which would attach to his record even without it, is DESERVED.

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~~The Lonesome Road~~

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

From:
Men Who Lead Labor
by Bruce Minton and
John Stuart

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

Negro Labor's Champion

Late in the evening, during the closing session of the 1935 American Federation of Labor convention in Atlantic City, a delegate from Seattle proposed that the meeting be hurried to an end. "I offer an amendment," he cried, "that we continue in session until midnight in an effort to finish the business of the convention, and at that time any unfinished business be referred to the Executive Council."

A second delegate objected. "I rise to oppose the motion, "he remarked in a firm, deliberate voice, "because the Sleeping Car Porters are interested in the report by the Executive Council on the matter of discrimination against Negroes. This report has been so handled as to delay its presentation at this convention until the time when it will not be possible to have a full discussion. I think that that smacks of a very questionable procedure..."

The Negro delegate's calm tone contrasted with his challenging words and perceptible bitterness. President Green blinked, pressed his lips together, and sighed. It would hardly look well if he refused to let the delegate have his say. Rapping resignedly with the gavel, he recognized A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and then eased himself into a chair.

At forty-six, A. Philip Randolph was accustomed to demanding the floor to address hostile or apathetic audiences. He had devoted his life to the struggle against racial discrimination, to the resistance of prejudice so frequently condoned by the simple expedient of not mentioning its existence. As he stood, tall and commanding, before the

convention, Randolph's sensitive dignity exacted attention. "Why should a Negro worker be penalized for being black?" he demanded. "Why should anybody be penalized for something over which he has no control?... We are living in a time when there should be no division of race, religion, creed or nationality."

At the preceding A. F. of L. convention, Randolph reminded the delegates, President Green had appointed a special committee of five to investigate discrimination against Negroes in the unions. This committee had held hearings, had presented a report which four of the five had signed. Yet the executive council had suppressed the report. Was it because the special committee recommended that all international unions barring Negroes from membership or discriminating against them in any way should immediately be ordered to harmonize their constitutions and practices with the "oft-repeated declaration of A. F. of L. conventions on equality of all races within the trade union movement?" Was it because the report advocated that union charters issued by the executive council should be in conformity with the Federation's declared policy against Negro isolation? Was it because the committee urged an intensive educational drive by the A. F. of L. on the Negro problem? "The American Federation will not be able to hold its head up and face the world," Randolph insisted, "so long as it permits any section of workers in America to be discriminated against because they happen to be black."

When Randolph concluded, William Green fluttered back to the rostrum. Someone was always raising uncomfortable issues. Clearing his throat, Green restated the problem. "Has the American Federation of Labor the authority to say to an autonomous international union how it shall draft its laws?" he queried. His counsel to those organizations which did not admit colored workers--"if they would accept my advice"--was to remove the bar, for "I believe we ought to make provision for the admission of these members.

"But, he added hurriedly, that is neither here nor there." What the delegates must answer, Green explained, was "Do we give national and international unions autonomous rights? Can we suspend the charter of the international union because it does not provide for the admission of colored members? Can we do that? Would you be willing to order that to be done? Are you ready to do that?" Earnestly, William Green catechized the gathering. "There is the issue, he concluded, there are the facts presented to you in the fairest possible way that I can present them without prejudice—just the facts as they are for your consideration."

The convention upheld the democratic right of affiliated unions to ban Negroes from membership, just as southern senators preserved states' rights by voting down national anti-lynching legislation. The delegates rejected the special committee's three recommendations outlined by Randolph, perhaps because they recalled that more than ten A. F. of L. unions prohibited the admission of Negroes, and that a host of other affiliates excluded them in practice.

Indignantly John Brophy of the United Mine Workers, who had signed the rejected report, resigned from the special committee. "The manoeuvering on the part of the Executive Council plainly indicated, protested Brophy, that the council considered the committee...merely a face-saving device for the American Federation of Labor, rather than an honest attempt to find a solution of the Negro problem in the American labor movement."

The convention's rebuff neither surprised nor discouraged Randolph. It was an old story, this tale of race prejudice. He had never been content merely to plead or to protest or to attempt to reason with stubborn, often bigoted, opponents. The active struggle must continue toward the goal of eventual liberation for the Negro. This road to freedom, Randolph contended, was the same for the black workers as for the white—a steep, painful path

that commenced in organization. The way merely proved a little more difficult for the Negro, a little more tortuous.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH, son of a Southern minister, was born on April 15, 1889 at Crescent City, Florida. Young Philip liked to read; he sensed that education was of vital importance to him. But it was not easy for the son of a poor Negro clergyman to obtain schooling. His father preached in the African Methodist Church, serving three or more parishes, with members invariably the poorest Negroes. In consequence, the salary of a minister failed to support a wife and two children. There was always the pressing need for the other members of the family to supplement the elder Randolph's miserable stipend. The family ran a small cleaning, dyeing, and tailoring shop in which all worked when no other jobs were obtainable. As a child, Philip also picked up odd jobs—his first earnings coming from a white grocer. Each day after school, Philip hurried to the man's home, called for the owner's meal and brought it to the store. Soon afterward, Philip became a clerk in a grocery shop. When he grew older and stronger, he obtained work as a section hand on a railroad, digging and shoveling dirt, loading flat-cars with sand, laying cross ties and rails. He drove a delivery wagon for a large chemical and drug company, worked for fertilizer and trucking concerns, and supplemented his earnings by selling newspapers and helping out at the little family shop.

When he had completed his high school course at the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Philip travelled North. He took courses at the College of the City of New York, concentrating on political science, economics and philosophy. But always the problem of earning enough to eat interfered with his studies. He decided to try a waiter's job on a ship run by the Fall River Line; he was fired for organizing a protest against the miserable living quarters that the workers had nicknamed the "Glory Hole." He became a waiter

in a Jersey City railroad restaurant, an elevator operator--any job he could land. No work paid well; only "Negro" jobs were open to Philip--heavy, menial, dirty, or irksome work. Book learning, intelligence, ambition did not overcome the handicap of a black skin.

For over five years, Philip Randolph worked as a porter for the Consolidated Edison Company of New York City. Throughout all this period, he snatched any spare time for studying. Like most Negro intellectuals, he was primarily concerned with the problems of intolerance and discrimination that submerged his people. Yet Randolph had no patience with the collaborationist policy advocated by Negro reactionaries or with the extreme nationalist policy pursued by "leftists." The reactionaries preached a cringing acceptance of the white ruling class, a fawning "good nigger" sycopancy. Seizing with servile gratitude any favor carelessly bestowed by the whites, the Negro collaborationists decried all rebellion, all struggle against oppression. On the other hand, the "left wingers" advised repudiation of white standards, sneering at racial equality, and called instead for a thorough-going black nationalism.

Young Randolph was impatient of either view. In his eyes, discrimination stemmed from the economic abuses of capitalism. Demanding unconditional social, political, and economic equality for the Negro people, Randolph joined Socialists who sought the same end. This they believed could be achieved only as the exploitation of the profit system was limited, preluding the eventual abolition of capitalism. The roots of the struggle rested in the working class, black and white. When workers overcame prejudices which permitted the exploiters to pit one working class group against another, when all workers united for their common good, equality would result as a matter of course.

"We do not accept the doctrine of old, reactionary Negroes that the Negro is satisfied to be by himself(Randolph wrote). We desire as

much contact and intercourse--social, economic and political--as is possible between the races. This is not because of our belief in the inferiority or superiority of either race, but because of our recognition that the principle of social equality is the only sure guarantee of social progress..."

Randolph married in 1915. Two years later, with America's declaration of war, he and a close friend, Chandler Owen, launched The Messenger, a monthly magazine. The Lusk Committee later declared it "by far the most dangerous of all Negro publications." True, the editors adopted the subtitle, "The only radical Negro magazine in America." True, they argued that since the war was supposedly waged to save world democracy, such rescue work should commence at home. Since Negroes were of critical importance in mass-production industries and in the army, they should take full advantage of their position to force the government to correct the worst abuses suffered by the Negro people, even if this meant strikes and resistance to the draft.

The magazine's influence was indicated when in 1917 over twenty-five percent of the Negro voters in a New York election supported the Socialist ticket. Moreover, the editors of the Messenger disdained sugarcoated words:

> "Civil liberty in the United States is dead...(they asserted) Civil liberty for the Negro, however, was dead even before the War, killed by the combination of a hypocritical North and an unregenerate South who colluded to sweep from the Negro his last vestige of liberty. We repudiate and condemn any pretense at opposition to Jim Crowism, segregation and all forms of discrimination which does not accept the principle of social equality, since it is upon the fallacious theory of inequality and racial inferiority that all these evils are established and continued..."

Randolph's forthright stand led to his arrest in Cleveland in June, 1918 by the same Department of Justice agent who had seized Eugene V. Debs a few days before on a similar charge of obstructing the draft. But Randolph, unlike Debs who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for violation of the Espionage Act, was released after a few days in the city jail. His attacks on the war continued. And when the war ended, when business patriotism burned to a savage,

Red-baiting fever, it was natural that the flag wavers branded Owen and Randolph "Bolsheviki."

They answered:

> "If approval of the right to vote, based upon service instead of race and color is Bolshevism, count us as Bolshevists. If our approval of the abolition of pogroms by the Bolsheviki is Bolshevism, stamp us again with that epithet. If the demand for political and social equality is Bolshevism, label us once more..."

Despite efforts to intimidate the editors, despite financial difficulties which occasionally forced temporary suspension of publication, The Messenger pursued its militant policy. And Randolph, aside from his duties as joint editor, found time to write articles for other publications in which he decried the willingness of Negroes to back the Republican Party; or exposed the hypocrisy of the church hierarchy whose aim it was to discourage the Negro people in their fight for advancement; or urged Negro workers to enter trade unions wherever possible, and to participate in the activities of progressive movements. Both Randolph and Owen became instructors at the Rand School of Social Science in New York. Randolph likewise lectured to labor, radical and liberal schools and forums. In 1921, he ran as the Socialist candidate for New York Secretary of State, at other times for the Assembly and Congress. The masthead of The Messenger now read, "A Journal of Scientific Radicalism."

More and more Randolph devoted his energy to the labor movement. In 1917, he had organized a union of elevator operators and starters, the first in New York City, which later disintegrated despite the federal charter issued by the A. F. of L. Also during the war, the young Socialist attempted to organize shipyard workers in the tidewater district of Virginia, but the shipping interests proved too strong and the ruthless intimidation of Negro workers along with the opposition of Negro reactionaries prevented unionization. Randolph, however, refused to be discouraged. He participated in the post-war organizational campaigns that were launched among laundry workers, motion picture operators, and in the building and garment industries. As he familiarized himself with

labor problems, he became convinced that industrial unionism must replace craft organization, since outmoded and unrealistic craft methods impeded labor's progress. He reiterated one idea, which he was still stressing in 1937: "The Negro should organize himself, because with organization he will be better able to break down the barriers and prejudices of white workers against him than he will without it..."

But until 1925, A. Philip Randolph remained, even in his own estimation, a writer and an editor rather than a labor organizer. Then in August of that year he and a small group of men met in a Harlem recreation hall to outline a campaign to unionize sleeping car porters. All present except Randolph worked for the Pullman Company. Nevertheless, Randolph had studied the problems of the Company and the porters, had talked to scores of them so that he thoroughly understood their needs. The men who gathered in the bare hall that hot August day had confidence in Randolph's ability and admired the hard, consistent fight of the thirty-six year old editor for labor unity and freedom. They elected Philip Randolph president and general organizer of the union which as yet existed only on paper.

Not long afterward the masthead of The Messenger changed again. Now reading "The official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters", the masthead also declared that

> "The Messenger is the recognized mouthpiece of the most advanced section of the Negro group in the United States. For ten years it has spoken intelligently and eloquently in behalf of organization of labor, white as well as black, believing as it does that the question of wages, hours of work, safeguards on the job and proper representation of the worker, are the most important problems confronting the majority of men and women, black as well as white, in the United States..."

Philip Randolph, like Heywood Broun, was a new type of labor leader, one of the "intellectuals" that Gompers warned against and had so thoroughly despised. Confronted by the same difficulties that all labor organizers must solve before they could unionize workers dominated by a company union, Randolph was further handicapped by the many other problems peculiar to Negroes.

The task of organizing an oppressed minority demanded courage and resourcefulness, patience and tenacity. Randolph and the small group who worked with him managed finally to crack the barriers. They accomplished the "impossible" when they succeeded in unionizing the Negro porters and in compelling the Pullman Company to recognize the organization. And they forced the apathetic A. F. of L. executive council to grant the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters an international charter--the first awarded to an all-Negro union in the forty-seven years of A. F. of L. history.

PULLMAN PORTERS had attempted to organize on at least four occasions before Philip Randolph undertook to build the Brotherhood. In 1915, a few adventurous porters talked union: they were hastily and unceremoniously dismissed by the Pullman Company. During the war, when the struggle for unionism surged ahead, the porters again considered organization, but their efforts were shortlived. By 1920, low pay, interminable working hours, and other abuses prompted the porters and maids to present their grievances to the National Railway Administration. Secretary William G. McAdoo explained that the Administration was powerless to help them and advised organization--a convenient way to dismiss a highly unpleasant problem, since McAdoo was positive that no union of Negro workers could possibly succeed. But the restiveness of the porters caused several A. F. of L. and railway brotherhoods to seek jurisdiction over them. The porters rebuffed such overtures, distrusting the unions, certain that once enrolled, Negroes would be segregated into black auxiliaries where they could exercise the privilege of paying dues without being permitted a voice in the conduct of the union. The Pullman Company, however, realized that porters left to their own devices would eventually obtain genuine organization. Accordingly, the management formed the employee representation plan, known as the Pullman Porters Benefit Association, which generously offered colored employees very small sick and death benefits in return for dues payments of $26 a year.

The porters entered the employee representation plan willingly enough. "They innocently accepted it as a declaration of justice by the Pullman Company for the porters and maids," Randolph commented, "unable to realize that an organization which is handed down by the boss to wage earners is for the benefit of the boss and not the wage earner." Besides the company union made much of elaborate machinery set up to handle grievances. In practice the "impartial" Industrial Relations Bureau, as the grievance committee was named, failed to encourage workers to press complaints. A porter who trustingly used the Bureau to air his grievances against the corporation discovered that he was looked upon with suspicion and almost certain to experience retaliation. As a result, most sleeping car employees shunned the Bureau, which only went to prove the company's contention that porters and maids were delighted with their conditions, wages, and hours. The Pullman Company's happy family of Negro workers continued to buy insurance which often they did not want, and meanwhile chafed at the low pay, and carefully concealed their resentment against company spies and stoolpigeons who rode every train and whose duty it was to report "trouble-makers" and union "agitators."

Hours of work on the Pullman cars stretched out interminably--300 to 400 hours a month. Exposed to patronizing humiliations and miserable working conditions, porters were also menaced by the threat of discharge for the slightest infraction of company rules. Wages approximated $100 a month: the Company paid $77.50 from which was deducted average monthly expenses of $33: tips averaged $54 a month (before the depression, less than half that amount since 1931). Porters received less pay for overtime than for straight work. They were required to buy their own uniforms, shoe polish, incidentals; they paid for their own meals in the dining cars and (since porters depended on tips for a large proportion of their earnings, they tipped the waiters as much as their own meager incomes would permit.) Usually married, with a family to

support at the home end of the run, porters had double living expenses since they had to provide themselves with board and lodging at the far end.

The weakness of all early attempts to organize Pullman employees rested in the inability of organizers to talk unionism and still retain their jobs. When in 1925, Philip Randolph led the campaign to build the Brotherhood, he had the advantage of not being dependent on the Pullman Company: no matter how bitter the struggle to enroll porters in the union became, the Company lacked means of intimidating or "disciplining" Randolph. Most of the other officers of the new union, though they had served many years as porters, no longer remained in the Company's employ. Like Randolph, Ashley L. Totten, secretary of the Brotherhood, often went without salary from the union when the struggle was most intense and funds were exhausted, moving from one back room in a Harlem tenement to another, devoting all his energy to the never-ending task of building the union. M. P. Webster, porter for eighteen years, pushed the fight with and without a job and later became vice president in Chicago. Bennie Smith, who lost his position because he refused to sign the employee representation plan promoted by the Company, acted as vice president in Omaha. C. L. Dellums agitated for the union in Oakland, California, and along the Pacific Coast, and in later years was unanimously reelected to union office in tribute to his success in recruiting the highest proportion of dues-paying members. E. J. Bradley, another vice president of the union and a former porter, put up with extreme poverty rather than abandon the campaign he believed in so firmly.

This handful of men, scattered over America, slowly laid the foundation of the union. Many porters feared for their jobs; others signed up but kept their membership secret and refused to discuss union problems with fellow employees. The general attitude was skeptical: "If it succeeds, we are with it; if it doesn't, we are agin it."

Yet intimidation, the systematic discharge of any porter suspected of union sympathies (over 500 were dismissed for union activity during the

Brotherhood's first ten years), espionage and provocation from company union officials, failed to halt the union's expansion. Randolph in vain sought help from the Railroad Labor Board. The reactionary elements of the Negro clergy attacked him as a Socialist and radical, and slandered the Brotherhood. Negro leaders were reimbursed by the Company for their denunciations of the union. Negro newspapers received monetary assistance from the Pullman Company for carrying anti-labor news, and thousands of copies of articles hostile to the Brotherhood were distributed free to the porters. Judge Woodward of Chicago denied an application by the Brotherhood for an injunction against the employee representation plan under the Railway Act of 1926 on the grounds that the Pullman Benefit Association was not company controlled. The Interstate Commerce Commission refused Randolph's demand that tipping be investigated under the Interstate Commerce Act. Still the Brotherhood grew.

Throughout the discouraging first years, Randolph and the small group of devoted Brotherhood officers ignored reversals and rallied the membership to greater efforts. When the young Brotherhood began to organize, it was in the peculiar position of fighting a national carrier operating over every railroad in the country. Unlike other railway unions which fought for recognition and better conditions against one carrier at a time, the porters were forced to lock horns with the Pullman Company on all roads at once. If the union gained recruits in one locality or on one carrier, the Pullman Company fought them in another, weaker section, sapping the strength of the Brotherhood.

By 1928, the Brotherhood, with over half the porters and maids organized, was ready to threaten strike if the corporation refused to negotiate. Of course, William Green "advised" against it; the union did not dare as yet defy the executive council and therefore canceled the strike. Moreover, the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors looked suspiciously on every move the Brotherhood made. To counteract this distrust, Randolph brought forward the demand that porters performing conductors' work and employed by the Pullman Company must receive the

same wage as white Pullman conductors. Since the Company would enjoy no advantage in employing Negroes at the same wage as white workers, the demand reassured the Order that their fear of Negroes displacing them was baseless.

The Pullman Company, anxious to smash the porters' organization before it grew powerful, announced a wage increase and began to replace Negroes with Filipinos, hoping thereby to raise the race issue. The Brotherhood resisted firmly, but made clear, in Randolph's words, that "the Porters have absolutely no prejudice against Filipinos...The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would oppose the company's using other Negroes to keep porters now working in the service from organizing a union of their own or to break down the seniority rule such as the company is using the Filipinos for."

The management's master stroke came when it announced that it would look more favorably on the Brotherhood if the membership would remove Randolph, "a known Socialist," from office. The rank and file did not fall for the Red-baiting. Randolph answered the attack with characteristic directness:

> "Of course (he wrote) labor leaders are 'outsiders' and if they were not 'outsiders' they would be as soon as the capitalists learned their identity...When unable to break up a union, American capitalists invariably seek to eliminate the leader of the union. The claim that they will deal with the union after the leader is gone is only a smokescreen, an opiate...Union men reason quite correctly that wages, hours of work and conditions surrounding the workers on the job are the real point of issue and not who is leading the union."

Though the cancellation of the 1928 strike temporarily weakened the Brotherhood, it had become sufficiently important to compel the A. F. of L. executive council to recognize its claim for a charter. Refusing as yet to grant the porters an international charter because the Hotel and Restaurant Employees objected and demanded jurisdiction over sleeping-car workers, the council in 1929 issued federal charters to Brotherhood locals in several cities.

THE OPPOSITION experienced by the porters reflected the hostility Negroes had learned to expect from employers, from the majority of A. F. of L. unions, and

from all the independent railroad brotherhoods. By relegating Negroes to an inferior position, by stirring up race prejudice, the owning class assured itself an abundant supply of cheap labor. Once Negroes left the agricultural fields to enter industry, the employers utilized this vast army of unorganized workers, separated from the whites by false barriers of color, exactly as they had utilized immigrant labor a half century before--to undermine wage standards and to prevent labor unity. Similarly, the A. F. of L. officialdom's intolerance of foreign workers was transferred to Negroes with much the same result; disunity weakened labor's ranks and proved of inestimable value to the employers.

As the legacy of the Civil War, the Negro people had supposedly been granted freedom and equality. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments "liberated" the slaves, and "guaranteed" Negroes full rights as American citizens. But Negroes discovered that with Southern landowners and industrialists administering the laws, and with the courts interpreting--and incidentally perverting--legislation, little of the much vaunted freedom or fine sounding "guarantees" survived. Yet, in the early days enthusiasm for the new equality had not been quenched: in 1869, the National Colored Labor Convention met in Washington, D. C. and Sella Martin of Massachusetts told the eager delegates, "The interests of the laboring classes white and black on this continent are identical. We should work harmoniously together for the furtherance of the causes of labor." This wish failed to impress the only important labor organization then functioning in America, the National Labor Union. Founded in 1866 primarily as a skilled craft association the Union refused to alter its policy of Negro exclusion. Three years later, the shortlived National Labor Union collapsed and was replaced by the Knights of Labor. Theoretically, the Knights forbade discrimination; in practice many of the organization's local groups banned Negroes. However, the Knights did organize what was for that time a

creditable number of black industrial workers, largely because they feared, as a delegate stated at a Knight's convention, that "Negroes will take possession of the shops if we have not taken possession of the Negroes." The Knights' confused approach to labor problems precipitated the final crash that ended its brief career. The newly formed American Federation of Labor, struggling desperately for existence and concerned solely with protecting skilled workers, confined its activity almost exclusively to unionizing those districts and crafts where Negro labor was either non-existent or negligible. Since the A. F. of L. ignored unskilled workers, the clause in the Federation's constitution decrying discrimination had value merely as a righteous gesture.

The emptiness of this gesture was revealed in later years when Negroes commenced to filter into industrial centers. The A. F. of L. constitution did not deter affiliated unions from practicing rigid exclusion. By 1900, the Federation's discirmination could no longer be ignored. Samuel Gompers, adept at sidestepping embarrassing questions of policy, urged a compromise at the 1900 convention: the unions should encourage local unions and separate central bodies for Negroes--in plain words, Jim Crow the colored workers. The convention endorsed this proposal and matters rested there. Again in 1910, Gompers bridled at the suggestion that perhaps the Federation discriminated against Negroes. In a splendid burst of righteous bombast, Gompers proclaimed that "instead of reading the Negroes out of the labor movement, my contention and the contention of the American Federation of Labor is to try to bring them into the organized labor movement in our country.

These brave words salved the conscience of the executive council--and the problem was forgotten for a few more years. In 1916, 1917, 1918, the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. repetitiously resolved that Negroes should be organized but made very sure not to set up machinery to accomplish this end. Actually, the executive council feared to pique the majority of unions which

either specifically or by subterfuge kept Negroes from membership.

Of course, the largest proportion of colored workers was concentrated in the South where Negroes engaged in agricultural labor. But with the war, which stimulated industrial production and provided employment for great numbers of new workers; with the pauperization of the small tenant farmers following the war, Negro migration to the cities accelerated. The trek from farms and plantations brought 1,200,000 Negroes from the South to the North in the period from 1915 to 1928.

The war likewise enabled Negroes to enter industries hitherto closed to them. In addition, during the post-war unrest of 1919 to 1923, when strikes broke out in almost every industry, the formerly unwanted black workers found themselves eagerly accepted as strikebreakers. Labor agents painted glamorous pictures of quick wealth, of security and opportunity. Without knowledge of industrial relations, Negro workers responded to the slick salestalk of company agents, and took jobs abandoned by steel workers in 1919, by railway employees in 1922, and by countless other white strikers.

No matter where Negroes were employed, they received lower wages than the whites for the same job, and usually were limited to the hardest and dirtiest tasks. As an Indianapolis employer remarked, "Negroes get only the left-over jobs, the hard manual work." An advertisement in a New York newspaper typified the attitude of employers: "Wanted: Factory helpers; experienced only; white $24, colored $20." Those industries that employed both black and white distinguished between Negro work which was low paid, heavy, and unpleasant, and white work which was higher paid, relatively clean, and comfortable. In the South, Negro white-collar workers were unheard of except for the few employed by members of their own race. An article appearing in Opportunity, 1926, stated

> "There is probably not a Negro bookkeeper, stenographer, 'honest-to-goodness' clerk in the whole South employed other than by his own race; not a Negro supervisor in the Post Office, for however long the Negro may work in the Post Office and regardless of how efficient he may be, he does not get beyond the position of clerk; no street car conductors or motormen, telephone and

switchboard operators."

The exclusion also prevailed in the North. Illustrative of the attitude toward Negroes was the response to a colored applicant in Philadelphia who answered an advertisement offering employment as a clerk; "What do you suppose we'd want of a Negro?" With almost no opportunity for promotion, with little chance for training, Negroes became a reserve corps of unskilled and cheap labor, often misled into strikebreaking and always a threat to wage standards.

Certain industries, however, employed Negroes in large numbers. Railroad companies hired them during strikes and later retained a great proportion of them. Whereas in 1910, five Pittsburgh steel mills and iron foundries employed less than 100 Negroes, by 1923, twenty-three plants had engaged 17,000 black workers, and by 1925, 22 percent of all steel workers in the Pittsburgh district were Negroes. The proportion of Negroes in the building, packing, and steel industries increased from 3.2 percent in 1910 to 20.7 percent in 1920. Seventeen percent of all automobile workers before 1929 were Negroes, 10,000 working for the Ford Motor Company which hired Southern whites to act as supervisors. The 13,000,000 Negroes in America composed over one tenth of the population but accounted for one eighth of the workers employed in industry.

Despite the increased importance of Negroes in mass-production industries, the unions either ignored them or actively discriminated against them. The worst offenders were the independent railway unions which unanimously drew the color line, thereby barring 115,000 black workers, exclusive of the porters, from union participation. Railroad unions did not hesitate to approve contracts similar to the one signed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, which specified, according to testimony presented before a Congressional committee, "that 'at least fifty-one percent of the firemen of this line must be white' and the road agrees 'not to employ Negro firemen and in the future all vacancies will be filled by white firemen'."

The constitutions of at least twenty-two international and national unions, of which over half were affiliated with the A. F. of L., banned Negroes, Eleven of these unions had in 1935 a total membership of 436,200 workers in a field employing not less than 43,800 Negroes. In addition, a majority of the unions whose constitutions did not specifically forbid black workers from joining the union, openly discouraged Negro applicants by insisting on discriminatory initiation rituals. The electrical workers, for example, with a membership of 142,000, included only 334 Negroes though there were 13,000 colored electricians in the trade. Of the 6,000 Negro plasterers, about 100 belonged to the union. None of the 3,500 colored plumbers were organized. The carpenters and the molders relegated Negroes to separate locals and ruled that they be represented on joint boards or central labor bodies by whites.

At the carpenters' convention in 1936, Frank Duffy, secretary of the United Brotherhood and first vice president of the A. F. of L., denounced as "Communist" a resolution demanding "Equal rights for Negro workers in the carpenter trade." "We have always tried to organize Negro carpenters," Duffy orated. "Years ago we put a Negro organizer on the road." Yet the carpenters had enrolled only 1,572 of the 34,000 Negroes eligible.

Out of 9,000 Negro painters, 718 were accepted into the union. The glass workers objected to colored glass blowers in the industry on the ground that "the pipes on which glass is blown pass from one man's mouth to another." Blacksmiths formed Negro helpers' auxiliaries but forbade promotion of colored workers to blacksmith status, banned them from shops where white helpers were employed, and frequently signed contracts with employers specifying "none but white, English speaking helpers are to be employed."

Some union constitutions went even farther than drawing the color line. The wire weavers accepted only whites and Christians. The initiation fee for foreigners was set as $1,000. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen demanded that new members be white and "Believers in the existence of a Supreme Being."

The Masters, Mates and Pilots refused Negroes and specified that an applicant must be a "Firm believer in God the Creator of the Universe."

Those Negroes who did manage to join unions more often than not were penalized for their trouble. White members received preference of employment. Often Negro members of one local were unable to transfer because locals in other cities drew the color line. In Akron, for example, white bricklayers would not work with Negroes, though in New York the union accepted colored members. The Chicago local of the barbers' union employed a Negro organizer but in California, Negroes were discouraged from joining. In the South Atlantic and Gulf ports, Negroes organized into Jim Crow locals of the International Longshoremen's Association, found themselves assigned only the heaviest and dirtiest work for which they earned less than $200 a year. The Sheet Metal Workers allowed Negro members to work nine hours a day though the union limited other members to five hours, and also sanctioned a lower wage scale for colored metal workers than for white.

Only a few unions admitted Negroes freely. Outstanding were the United Mine Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, all of which strictly prohibited discrimination and actively organized Negroes into mixed locals. On the other hand, the hod carriers and longshoremen admitted colored members into mixed or separate locals according to the locality, while the cooks and waiters, hotel and restaurant, laundry, barber, textile, and musician unions permitted only Jim Crow locals. Too frequently, Negroes were organized to eliminate colored competition; once accepted by the union, Negroes found prejudice and discrimination, while the union refused to protect their jobs or their wage scales.

The policy of discrimination, the added fact that the A. F. of L. concentrated on organizing skilled workers in the North, though four-fifths of the Negroes were concentrated in the South and over three-quarters of the industrial workers were unskilled, accounted for the extremely low numbers of organized

Negroes. Excluding agricultural workers, one out of every ten workers was organized in 1929, but only one out of every fifty Negro workers was unionized. A survey conducted in 1927 by the National Urban League covering 1,500,000 organized workers reported that but 65,000 of this number were Negroes and 14,5000 of them were concentrated in Negro unions in New York City. The rest were distributed among longshoremen, hod carriers, musicians, garment workers, hotel and restaurant employees. In 1930, probably 100,000 colored workers had been organized: they were concentrated in the Northern industrial centers--14,000 in New York City, 13000 in Chicago, 2,000 in Detroit. Approximately 5,000 were members of the united Mine Workers, 3,000 had joined the musicians, 15,000 the longshoremen, 6,000 the needle trades unions, 8,000 the hod carriers and building workers, 1,000 the hotel and restaurant union. The remainder was distributed almost wholly among freight handlers, teamsters, drivers, asphalt and tobacco workers.

Not surprisingly, Negro workers eyed unions with suspicion. As a protest against the official labor movement, all-Negro unions appeared, particularly in the railroad industry. Of these, the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, founded in 1920 enlisted 2,700 members; the National Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees, established the same year, recruited another 1,100 workers for the most part on routes west of Chicago. The Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, formed in 1912, enrolled 3,000, attained a membership of 4,800. None of these organizations had great significance so far as improving the working conditions of their membership went. The overwhelming majority of Negro workers shunned organization, even the all-Negro unions.

Misled by reactionaries of their own race who argued that since whites discriminated against, black workers had no responsibility to them, many colored workers accepted the theory that through strikebreading they could enter new industries. The Negro as strikebreaker proved a boon to employers. Colored scabs

helped to reinforce race prejudice among white workers, and tended to intensify resentment against all Negroes, so that union barriers against them became even more rigid. By preventing solidarity between black and white, the owners retained an invaluable weapon against the labor movement. Thus William Z. Foster characterized the refusal of union officials to organize Negroes (which directly enocuraged strike-breaking) as "treason to the whole labor movement."

This treason, part and parcel of Gomperism, continued to dominate A. F. of L. leadership. As an answer to it, progressives and radicals called the Negro Labor Congress in 1925 to consider the problems of Negroes particularly those of the colored workers. The demands of the Congress for organization, equal rights, elimination of Jim Crowism and other abuses received support from white rank and file groups. The A. F. of L. executive council, with Green galloping wildly in front, answered this plea of a minority people for democratic rights with hysterical Red-baiting. Nevertheless, the Communist Party continued to urge liberation of the black people. The Trade Union Educational League, and later, the Trade Union Unity League, conceived as one of their basic aims the wholehearted support of Negro struggles. Both Leagues attempted vigorously to enlist Negroes, and both elected colored workers to positions of leadership. Hand in hand with the insistence that the labor movement repudiate Comperism and adopt industrial organizational methods went a firm demand that Negroes be recruited into the unions on an equal basis with whites. Only by adopting such realistic tactics, declared the progressives and radicals, could the labor movement be revitalized.

Not until 1935, when the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed, did the ideas, kept alive by the few progressives in the dark days of the twenties, find official acceptance by an important bloc of unions. The success of the C. I. O. campaign which enlisted Negroes into industrial unions, the rapid and dramatic organizational advance in the steel, rubber, auto, and glass industries, bore out the predictions made for a decade and more by Communist

leaders. The C. I. O. discovered that Negro and white workers brought them in solid, militant unions which could defeat even the strongest of the open shop employers.

Still more, the accusation that Negroes were strikebreakers, was shown to have truth only when Negroes were systematically forced by discrimination to scab. Negroes replaced striking longshoremen in 1925; but not in 1934, and 1936 when, with union discrimination ended under the leadership of Harry Bridges and other militants, Negroes refused to pass through picket lines of the West Coast maritime workers. During the recent strikes conducted by the C. I. O. in mass-production industries, no Negro scabs were enlisted--unlike the large scale recruiting of colored strikebreakers in the years 1919 to 1923. Wherever Negroes were accorded the opportunity to join other workers the so-called Negro menace to white workers disappeared and the Negroes proved themselves tenacious, loyal fighters.

Negroes, however, were not unionized to any large extent even by the middle of 1937. So long as they continued outside the labor movement, all organization was threatened. The task of bringing Negroes, both in the North and in the South, into strong unions remained a central obligation of the C. I. O.

THE PREDICAMENT of the Negro worker was by no means peculiar to his race. Wherever minority groups existed, employers attempted through discrimination to split and weaken the working class. In Imperial Valley, California, Mexican agricultural workers were the scapegoats. In Arizona, owners inspired race riots against Japanese field workers and so diverted white workers from the struggle to improve their conditions. In the Colorado beet fields, Spanish-Americans were pitted against the native born. Hindus and Chinese were utilized to hamper organization in the Sacramento Valley; Filipinos were played against whites in the lettuce fields of Salinas and the apple orchards of Watsonville, California. No matter what group of workers suffered discrimination, the result was the same--

lower wages, the debasing of working conditions, the spreading of dissension and chaos.

Similarly, within the white working class itself, employers treated women workers as a minortiy who could be paid lower wages and used to displace men; child labor, too, could serve to threaten the security of both male and female workers. As could be expected, women in industry, since the great majority performed unskilled or semi-skilled labor, were neglected by the A. F. of L. executive council as completely as Negro workers. Organized women remained relatively and numerically insignificant, yet women formed 22 percent of the gainfully employed over ten years of age, and composed over half of the clerical employees and at least two million of the factory workers. At no time did the A. F. of L. recruit more than 3.5 percent of these eligible women.

And since women, like Negroes, were unorganized, they received from one-half to one-quarter less pay than men for equal work. Technological advances enabled women increasingly to replace men in many types of manufacturing processes; with the influx of these unorganized workers, wage rates were once again menaced. It was a simple matter for employers to speed up female wage workers since they lacked protection from the labor movement. Four out of ten gainfully employed women were under twenty-five years of age; over a million were from sixteen to twenty years old; and 200,000 under sixteen. At thirty, most employers found women too old for employment and in help wanted advertisements specified that only women between eighteen and twenty-five years would be considered for jobs.

If white women suffered from low wages and insecurity, the lot of the Negro women workers was of course far worse. "Just as a woman who takes a man's job has to possess superior qualifications to make up for her lack of physical strength," reported an investigator, "so a Negro woman who goes into white woman's work has to have advantages which offset her color." In a special study, the U. S. Women's Bureau learned that wages of Negro women averaged one-third to one-half less than those of white women. In four states, a majority of Negro

women made less than $300 a year; after 1929 even this meager wage diminished. The Bureau reported that in fifteen states during 1930 the weekly wage of Negro women in any branch of the textile industry ranged from a high of $8.95 a week to a low of $.25 a week. Though the N. R. A. code for cottonmaking industries called for a weekly wage of $12, Negro women were never paid more than $9.

The differential between white and colored women workers prevailed in every occupation studied. In Louisiana, Negro elementary teachers averaged $292 a year, white $1,107. With 30,000 Negro women employed in steam laundries in the South, the Women's Bureau found that white women in Memphis averaged $9.21 a week, Negro women $5.57; in Jacksonville, $8.47 for white, $5.25 for Negro; in Savannah, $7.62 for white, $5.32 for Negro. Wages of colored laundry workers in no southern city ever rose to the low weekly minimum of $5.60 set by the N. R. A.

In like fashion, young workers, male and female, white and black, composed another huge army of underpaid, highly exploited workers, almost completely unorganized, which employers utilized to keep wages low. Including agriculture, eleven million boys and girls were gainfully employed in the United States in 1932, of which six million were between ten and nineteen. Two-thirds were boys, 1,400,000 under twenty worked in factories--for the most part in the textile and metal industries--and 100,000 worked in mines.

As age limits sank, young workers became of greater importance to large corporations. The Ford Motor Company doubled the number of boys between twelve and eighteen attending the River Rouge "trade school." These children worked part time for fifteen cents an hour, alternating two weeks of labor with one week in the class room. They performed duties formerly discharged by men at much higher pay. Other motor companies hired boys and girls varying in age from eighteen to twenty at one-third the wages paid to adult workers, firing older men to make way for youthful workers who combined energy with low costs.

As a result of the new importance of youth in industry, schooling of these

young people was seriously impaired. Of every 1,000 children who started school, one out of ten failed to pass the fifth grade; one out of seven did not reach the eighth grade; one out of every four left school before reaching high school; and only one out of every four graduated from high school. Moreover, these working boys and girls comprised a large part of the 10,000,000 physically deficient American children. They also were among the thousands maimed and killed each year in industrial accidents or ravaged by occupational diseases. Small wonder then that the Hoover investigation revealed that 1,000,000 children had weak or damaged hearts and 382,000 were tubercular.

Again, Negro youth suffered more than white. For every $100 expended to educate a white child, only $25 was spent on a Negro child. Illiteracy among Negroes rose from 26.6 percent in 1920 to 30.4 percent in 1930. Young Negroes, receiving wages of one-third to one-half lower than white workers of the same age, had less opportunity to care for their health, and the percentage of undernourished, physically deficient and handicapped youth was correspondingly higher among colored workers than among white.

Among all minority categories--Negroes, racial groups, women, youth--unemployment during the years 1929 to 1935 produced devastating effects. While minority groups naturally suffered more heavily than male, white workers, the wage standards and conditions of work for all workers were affected by the presence of hard-pressed unorganized groups that undermined union strength and depressed unorganized groups generally. Women tended to replace men at cheaper rates in many industries, youth to replace both men and women. Often the replacements were reversed; desperate heads of families took women's jobs at women's wages, Negro jobs at Negro wages, leaving the minority groups without means of support. Five to eight million young workers, many just out of schools and colleges, were unabsorbed in 1935; married women and those over twenty-five years of age could not obtain work.

As usual, Negro workers, male and female, and youth, suffered to an even

greater extent; unemployment among colored workers ran four to six times as high as among the whites. In the South, where in certain cases Negro locomotive firemen managed through seniority rights to retain their jobs, they were intimidated and seven were even murdered by K. K. K. terrorists in order to create vacancies which were filled by white workers. Moreover, Negroes lost jobs earlier than any other category, the depression commencing for them in 1927; by 1929, more than 300,000 black industrial workers were without employment, and six years later this number had risen to 900,000. A survey of 106 cities disclosed that in 1931 from 20 to 30 percent of the Negro population were jobless: in Philadelphia, where Negroes constituted 11 percent of the population, they accounted for 20 percent of the unemployed; in St. Louis, where they formed 11 percent of the population, 33 percent could not find work. Of the 45,000 unemployed in Washington, D. C., 30,000 were colored; in Harlem, largest Negro city in the world, three-quarters of all wage earners were unemployed. "Last to be hired, first to be fired," was the way in which colored workers expressed their dilemma. In comparatively good times, Negroes eked out a miserable, insecure, substandard existence devoid of any prospect of advancement. Dependent in depression years on public relief, they experienced heartrending destitution. By the end of 1934 the number of Negroes in families on relief totaled 3,500,000. Colored applicants received less aid than whites; discrimination again ruled to the same extent and with the same abuses as it did in factories, mills, and mines. The Negro could be secure only in his knowledge that no matter where he turned, his needs and his desires received no consideration, that he could expect least sympathy not only from the employers, but from the government and the official labor movement.

CAPITALISM'S frenzied exploitation of all categories of workers could be combated only by a vigorous, all-inclusive labor movement. By rejecting women, youth, and racial groups, comprising great sectors of the unorganized, the A. F. of L.'s

officialdom carried through the logic of its antiquated philosophy. Even the skilled aristocracy of labor could not protect its standards while ever-increasing numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled who lacked organization, kept wages low. Negroes, excluded from unions, were compelled to work for less than the whites. Women were mobilized to replace man--once again undermining wages. And this continuous paring of incomes forced workers to send their children into factories and mines to supplement family earnings--an additional reverse of cheap labor that further depressed the general pay scale.

Conversely, when workers were organized to a degree that equal work, whether performed by Negroes, women, or children, received equal reward, when unions could compel employers to pay a living wage, the reasons for married women leaving their families or for children leaving school would be for the most part eliminated. Standards of living would rise, and with them the general health and education of the working class. The A. F. of L. through its obsolete policies had done as much as the employers to injure and oppress the majority of Americans.

A. Philip Randolph did not accept working class wretchedness as inevitable and ineradicable. In his mind the "Negro question" was linked to the larger problems confronting all workers. Any lasting offensive against race prejudice, Randolph insisted, must commence with the building of strong, progressive unions, white and black. It was this premise that moved Randolph to unionize the Pullman porters and to show all workers thereby that Negroes could undertake militant organization.

Despite the calamitous predictions of critics who saw in the Pullman corporation an invincible foe, Randolph's hard work welded together more and more porters. Even throughout the doldrum years of depression, union recruiting continued, unchecked by the company's "retrenchment" program that decimated porters' ranks. Nor did the porters in their campaign for union recognition

receive much-needed assistance from the other railway brotherhoods. When, for example, the Railway Act of 1926 was in the process of amendment in 1934, the leadership of the brotherhoods ignored the porters and willingly agreed that the new provisions of the Act need not apply to Negro sleeping-car employees. Only after Randolph's insistence before the Senate and House Committees was the Act expanded to include porters as well as other railway workers.

The amendments to the Act supplied the Brotherhood with a new tactic which it immediately pressed into service. Randolph called for a vote under the supervision of the National Mediation Board to determine whether the porters desired to be represented for collective bargaining purposes by the Brotherhood or by the company-controlled Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association. The corporation, of course, protested loudly against such a poll. But in May 1935, the porters carried their point; the vote of 5,931 to 1,422 upheld the Brotherhood's claim to speak for Negroes employed on Pullman sleeping cars.

The vote had great significance. Never before had an all-Negro union succeeded in gaining recognition from a major corporation. Victory also transfused new life into the Brotherhood, which immediately sought among other demands, a wage increase of 20 percent, a reduction in monthly mileage requirements from 11,000 to 7,000 miles, and a lower work month of 240 hours in place of the existing 440 hour schedule. The Pullman Company gathered its lawyers in opposition and the union's demands went to the National Mediation Board in April 1937, for settlement.

But while Randolph's dream of recognition was fulfilled, he was still confronted with other difficulties. The employers continued to maintain their spy infested company union, except that it now operated under the pretentious title of Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association. In addition, questions of jurisdiction hampered Brotherhood progress. In seeking to organize Filipinos employed by the Pullman Company, the porters were forced to contend with owner

objections that Filipinos were attendants, not porters. The Brotherhood responded that regardless of title, the Filipinos performed work identical with that of the Negroes. Again, Randolph's plan to enroll red cap porters, particularly after they had expressed their desire to join the Brotherhood, brought protests from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, though the clerks' constitution barred Negroes from membership in the union. Randolph made clear that in those instances where other unions accepted Negroes, the porters advanced no jurisdictional claim, pointing out that the porters had always urged Negro dining-car waiters to join the hotel and restaurant union and the bartenders' league.

Withal, the Brotherhood had come a long way. A decade of struggle taught it the value of democratic conduct of union affairs untrammeled by the tenets of Gomperism. Of necessity, the Brotherhood had adopted a craft union form: discrimination, and the problem of bringing unionization to a limited category of workers, in an industry already organized solely into crafts, precluded industrial unionism. But in convention the Brotherhood supported the C. I. O. for as Randolph expressed it, "The craft union invariably has a color bar against Negro workers..."

The C. I. O. took active steps to organize Negroes. Philip Murray, director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, addressed a conference of Negro C. I. O. organizers in February 1937, at which he pledged the full support of the C. I. O. to bring Negro workers into the unions. Yet Randolph and the majority of the Brotherhood's membership were not content with this advance, important as it was. "The next instrumentality which workers must build and employ against economic exploitation", Randolph declared, "is an independent, working class,political party. It should take the form of a farmer-labor political party. Such a political alliance, Randolph added, should embrace all the progressive political movements such as the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the American Labor Party, the Socialist and Communist Parties, and the various

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A. Philip Randolph, prominent labor and civil rights leader, is the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925; a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), and President of the Negro American Labor Council.

A native of Crescent City, Florida, he received his early education at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Florida and later attended City College in New York City. For thirteen years, until 1928, he was co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, a journal of Negro life, stressing economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America and is now editor of THE BLACK WORKER, official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. For a time he lectured on economics and history at the Rand School of Social Science.

In 1942 Mr. Randolph organized the March on Washington Movement, to aid in the elimination of discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. This movement led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, creating the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee and thereby initiating the concept of fair employment practice committees in American politico-economic life. He served as Director of the August, 1963 March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital in support of civil rights for all Americans.

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees, and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal, for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

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~~Mr. Randolph~~ received his early education at Cookman Institute, Florida, and later attended City College in New York. He holds an honorary degree, ~~LL.D.~~ from Howard University; was awarded the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement ~~in 1941~~, ~~and~~ is the recipient of the Clendenin Award for ~~achievement in behalf of organized labor.~~

LL.D

~~LITT.D~~

distinguished service in behalf of labor's rights and has been honored for its notable work in the field of race relations

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8802

In December, 1955, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Randolph was elected a vice-president and member of the Executive Council of the merged AFL-CIO.

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2 in the field of race relations and civil rights

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Asa Philip Randolph, son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889. He attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fla., and later, the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Folowing his marriage to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, in 1914, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello, and Romeo.

But Mr. Randolph's widely-admired eloquence soon took him from the dramatic stage to the leader's platform. His first experience with the cause of Negro labor came shortly after he left CCNY and took a job with the Fall River Line. Attempting to organize the steamship company's waiters, Mr. Randolph was summarily fired.

Meanwhile, he had read extensivelt in philosophy, economics, and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. Then, in 1917, under the influence of the sociologist Lester Ward, he and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself "the only radical magazine in America this socialist publication has been regarded by scholoars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro Journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGE spoke out on other issues. Thus in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War 1, Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lust Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "the Most Dangerous Negro in America" -- a charge often repeated, down the years, by opponents of Civil Rights.

In 1925, at the request of Milton Webster, T. T. Paterson, and Ashley Totten, Mr. Ramddolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the vicissitudes of the depression, was finally won in 1937, when the BSCP won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, the MESSENGER became The BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the sleeping car porters.

With the advent of World War 11, Randolph became increasingly concerned about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the war industries. On a Southern trip with Webster, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agiated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up accross the country.

Hearing of the proposed March, New York's Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt called Randolph to City Hall and sought to persuade him from executing it. Following this meeting, which failed in its purpose, Mr. Randolph was summoned to the White House, where he met with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisors. When Randolph firmly reiterated his refusal to cancel the March unless Negroes were guaranteed equal employment opportunities, Roosevelt, on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802, establishing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The Order issued, the March was called off, and the National Council for a Permanent FEPC was set up with Randolph and Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers as co-chairman.

It was not long before Randolph was involved in another aspect of the struggle against job discrimination. Railway unions and companies had long been in collusion against the hiring of Negro locomotive firemen, whose difficulties became more acute with the development of diesel engine. At their request, Mr. Randolph formed the "provisional Committee" of firemen which initated legal action resulting in a 1944 Supreme Court decision outlawing anti-Negro union deals with railroads.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph won still another Executive Order, this time from President Truman. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Randolph had indicated he would call upon Negroes not to register for military pledge from a Harlem platform, he was called to the White House by the President, who shortly thereafter issued Executive Order 9987, establishing a Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

Meanwhile, Mr. Randolph had become a leading figure in the American Federation of Labor, and, when the AFL merged with the CIO, was elected a vice-president of the combined body and a member of its 13-man executive council-the only Negro to hold this position.

Within the labor movement, and its conventions over the years, Mr. Randolph pressed the fight against all forms of discriminations and segregation. Largely owing to his efforts, white-only clauses have been eliminated from the constitutions of all international unions. Mr. Randolph recognized, however, that the elimination of constitionals barriers would be only the first step toward the full integration of the Negro into the house of Labor and that continued pressure from Negro workers would be required for further progress. To organize said pressure, he founded the Negro American Labor Council and was elected its first president at its first meeting in Cleveland, November 19, 1959.

While the labor movement has been the focus of Mr. Randolph's crusade for racial democracy, his preeminence in the overall Civil Rights struggle had brought him the unofficial title of "Dean of Negro Leaders" and made him much sought after, not only by civil rights activists, but

by African leaders aswell. In 1957 with Dr. Martin Luther King, just emerged into national leadership from the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Randolph led 33,000 Americans in the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington. In 1958 and 1959, he chaired two youth Marches for Integrated Schools involving 10,000 and 30,000 young people, respectively.

By this time, the itinerant preacher's son had been invited to the White House by four U.S. Presidents. Back in 1925, he had accompanied the militant Negro leader W. Monroe Trotter to an interview with Calvin Coolidge, to protest lynching. And on June 23, 1958, he was spokesman for a delegation of Civil Rights Leaders who met with President Eisenhower. Two more Presidential visits--with Kennedy and Johnson--were to follow, but under radically different circumstances.

For late in 1962, in the midst of an upsurging civil rights revolution A. Philip Randolph called Negro leaders together to map out plans for a new March on Washington. This time there would be no cancellation, despite political pressures. Randolph had become convinced that a dramatic display of mass action was essential if the nation was to make progress towards full civil rights. Trade unions, liberals, and religious groups lent unprecedented support to the plan, and, on August 28, 1963, a quarter million Americans, black and white, descended on the Capitol in a demand for jobs and freedom.

As father and director of the March, the largest demonstration in t the history of the country, Mr. Randolph had forged an extraordinary unit between the Negro community abd its white allies, and in the process renewed his unsought position as "Dean of Negro Leaders".

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Asa Philip Randolph is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

Mr. Randolph, son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida in 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914, to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America, this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lust Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America" -- a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the vicissitudes of the depression, was finally won in 1937 when BSCP won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

With the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly concerned about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the war industries. On a Southern trip with Webster, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro march on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up across the country.

His efforts on behalf of the little man, during more than a half century of persuading, pushing, pressuring and pointing up inequities to the status quo, has won Mr. Randolph the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights".

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1971

Domestics Form A.F.L.-C.I.O. Union

By WILL LISSNER

Organized labor and churches have begun a drive to bring household workers into the labor movement.

The New York Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F.L.-C.I.O., has chartered the Professional Household Workers' Union, Local 1.

The president of the division, Benjamin F. McLaurin, said in an interview yesterday at a Conference on Household Employment convened by the City Commission on Human Rights at the Brotherhood-in-Action Building, Seventh Avenue at 40th Street, that the unionization effort had wide support.

'Total Commitment'

"This is a total commitment by the labor movement," Mr. McLaurin said. "The New York Central Labor Council has put up the seed money. Its president, Harry Van Arsdale, has called a meeting of top leaders of New York labor to mobilize solid financial, organizational and moral support.

"Phil [A. Philip] Randolph [International president of the Sleeping Car Porters] has agreed to go before the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council in October to ask for a substantial grant to extend the organizational effort nationally."

The new union opened an office last week on the fourth floor of 162 Fifth Avenue and engaged a full-time executive director, Mrs. Ruth Benjamin, Mr. McLaurin said. One paid organizer recruited 200 members, each of whom has been trained as a volunteer organizer. This is the technique that was used to organize the New York City Taxi Drivers Union.

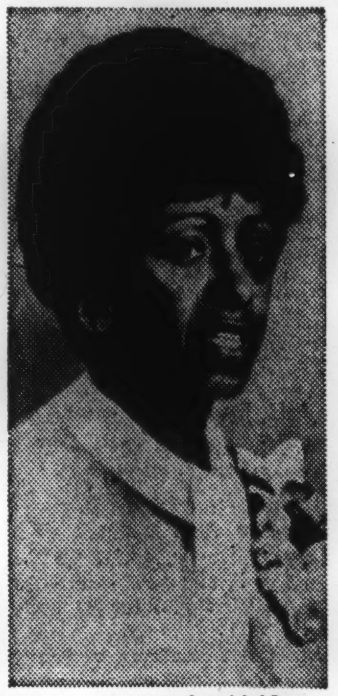
The volunteer organizers brought the campaign to the churches, chiefly those in poverty areas where household workers are members. Their pastors joined the drive, helping to bring 100 more members into the local. Other porter-union divisions are expected to charter locals elsewhere in the country.

Backing Cited

The drive is said to have the support of the Lindsay, Rockefeller and Nixon administrations. Mr. McLaurin is director of Mayor Lindsay's Committee on Exploitation of Workers.

The director of women's programs in Governor Rockefeller's office, Mrs. Evelyn Cunningham, made an informal speech at the conference on how union organizations would play a key role in a comprehensive program for improving conditions in household work for both the employe and the employer.

One of the leaders of the black community holding a top post in the Nixon Administration, the director of the United States Women's Bureau, Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, interrupted a speaking tour yesterday to join the city's Human Rights Commissioner, Eleanor Holmes Norton, at the conference and lend a voice of encouragement to the movement.



Associated Press

Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz called for change in household employment to eliminate exploitation.

The effort has Democratic as well as Republican and Liberal support.

A speech of strong support for the unionization drive was delivered by Assemblyman Seymour Posner, Democrat-Liberal of the Bronx. Mrs. Norton called Mr. Posner "our favorite Assemblyman" because he has been able to get out of committee a bill to bring household workers under the state minimum-wage law.

Mrs. Aileen B. Ryan, Democratic Councilman at Large from the Bronx, is seeking to get the City Council to call upon the Legislature to enact protective laws for household workers.

The move to improve the situation of household workers gained impetus when the United States Women's Bureau discovered that they were an important part of the working poor.

The bureau estimates, according to Mrs. Koontz, that in 1970, 1.5 million people in the United States were employed in private-household work, a decline of 100,000 from 1969. Of these, 97 per cent were women and 64 per cent black. Thier average weekly earnings were $66.

In addition, millions of others are employed part time. This is partly because the disorganized state of the industry keeps them from full-time employment and partly because some women must reserve a larger part of their time for their families.

In the poverty areas of this city — the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, Central Harlem, East Harlem and the South Bronx—half the private-household workers who are heads of families earn less than $3,453 a year. Half the workers who live by themselves earn less than $1,893.

Both the United States Department of Labor and the city's Commission on Human Rights held conferences last year to determine the dimensions of the problem. Widespread evasions of social-security taxation makes it difficult to determine how many workers there are and what their situation is.

About 100 people attended yesterday's conference. Some represented various organizations and government agencies and others came from the ranks of household workers. Only a few abstained from a resolution of support for the unionization drive, and these explained that while they were personally sympathetic, their organizations or agencies had not yet taken a stand.

Studies Cited

Mrs. Koontz said pilot projects of the Department of Labor had established that cooperatives and other types of organization could be set up in the field. Thus housewives could be spared from collective bargaining and social insurance could be offered at a feasible premium, while work performance could be supervised and made efficient, she said.

"The task before us is to restructure an entire industry—the industry which provides us household services," Mrs. Koontz said.

Commissioner Norton said the record of the deliberations of the workshop sessions of the conference would be used in the national organization drive that is planned to achieve the benefits of organization, social-insurance coverage and legal protection for household workers.

"The industry is declining at the very time when working women need it most," she said. "I only hope we can make it a rewarding, dignified occupation while there are still some people left in it."

THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE REMEMBERED

ESSAYS EDITED WITH A MEMOIR

BY *Arna Bontemps*

ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS

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CHAPTER 9

Theophilus Lewis and the Theater of the Harlem Renaissance

THEODORE KORNWEIBEL, JR.

The most thought-out and consistent commentary on black theater to be produced during the Harlem Renaissance was the drama criticism of Theophilus Lewis. From September 1923 to July 1927 he wrote monthly columns in the *Messenger* magazine, which dissected in honest yet sympathetic ways the foibles and shortcomings of black theater as well as the white stage that produced works on black themes. Mere criticism was not his end; rather, he intended to help provide an ideology for the development of a national black theater which would be both a source of a racial ethos and a repository of the race's genius. In so doing Lewis was articulating a primary goal of the New Negro spirit: racial self-assertion in the arts would provide the race with a cultural foundation derived from its own historical and cultural roots.[1] Lewis's tools were alternately satire (of white stereotypes and of the lingering slave-psychology among blacks), compassion and sympathy (for the often amateurish efforts of little-theater groups), and exhortation (of playwrights to

write serious drama, and of actors to demand serious and racially meaningful roles). Throughout, his columns were urbane and witty, at times biting, but never malicious.[2] His fundamental theme, that the primary need of blacks in establishing their cultural independence was for a national black theater grounded, above all, in the works of black playwrights, was a justifiable criticism. Even as harsh a critic of the Harlem Renaissance as Harold Cruse, who seems not to have known of either Lewis or his criticism, would probably admit that Lewis was articulating the cultural nationalism that Cruse deems the key to the success or failure of independent black cultural development.

Theophilus Lewis's knowledge of the theater was more intuitive than scholastic. A native of Baltimore, born March 4, 1891, Lewis had very little formal schooling—he has recently called himself a "dropout"—but from the beginning he had a great interest in the theater. He liked to go to shows, and as a teen-ager attended whatever and whenever he could: vaudeville, burlesque, anything that was available and that he could afford. Lewis came to New York before World War I and there met A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, soon to begin publishing a radical magazine called the *Messenger*. When the United States became involved in the war, Lewis went into the service and was sent overseas with the AEF. After his discharge he lived in Detroit for three years but returned to New York in 1922 and secured a job in the post office.

Lewis started writing for the *Messenger* almost by chance. Given his long-standing interest in the theater, he naturally was drawn to the Lafayette Theater in Harlem and soon was a frequent visitor there. One day, after seeing a performance, he wrote a review of the play on a whim and showed it to his friend Randolph, although he had never before written

any theater criticism. The editor of the *Messenger* liked the review and asked whether Lewis would write such pieces on a regular basis. There could be no remuneration, given the precarious finances of the magazine; all that could be offered was that the magazine would pay for the tickets. And naturally Lewis would have to do his play-viewing and writing after his regular work at the post office. But Lewis was nonetheless interested, and thus began a very fruitful association.[3]

The *Messenger* was lucky to have the services of Lewis. It, like the two other black magazines, *The Crisis* and *Opportunity,* was not founded as a literary periodical, but nonetheless became involved in cultural developments as the Harlem Renaissance writers began to emerge and demand publication of their works.[4] All three monthlies began to print a considerable volume of the new poetry and fiction, as well as book reviews and criticism. But the *Messenger* was the only one to have a regular drama critic. In addition to theater criticism, Lewis also reviewed important new books, such as Langston Hughes's first two volumes of poetry, and he brought to literary criticism the same New Negro perspective to be found in his theater reviews. Lewis also had modest aspirations as a creative writer and published four of his own short stories in the magazine in addition to collaborating with George S. Schuyler on the latter's satiric column, "Shafts and Darts."

However much Lewis may have lacked a formal education, he possessed considerable gifts which did not go unnoticed in the literary world. Arna Bontemps remembers him as an intellectual whose mind was widely respected among the black intelligentsia of Harlem. Wallace Thurman in particular, who later joined the *Messenger* staff through Lewis's influence, had a high esteem for Lewis and considered him

to be a real scholar of the theater; so, too, did Langston Hughes and George Schuyler.[5] And despite the fact that the *Messenger* was not as well known as *The Crisis* or *Opportunity,* the word was circulated among young artists and writers that Lewis was the only drama critic that they could take seriously. Other than his writings, there was no reputable drama criticism at all in Harlem. The other "critics" rarely displayed any discrimination and did little more than promote any show that promised to be successful.[6] Given this paucity of good criticism, Lewis becomes all the more important.

Harlem was the black cultural capital of the country, just as was New York for the nation as a whole. What passed for a national black stage (which played a circuit of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and sometimes Chicago) had its inspiration and headquarters in Harlem. The most common and most popular type of theatrical entertainment was the musical revue; most revues played either at the Lafayette or Lincoln theaters, both white owned and operated. They usually consisted of a series of dance and musical numbers with an inevitable chorus-line of beautiful girls. The degree of excellence of acting, dance, and music, as well as taste, ran an expected full gamut. High theater it was not, but Lewis and others recognized that its best examples provided something invaluable to black audiences, if only productions composed, written, and acted by blacks.

Lewis was of two minds about the revues and low-humor comedies. Some were often cheap and tawdry, yet others could be elevating in their joy, mirth, and infectious music and dancing. They might provide absolutely no challenge to acting skills, yet still be perfect vehicles for such genuine stars as Florence Mills and Irvin Miller. The major problem with the revues was that the supply of fresh ideas and new dance

combinations was easily exhausted. The programs at the Lafayette and at the Lincoln changed frequently, due to the almost insatiable demand for new revues, and the productions were not presented in repertory fashion, so that even the best-known and most-talented writers and producers borrowed shamelessly from previous successes.

A brief cataloguing of the revues noticed by Lewis from September 1923 to May 1926 (after which date he ceased, with one exception, reviewing them) gives a pictorial view of the black comedy stage in Harlem in these years. *The Sheik of Harlem,* starring Hattie King Reavis and Irvin Miller, allowed mid-1923 audiences to see "the frothy side of Harlem life" with all its foibles and vices prominently displayed, as well as a chorus of "as sweet a collection of baby vamps" as it had been the reviewer's pleasure to see in many a month. (Lewis's commentary, while not always employing flapper terminology, was usually spicy and interlarded with his admiration for the charms and beauties of the female form.) That the standard of quality was uneven at the Lafayette is evident from a later paragraph in the same review which briefly noticed a succeeding production, *Raisin' Cain,* which was "ancient and seedy stuff." [7] Late in the same year Lewis caught *Follow Me* and thought it a poor piece, although the audiences liked it; this only proved to the reviewer how fastidious were the tastes of the Harlem showgoing public.[8] Succeeding shows reviewed were *Dinah,* with comic Irvin Miller, in late 1923, and *Come Along, Mandy,* early in 1924. Of a much higher standard of excellence was Lew Leslie's *Plantation Revue* (1924), starring Florence Mills. For this production Lewis did not reserve praise, although he attributed much of its success to Miss Mills, for whom he had unstinting admiration.[9]

Success bred imitation, and *Club Alabam* at the Lafayette,

following *Plantation Revue,* was merely a cheap replica of the former hit.[10] Mid-1924 saw a new show by the noted comedy and music team Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake, *Chocolate Dandies,* which enjoyed considerable success and impressed Lewis as being sophisticated and urbane.[11] The year ended with one of the most successful of all black shows of the twenties, *From Dixie to Broadway,* whose chief asset was Florence Mills. Lewis worshipped Miss Mills but was forced to admit that, on the whole, the show was an inferior production, most of which was "shoddy, garish and vulgar," with many of the ideas being "second-hand and cheap." Yet he predicted that it would make its producer, Lew Leslie, a wealthy man, and indeed the show was a great commercial success.[12] Once again the pendulum swung to the mediocre and Lewis panned in succession *The Demi-Virgin, Pudden Jones,* and *Blackbirds of 1926.* The second reflected no credit at all on the race, in Lewis's opinion, as it continued the old association of comedy with a coal-black Negro, a jail record, and the trappings of the minstrel show.[13] All that saved *Blackbirds* was Florence Mills; otherwise it was a rehash of older revues from which Lew Leslie had the gall to steal some songs and dance routines.[14]

The best examples of the revue, however, served good purposes and could be justified as art. Lewis was honest enough to admit that he more often than not enjoyed the dancing, bawdy jokes, and shedding of clothes, as well as the humorous comment. He recognized the special liberties allowed by the Roaring Twenties and that its freedoms and joys might well not last:

> I look upon these muscial shows and call them good. It is the business of the theater to satisfy spiritual craving. Whether the craving is refined or ethical is beside the point, so long as it's human. Since these shows satisfy a very definite and in-

> tense desire they are sound theater. So let us enjoy their verve, beauty and sin while we may, for the drear and inevitable day is coming when they will be against the law.[15]

One revue that in early 1927 reached this higher plane was *Gay Harlem*. Unlike many of its type, this was not only entertaining but intelligent as well in its humor and poking satire. It did not display racial buffooneries and stereotypes of blacks, but portrayed in honest fashion the foibles and libertinage of black life. As such Lewis unreservedly defended its seminudity against the charge of encouraging a decline in modesty. Rather, a general societal decline in modesty had resulted in nudity on the stage. And that was precisely why the scantily clad performers were a valuable contribution to contemporary life and theater, for this was nothing less than art holding up a mirror to life. This was the musical revue at its best.[16]

One of Theophilus Lewis's pet crusades was for an end to the belief that only light-skinned women were "beautiful." Nowhere was this color line more in evidence than in the choruses of the revues. The chorus line was often the highlight of an otherwise unspectacular production, and for many its scarcely clad, long-legged members were the main attraction of the evening's entertainment. But to see even a medium-brown girl was a rarity. The otherwise mediocre *Come Along, Mandy* had the "theatrical sensation of the decade—colored girls in the chorus!" [17] The chorus of *Club Alabam*, however, was the usual "high yaller." [18] And of the whole cast of *Blackbirds of 1926*, ironically, all the females but the two star actresses were "biological whites." [19] It was thus with great pleasure and relief that Lewis caught a dance performance of the National Ethiopian Art Theater in which two of the dancers were genuinely black women.[20] Lewis often attributed this discrimination to a psychology rooted

in slavery, and it was certainly not confined to the musical stage; he was not successful in eradicating this judgment, however, and the white standard of beauty is still a burden on black performers to this day. Suffice it to say the "New Negro" perceived that along with a new definition of black culture would have to come new standards of aesthetics, of which color was a major problem.

The musical stage was not without importance, but Lewis, and probably any other serious student of the drama, would have insisted that it hardly served the functions of a race theater. It did provide employment for many actors and actresses and dancers, but only in the realm of comedy. The same held true for would-be playwrights: the musical stage was not the place for serious drama. And despite the protestations of James Weldon Johnson that the best musical revues broke completely with the minstrel tradition, there was certainly enough that was similar for younger critics to view it as a limited and stereotyped medium.[21] It was clear to Lewis that a truly racial theater based on black values and rooted in the black consciousness would come about primarily through the medium of serious drama, for serious drama was the repository of a society's (or race's) collective spiritual life, culture, and character.[22]

Some significant advances in the serious portrayal of blacks in drama were recorded by Lewis in the mid-1920s. First, there was promising activity coming from the (often short-lived) little-theater groups, of which more later. Equally as important was the occasional play, often written by a white, which presented blacks as believable and sympathetic characters and provided roles which were at the same time challenging to the competent actor, also sometimes white. Such a play was *Roseanne,* written by a white woman and starring in its original production in 1924 a white actress portraying

a black character. Despite the lack of black personnel, Lewis praised it because it portrayed a believable Negro character "without sentimentality or exaggeration." Of the white actress he admitted he had "never believed a Caucasian could portray Negro feeling with such fidelity to the subject. It was simply astounding." Because of the truth of the whole production, Lewis felt that *Roseanne,* with the exception of Eugene O'Neill's plays on black themes, was the most significant dramatic work on black life up to that time.[23]

Around the same period (early 1924) Lewis viewed a production by one of the little-theater groups, the Ethiopian Art Theater, entitled *The Gold Front Stores, Inc.* He credited this play with being the first full-length dramatic piece by a black playwright (Caesar G. Washington) who showed a knowledge of how to construct a believable play. The work was, surprisingly, a farce. Lewis feared that the play would not be acceptable to most other reviewers, however, because it was too genuine, it had "too much niggerism" in it. But this was precisely what made it an important production.[24] The next important step he noted was taken by Eugene O'Neill in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (mid-1924). Although Lewis thought it suffered by comparison with *The Emperor Jones,* he acknowledged that it was nonetheless a fairly authentic story in which Paul Robeson displayed some very sound acting. Lewis was of the opinion that this play was the most significant offering of the season because it showed that black people led lives, not in a vacuum, but in juxtaposition to others and to society. In addition the play gave black actors four major roles and in so doing greatly enriched black acting experience.[25]

It was nearly two years before Lewis recorded another significant advance in black drama. This play was *Lulu Belle,* and while not perfect in either execution or conception, it

presented some extremely well-drawn characters who expressed universal human emotions in a believable manner. In fact, the main character was so genuine that the white critics were confounded—he did not carry a razor, shoot craps, believe in superstition, or do anything that they believed the typical black should do.[26] A year later, in 1927, another white-authored play was cited as an important contribution. *Earth* was "an elaborately camouflaged Greenwich Village conception of an Uncle Tom's Cabin version of the Book of Job." In fact the play was nowhere near portraying black life accurately, but its conception of the classic dimensions of the Job story was faithful and spiritually moving. Lewis called it "the best so-called Negro play since *The Emperor Jones*," and that was a compliment indeed. The acting was the finest he had seen from any black cast yet on Broadway, and he hoped that there would be more plays like it.[27]

The fact that Lewis could praise several white plays for contributing significantly to black drama does not mean that he disregarded the New Negro goal of developing black playwrights in order to ensure that the race's life would be accurately portrayed. He saw this problem indeed. What the foregoing paragraphs tell us is that he was also concerned about the development of competent dramatic actors and a theater tradition at the same time. Lewis spent no little energy decrying the paucity of serious black dramatists and showed clearly how critical this was. More than once he said that the playwright was more important than the actor in the long run, and thus acting should not be developed at the expense of drama. Actors contributed little to civilization except the moment of their performance, although that might become tradition. But great drama, great plays, were enduring in tangible form.[28] A playwright could create "the idealization of race character which in the last analysis is the real

meaning of Negro drama." All this meant that the first item of importance in the theater was the drama; then came acting, audience, and production.[29] There were many sources to the problem of a lack of black dramatists—little public support, competing white drama, low public taste—all of which were valid complaints. But on occasion Lewis could not contain his disillusionment and disgust at the sorry state of black playwriting. In reviewing a play so bad he did not even name it, he noted that Charles S. Gilpin, probably the finest black actor then playing, had transformed his part into a thing of beauty. Yet why was he condemned to perform in such trash? Blacks simply would not write enough good theater to keep a fine artist like Gilpin well employed.[30]

Another obstacle to the development of black theater was that of audience. At whom should the theater be aimed? The answer to this question depended on several variables, such as the affluence of patrons, the types of themes available, and the type of drama to be presented. In general, Lewis was distrustful of the willingness of the upper classes of black society to support meaningful theater. That group strenuously objected to the miscegenation theme of *All God's Chillun Got Wings*:

> There is a lot of talk about "Art" in this community nowadays. The best people are all hot for it. But when a craftsman [O'Neill] unveils his work and the best people immediately begin chattering about its propriety instead of discussing the competence of the execution one is moved to wonder whether their esthetic fervor is not bogus.[31]

On the other hand, as Lewis admitted in a later analysis, much of the black audience was uncultured and coarse and thus many black entertainments naturally catered to this level. The result of this was that the more sensitive and intelligent actors were driven out of the theaters. Things would

be better if the higher classes attended more often and in so doing demanded a higher degree of fare. This might have the effect of raising the mean of race culture. Yet that might merely result in the type of Victorian censorship suggested in the quotation above. The fundamental problem with the upper-class or "higher intellect" black theater patron was that he went to the theater and often ignored his own tastes as well as the desires of the lower classes in the audience and demanded instead that the performance be geared to a set of standards alien to both—to white standards. This patron often insisted on the black theater copying the suave manners and conventions of the white theater, which at base reflected the racial experience and heritage of a different tradition. The result, Lewis noted, was sterility and artificiality.

To make a decision to cater to either portion of the potential theater clientele was difficult indeed, but Lewis recognized that the issue should not be straddled. Weighing the alternatives, he decided that to direct the appeal of the theater to a small group with relatively high but artificial standards of taste might have short-term benefits, but that in the long run it would be best to appeal to the group with lower but nonetheless genuine standards. After all, the lower group was the greater in number of a potential audience—and numbers pay. Such drama would be much more healthy than a snobbish, artificial "high" theater, and it would also keep more theaters in existence and provide a corps of competent performers.[32] All this was not to say that the problems of a paucity of playwrights and of well-constructed plays and good roles would immediately cease to exist.

The weaknesses of the black theater were many, and most of them have already been touched upon. But two additional problems to which Lewis drew attention should be noted. One was the absence of actors with an understanding of the

dignity of their calling. There were in fact plenty of black actors, but all too many were willing to play for low humor and obscenity. And it was plain that the black stage had more than enough low comedy already, even though Lewis could not resist taking some pride in this dubious achievement. The richness and variety of the black theater's lowest comedy, he claimed, far surpassed that found in the white theater, and in this respect the black stage enriched and helped to liberate the sexually repressed white world.[33]

A second weakness was not unrelated to the first. It concerned the ownership and control of the theaters in Harlem. Lewis cited figures showing that white owners controlled 50 per cent of the theaters and 75 per cent of the patronage of blacks in New York. These whites were not cultured persons linked to the white stage—they were cheap vaudeville entrepreneurs and sideshow vendors. Most of the black owners were alleged to be of the same generally low character. Neither was qualified to make cultural contributions to the community. If they managed to uplift the theater it would only be because that would pay immediate profits, which was very doubtful; experimental and high-level theater was bound to lose money and would have to be underwritten by money-making popular theater. The influence of the white theater promoters was doubly pernicious; not only did they produce jaded theater, but they produced it for the tastes of voyeuristic whites who wanted black-and-tan entertainment. The wishes of the black audience were generally not considered. The lesson was clear to Lewis: ". . . without economic autonomy the Negro stage can never become the flexible medium for the expression of the spirit of Negro people it ought to be." [34] Needless to say, the domination of Harlem's theater (as well as cinema) entertainment by an alien "cultural" force was a major impediment to the ideology

as well as the realization of independent black dramatic expression.

If Harlem's established theaters could not be depended upon to sponsor serious and probably unprofitable drama, the task then lay with little-theater groups. Lewis paid attention to such groups and was often solicitous of their efforts even in the face of very pedestrian and amateurish performances. He always managed to say something good about a particular evening's offering, for he regarded the little-theater movement as perhaps the only foundation on which a truly national black theater could be built. So even the most pathetic attempts offered some encouragement and hope.

Of the six theater groups which found mention in Lewis's columns, perhaps the most durable was the National Ethiopian Art Theater (NEAT). The first performance recorded by Lewis has already been mentioned: *The Gold Front Stores, Inc.*, which was noteworthy for being a dramatic work of competence authored by a black writer. The one-act play, however, was the more usual fare in the little theaters, and three such were reviewed from a performance in October 1924. Two of the three Lewis thought were mediocre, but one, entitled *Cooped Up*, written by a student at the NEAT school, was good in mirroring the real drama of black life.[85] The NEAT also conducted dance classes, and it was at one of their recitals that Lewis had the pleasure of seeing a performance by genuinely black (as opposed to "high yaller") girls. The 1925 NEAT season closed with three one-acters, and the reviewer noted that the performances were encouraging and minus the gaucheries of previous productions. Two of the plays were of little value in themselves, but were good enough vehicles to be instructive to the actors.[86]

The other theater groups mentioned by Lewis were the

Tri-Arts Club, the Inter-Collegiate Association, the Sekondi Players, the Krigwa Players, and the Aldridge Players. The Krigwa Players Little Negro Theater was a project of W. E. B. Du Bois. In reviewing its first offering, Lewis was pleased to see that it had avoided spending all its energy on preparation and was instead getting out and actually performing. The acting could have been improved by being less reserved, but the evening was worth the time spent, since at least one of the plays (*Compromise*) proved to be a fairly serious discussion of real life, dealing with the theme of interracial, extramarital sexual relations.[37] By the time of the opening of this group's second season Lewis was overlooking their stumbles with a "tolerant eye."[38] Around the same period the Aldridge Players put on three short plays by the black writer F. H. Wilson. Although ranging in dramatic content from fair to mediocre, they were nonetheless important because they had highly actable roles which were of great significance in building up the repertory experience so necessary for the little-theater movement. A plentiful supply of meaningful roles was more important at that early stage than fine plays.[39]

Lewis's prescription for the health and vitality of the little-theater movement was a simple yet hard-to-achieve one: perform, perform, and perform some more. During its first year(s) of existence the most important thing was to keep putting on plays, mediocre though they may be. This would develop actors, and as they became more accomplished they would inspire dramatists to write good plays for them. And the frequent performances would create and begin to hold a public.[40] All of this could be done without resident geniuses in either the acting or playwriting departments. Several famous white little-theater groups, Lewis noted, had succeeded without such exceptional talent. The crucial task

was to develop competent acting quickly. But to do this any company would have to become at least semiprofessional. Good acting could be acquired in only two ways: hire already trained and competent professional actors; or pay resident amateurs who showed promise, so that they could afford dramatic training. In either case money was necessary. Who would provide funds? Lewis was confident that there was a segment of the population that could be induced to support such endeavors, but in order to secure its cooperation the productions of the group should be geared in their direction. That group Lewis defined as those who desired theater entertainment but were so dissatisfied with what was currently available that they would contribute toward subsidizing new theater more in accord with their tastes.[41] But that returned the matter to the dilemma of the sophistication of the audience and its various ideas of artistic taste. There was no easy answer, and Lewis was perhaps more optimistic than was warranted; it was certainly not easy to keep a little theater alive during these years without some outside patronage or support which might or might not have strings attached.

Lewis saw the little-theater movement as a precursor and component of what he hoped would become a national black theater. To develop a race theater meant that a *national* theater must be constructed. It would have to be grounded on indigenous drama by its own playwrights or else it would become only the "sepia province of American Theater." Yet it must not isolate itself and address its appeal exclusively to black audiences. The problem lay in the nature of Harlem, where conditions were admittedly most propitious for the development of black theater. Even there only a fraction of the population, perhaps no more than five thousand, would initially support serious theater. Thus it must be on a low budget and repertory basis. It would have to educate and

win its audience, and since much of that audience was conditioned by movies, the initial plays should be mostly melodrama, mysteries, and farce. But when the audience had been won over, more serious productions could be attempted. Finally, a nationwide network of several similiar repertory companies should be organized, so that productions could be exchanged. This was the stage at which a national race theater would come into being.[42]

What was to be done about the matter of popular taste? First, the race theater would have to develop outside the houses controlled by whites. This would be relatively uncomplicated, although perhaps not too simple in execution. But the more serious problem lay in the concept of legitimacy. Lewis went to the heart of the matter when he noted that one of the fundamental causes of weakness in the black theater derived from its unwritten philosophy that the only "legitimate" theater was the white stage, particularly Broadway. The black theater had wrongly tried to excel at the things Broadway did. Negro theater had taken its instruction from the white stage, which too often portrayed blacks only in caricature. The Lafayette Players, the only permanent company of adult performers in Harlem, took their cues from Broadway and performed ten-year-old, castoff plays from that stage. The Lafayette group had not only failed to encourage black playwrights but had not even kept pace with the white theaters it set out to emulate. Instead of crying for a "chance" on the white stage, Lewis asked, why not produce black drama on the black stage for black audiences. With a contribution of a hundred dollars monthly from the five richest black churches in New York City, a resident company could employ Charles Gilpin and Paul Robeson on a regular basis and offer the finest of drama to black audiences. But did the public really want this? Aside from his own fulminations

on the subject and an occasional column in *Opportunity,* Lewis claimed to have heard no complaint from the black public or cultural critics. It was not surprising, then, that the only serious attempts to create a black theater up to that time had been fostered by whites. Lewis described the result in September 1924: "What we call the Negro Theater is an anemic sort of thing that does not reflect Negro life, Negro fancies or Negro ideas. It reflects the 100 per cent American Theater at its middling and cheapest." [43] This is precisely the criticism of the black theater which Harold Cruse has recently made, although he seems unaware that anyone in the twenties was this clear sighted.[44]

The cultural ethos of the New Negro balanced two views on the subject of the race's contributions. On the one hand, blacks should strive to develop their own cultural institutions and ideals so that for the first time an accurate representation of black life would be available. In so doing the spiritual part of the racial heritage would be preserved and fostered. On the other hand, the contributions blacks made to culture would be to the whole of culture. The New Negro saw himself as contributing not only to his race, but also to American (and world) culture. It was not to be a separatist movement. Theophilus Lewis voiced these concerns, sometimes in very articulate fashion. In describing the process of enriching the racial heritage he advised that

> the Negro stage should be a vital force in the spiritual life of the race; it should constantly delight . . . and . . . exalt . . . and it should crystallize that delight and exaltation in a form worthy of being preserved as a part of our racial contribution to the general culture of mankind.[45]

But he also saw the issue from a slightly more radical position, in which blacks would hold themselves somewhat aloof from American civilization, contributing to it, yet reserving judg-

ment on whether or not to join it wholeheartedly. Lewis seemed to foresee the possibility of a Third World position from which dying civilizations could be viewed, but their contagion avoided. In other words, he was by no means sure that blacks should fuse themselves with white America and wholeheartedly embrace its destiny, cultural and otherwise:

> Now the Negro Problem is this: It is the question whether a youthful people living in the midst of an old and moribund civilization shall die with it or find themselves able to shake loose from its complexities and build their own culture on its ruins. . . . This condition of doubt will find its esthetic expression in dissonances of sound and color, and such explosive comedy and tragedy as results from the struggles of a passionate people to escape the restraints of the Calvinist version of the Ten Commandments.
>
> The task for the Negro artist, then, is to observe the confusion of rusting flivvers, vanishing forests, migratory populations and expiring faiths which confronts him and reveals its meaning in a felicitous manner. He will show us, perhaps, the convulsions of a world breaking down in chaos. Perhaps the nuclei of a new world forming in incandescence.[46]

Theophilus Lewis had a clear and consistent vision which made him, in Arna Bontemps's phrase, the "literary brain" of the *Messenger*. That magazine, as well as *Opportunity* and *The Crisis*, provided a valuable service to the black intellectual community. The daily and weekly press could not be depended upon for in-depth literary or theater criticism or book reviews, so it fell to the national magazines to fill this gap. Each of the three made unique contributions to the Harlem Renaissance, and the most significant offering of the *Messenger* was Lewis's commentary. Known and respected by those who could appreciate him best in the twenties, his subsequent obscurity is entirely undeserved.[47]

NASA PHOTO RANGE
BIOGRAPHICAL FILE
PHOTOGRAPH

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
SUN REPORTER
W. 10,000 (N)
MAR 29 1969

80th Birthday For Philip Randolph

NEW YORK---An A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by the Honable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader, it was announced by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Highlighting the tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. Other events are planned as well. The goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Mr. Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.

Bay Area friends of Mr. Randolph may send birthday greetings, cards or contributions to: The A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Ave., South, New York, N.Y. 10010.

CHICAGO, ILL.
NEW CRUSADER
W. 21,110

APR 5 1969

A. Phillip Randolph

This spring one of America's truly great men — A. Philip Randolph — celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of workmen, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled — often against incredible odds — to achieve freedom for back Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress — organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intelectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few causes for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 75,664

MAR 29 1969

To Pay Tribute To Randolph

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, will head a committee to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on his 80th birthday on May 6.

A fund of $250,000 will be sought as a birthday tribute to Randolph, who is also a vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to carry on his lifework through the A. Philip Randolph Institute, whose offices are at 260 Park Ave. South.

Former President Johnson, former Vice President Humphrey, Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay are joining national leaders, industrialists, educators, political leaders and clergymen of all faiths to sponsor the tribute to Randolph, said Bayard Rustin, executive director of the Randolph Institute.

The institute was founded in 1964 "to mobilize the nation's resources, white and black, in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens."

Amsterdam News
4/19/69

Happy Birthday

We're wishing Happy Birthday to a Happy Warrior this week.

We are speaking of A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and trailblazer who celebrated his 80th birthday on April 15.

Mr. Randolph is truly one of this country's great men, a remarkable man who has worked unceasingly to build a better way of life for black Americans, which in turn would insure a better life for white Americans. He truly was one of the first black power advocates.

The founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the militant editor of The Messenger, who was lashing out at Jim Crow as far back as the Wilson Administration, and the man who originated the March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II — these are some of the more notable accomplishments of A. Philip Randolph.

Governor Rockefeller proclaimed April 15 as A. Philip Randolph Day. We can think of no better man to be so honored at this time. On Sunday, April 20, Mr. Randolph will be honored in Harlem at festivities to be held at Salem Methodist Church in the afternoon. On May 6, he will be further honored at a celebration to be held at the Waldorf Astoria.

He deserves all this and more.

A. Philip Randolph Marks 80

(Editorial on Page 14)

A. Philip Randolph, the dean of American black labor leaders and father of the 1963 March on Washington, marked his 80th birthday, Tuesday.

Randolph, who has been a civil rights fighter from almost the same time he became a founder in 1952 of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, from whose leadership he resigned last year, passed the day quietly, spending the morning at his office at 260 Park Ave. South and the afternoon at his home at the cooperative owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at 26th St. and Ninth Ave.

Governor Rockefeller proclaimed Tuesday, A. Philip Randolph Day, in honor to the man who had been gadfly to three Presidents.

He will be formerly honored - and his birthday officially celebrated - on May 6 when hundreds of prominent Americans, in the fields of government, labor, industry and civil rights, pay him tribute at a special dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. An earlier celebration will be held Sunday at 2 p.m. at Salem Methodist Church.

A committee, jointly headed by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization, of which Randolph is a vice president, is raising $250,000 to carry on his work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Amsterdam News
4/19/69

Amsterdam News
4-19-69

To Be Equal

Birthday Tribute For Phil Randolph

By WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

It's hard to believe, but one of the most revered figures in the civil rights movement, Philip Randolph, will be 80 years old, April 15. Still vigorous, Phil Randolph has become a legend in his own time.

It's easy to be militant today — everyone is. But Phil Randolph was militant back in the early part of this century, when lynching was still a favorite Southern pastime, and Northern racism was rampant.

YOUNG

In those bitter days, Randolph edited a radical news magazine, The Messenger, and spoke at meetings all over the country. I remember, as a young man in Louisville, Kentucky, listening spellbound to Randolph's rolling tones and splendid oratory.

Eighty years fighting for the full rights of black people and the oppressed everywhere have left many memories, many high points. I recall marching with Phil Randolph in the 1963 March of Washington, and other events in which he took part or in which he was a guiding figure, but I think two of his greatest accomplishments were the organization of his union and his role in getting a fair employment practice proclamation in 1941.

Headed Brotherhood

A. Philip Randolph is probably best known as the long-time head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized in 1925. Have you any idea of what it meant to organize any workers, but especially black workers in those days?

It is easy now to forget that unions didn't get full bargaining rights until the 1930's and that people used to work six and even seven day-weeks for a dollar a day. Those were the days when goon squads roughed up and even killed union organizers. And if things were bad for white workers, you can imagine what they must have been for black workers who had the courage to stand up for their rights.

But the Brotherhood defied the opposition of management, and it negotiated wage increases and better working conditions even before it was formally recognized in 1937. The union also helped black workers in other fields, for here was a black-run labor organization that stood up for the rights of the Negro worker. Phil Randolph became the Negro's voice within the labor movement, constantly prodding it to support equality. He formed the American Negro Labor Council to eliminate discrimination from labor's ranks and he continues this fight to the present day.

Most people, though, will remember Phil Randolph for calling, in January, 1941, for a March on Washington. The nation was starting to come out of a Great Depression that lasted for a decade. Defense factories were booming, and workers in them were getting high wages. But blacks were left out. Out of 30,000 defense workers in the New York area, less than 200 were black.

Phil Randolph and other leaders tried to get the President to do something about this, but Jim Crow was still riding high in those days. The nation was preparing for a war to preserve democracy, but it denied the most elementary democratic rights to black citizens.

So Phil Randolph, in the days when "Black Power" had yet to captivate the press told black citizens, "you have power," but "our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, most daring, and most gigantic scale."

Official Washington flew into a panic. Mrs. Roosevelt, Cabinet secretaries, and other top people put pressure on Randolph to call off the March. But civil rights agencies like the Urban League and the NAACP closed ranks behind him and the March was scheduled for July 1.

On June 25, President Roosevelt gave in and signed an executive order prohibiting discrimination in defense industries and setting up a fair employment practices commission that became the model for later federal job action.

It is all too easy to become swept up by the latest fashions and the latest angry voices, and to forget the accomplishments of brave men like A. Philip Randolph. It is fitting that on April 15, the whole nation should say "Thank you and Happy Birthday, Phil Randolph."

WASHINGTON, D. C.
AFRO-AMERICAN
T. W. 13,000 (N)

APR 5 1969

Octogenarian fete set for Randolph

NEW YORK — (NPI) — An A. Philip Randolph 80th birthday committee, headed by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and AFL-CIO President George Meany, has been formed to pay tribute to the civil rights champion.

According to Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph institute, the tribute will be highlighted by a testimonial dinner May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria hotel. Other events are planned as well.

Goal of the birthday tribute is a $250,000 fund to carry on Randolph's life work through the institute which beors his name.

Meanwhile, Rustin celebrated a birthday this week.

THE DAILY ITEM
PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
D. 15,594

APR 14 1969

State 'Day' Honors A. Philip Randolph

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.

Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

The Daily Times
MAMARONECK, N. Y.
D. 9,682

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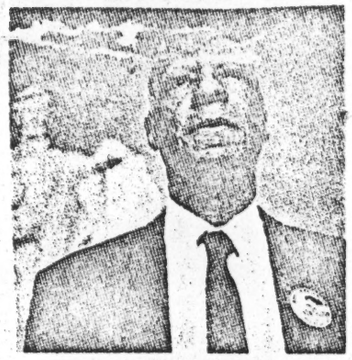
FLUSHING, N. Y.
QUEENS VOICE
W. 14,000

APR 4 1969

Truly A Great Man



NEW YORK, March 25--This spring one of America's truly great men--A. Philip Randolph --celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled--often against incredible odds--to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

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There are few causes for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

The Evening Gazette
WORCESTER, MASS.
D. 94,543

MAR 31 1969

Little Old NEW YORK

BY ED SULLIVAN

Back in 1948, on MGM's New York radio station WHN, Frank Farrell and I hotly debated Kay Summersby's book, "Eisenhower, My Boss." Listening to the recording of that 1948 "Books on Trial" program last night, was an eerie experience. . . . The Paul Leventhals (he's Sen. Javits' press secretary) named the baby Theodore . . . June Allyson and Glenn Maxwell derailed . . . Mrs. Thomas (WOOL-TV) Chauncey's lass, Helen Rich, wed Robert Wood, son of CBS exec. (She's granddaughter of Chi's Philip Wrigley.) . . . Betty Grable and her mgr., Bob Remick, an item . . . Tony Bennett and Sandy Grant resumed . . . Jane Powell, Dick Chamberlain, Sir Alec Guinness birthdaying . . . Doug Fairbanks, Cary Grant, Hugh O'Brian, Brigitte Bardot, Ingrid Bergman, Sidney Poitier and Vic Damone to Bahamas for Harbour Club opening.

Mrs. Rose Kennedy, scheduled to take a spring cruise with Jackie and Ari, has changed her plans because of Joseph P. Kennedy's health. . . . Frank Sinatra dating Beth Romney. (Incidentally Sinatra is set for Empire Room in September) . . . Jack Benny to London for TC dates . . . Harry Winston's Bruce to wed Annabelle King, daughter of British general. . . . Joe Levine wants Katharine Hepburn to direct his next film . . . Temptations and Jeremy Vernon a smash hit at Miami's Eden Roc; Dianna Ross and Supremes into Miami Beach Deauville, Friday . . . The Carl Wilsons, of Beach Boys, named their son Jonnah. . . . Andre Segovia to undergo eye surgery. . . . Rose Marie and fiance, Mogens Hilborg, at H'wood Beachcombers. A table away, Sacha Distel with Michele Mantau.

Miss Allyson

Vic Damone

Miss Grable

Gov. Rockefeller, Cardinal Terence Cooke, Mayor Lindsay, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Arthur Goldberg, Roy Wilkins and George Meany will be at May 6 dinner for 80-year-old A. Philip Randolph, at Waldorf. He deserves it! . . . Son for the Peter (CBS) Hyamses. Peter is Sol Hurok's grandson. . . . Walt Disney exec Jim Stewart and Sally Saturday honeymooning. . . . Heavyweight Jerry Quarry, at Joe's Pier 52, said he'll become a September dad. . . . "Dear World," "Mame," "Cabaret" and "George M" on two-fers. . . . The Alan Kings, Pat Henry, Robert Alda at El Morocco. . . . Sam (Times) Zolotow retires May 1? . . . Bob Devlin reminds me that 33d annual CYO golf tourney will be played at Westchester CC, May 13.

NEWARK, N.J.
NEW JERSEY
AFRO-AMERICAN N
SAT. 5,500

APR 5 1969

Octogenarian fete set for Randolph

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According to Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Philip Randolph institute, the tribute will be highlighted by a testimonial dinner May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria hotel. Other events are planned as well.

Goal of the birthday tribute is a $250,000 fund to carry on Randolph's life work through the institute which beors his name.

Meanwhile, Rustin celebrated a birthday this week.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.
CITIZEN
W. 55,000

MAR 28 1969

Negro Voter Program Set

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—The AFL-CIO called on trade unionists throughout the country to honor the 80th birthday of federation Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph with a major outpouring of funds to finance voter education and registration projects in Negro communities.

The Executive Council adopted a statement noting the "tremendous contribution" made by Randolph to the trade union movement and his life's work of building a Negro-labor alliance.

Randolph, who stepped down recently as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will mark his 80th birthday April 15. A special celebration will be held May 6 at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York City to launch the new fund.

The fund's objectives, the council noted, will be the "strengthening of the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
SENTINEL
W. 39,100 (N)
MAR 27 1969

A. Philip Randolph - A Giant

A. Philip Randolph, venerable elder statesman, is 80 years old this month.

He was born in Crescent City, Fla., and rose to a vice-presidency of the AFL-CIO.

He first came to attention during WW I when he and Norman Thomas published the Messenger. A life-long pacifist and socialist, Randolph, as well as Thomas, went to jail for opposing WW I.

In 1925 he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and used its financial and organized power to further the cause of black Americans.

He single-handedly, through his organizational genius, forced President Franklin Roosevelt to sign Executive Order 8802, outlawing discrimination in war industries, paving the way for Fair Employment legislation.

He was the chief architect of the historic March On Washington.

Through his locals in Los Angeles and Oakland, he engineered broad advances for Negroes in California.

His tremendous success never changed his goals or ambitions.

Truly, no one man has left a larger footprint on the sands of Negro progress in the Twentieth Century.

Giants, like Randolph, come once in a hundred years.

Would you believe it, there is not a single book in the main library on the life of Asa Philip Randolph! ! ! !

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
NEW YORK RECORDER
TW. 14,500 (N)

MAR 29 1969

RANDOLPH BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

A resolution calling on trade unionists throughout the country to support the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee and its goal of $250,000, was passed on February 18 by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Bel Harbour, Florida.

In passing the resolution the Council declared that the objectives of a stronger "political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals will achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

Following is complete text of the AFL-CIO Resolution:

"Whereas A. Philip Randolph has throughout his long career made a tremendous contribution to the American trade union movement, and

"Whereas Brother Randolph has dedicated his life to the building of a Negro-labor alliance and to the integration of the Negro people into the economic, social and political life of America, and

"Whereas Brother Randolph will be celebrating his 80th birthday on April 15, 1969, therefore be it

"Resolved that the AFL-CIO Executive Council salute Brother Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday and that it call on trade unionists throughout the country to support the birthday celebration which will be held on May 6, 1969 at the Waldrof-Astoria Hotel in New York City, and also contribute to the fund to be established in Brother Randolph's name which will be used to finance voter education and registration projects in the black communities of our cities with the objective of strengthening the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms.

PLANNING FOR BIG EVENT -- Warren Bunn (left), an Executive Board members of the New York City Central Labor Council, is congratulating AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph at a recent conference held here. On May 6 labor organizations throughout the country will pay tribute to Mr. Randolph who will celebrate his 80th birthday on that date. The affair will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. Mr. Bunn is also president of the Brooklyn Branch of the NAACP.

W. 130,000 COMB. CIRC.
OF ALL EDITIONS
MAR 29 1969

CONVERSATION PIECE

By BETTY GRANGER REID

THE CHARISMA CROWD

A beautiful 7 lb.-13oz. baby girl, with an equally beautiful name — Brooke Courtney — came flying in with Sir Stork last Wednesday evening . . . as the daughter of Frank and Betty Bizzell. Brooke Courtney Bizzell made her debut into the world at posh Klingenstein Pavillion at Mount Sinai Hospital.

President and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon are putting on a posh dinner party, with a guest list (we've scanned it . . . and its terrific!) of 140 . . . to honor the great Edward Kennedy (Duke) Ellington on Duke's 70th birthday (hey, don't tell anyone that you're 70, you seem only 30) on Tuesday evening, April 29th, at the White House . . . There'll be an additional covey of guests invited to an after-dinner concert . . . with only Duke's great creations played. What an honoree! What a host and hostess! What a guest list! WOW!

And, speaking of birthdays . . . to keep you and you . . . and you excited over the 80th birthday tribute planned in honor of distinguished A. Philip Randolph . . . The Gilbert Jonas Company, Inc., has been selected as the public relations and fund-raising counsel for the A. Philip Randolph Institute . . . And, the Birthday Committee, headed by the Hon. Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; and George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has been going into high gear to honor the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader; and also to develop the financial and public support necessary to carry forth A. Philip Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name. Highlight of the entire celebration will be a Testimonial Dinner, honoring Mr. Randolph, on Tuesday evening, May 16th, at the Waldorf Astoria!

By the way, the Gilbert Jonas Company, Inc., numbers among its many other VIP clients the NAACP's Special Contribution Fund, the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO; the Binder Schweitzer Amazonian Hospital . . . providing public relations and fund-raising services, specifically.

THOMASVILLE, N. C.
TIMES
D. 5,000

APR 1 8 1969

A man to study

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

In 1941, Randolph's plan for a massive Negro march on Washington convinced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1963, he conceiled and directed were behind another executive order by another president, Harry Truman, initiating integration in the armed forces.

In 1963, he conceiied and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph is 80 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

DALLAS, TEXAS
POST TRIBUNE
W. 20,106

APR 19 1969

A. Philip Randolph Eighty Years Old

New York -- This spring one of America's truly great men--A. Philip Randolph--celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in thest troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He was struggled--often against incredible odds--to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress----organized labor religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for all Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few causes for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse thisgoal and wish it every success.

Los Angeles Times
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST
D. 856,621 SUN. 1,145,695

MAR 31 1969

Ex-Militant Randolph Tells Views on Strife

Negro Union Leader Sees Deep Splits, Ineffectiveness in Civil Rights Movement

BY ROBERT M. LEWIN

Exclusive to The Times from the Chicago Daily News

CHICAGO — A. Philip Randolph, 79, the AFL-CIO's only Negro vice president, has been a black militant—but a nonviolent militant.

Now, he says, "I disapprove of the methods of violence."

He has been jailed, fired from such jobs as janitor, elevator operator and waiter, discriminated against because he is black, condemned because he unionized low-paid workers.

But his efforts have helped to bring about integration in unions and the armed forces, progress toward equal opportunity for Negroes and other minorities and have helped in the enactment of civil rights laws.

"The radical of today," he said in an interview, "is the moderate of tomorrow."

Civil Rights Worry

Randolph is worried because the civil rights movement, in his opinion is "dreadfully fractured."

He said the seizure of university buildings and classrooms by black and white students is a "misdirected and destructive activity."

Randolph, dignified and slender with the deep voice of an orator, said:

"There is no broad, national unifying force in the civil rights movement that commands the fealty, respect, cooperation and support of the large segment of the Negro population, except the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The black militants are divided and engaged in bitter intraorganization warfare. None of the various segments of the civil rights movement has any basic program except the NAACP.

"The NAACP, A. Philip Randolph Institute, National Urban League and Southern Christian Leadership Conference are all committed to the philosophy of nonviolence.

'Doctrine Rejected'

"But that doctrine has been rejected by the black militants. They (the militants) do not reflect the sentiment, attitude and position of the overwhelming majority of the Negroes in America on the methods for social change."

Randolph, Florida-born son of a circuit-riding minister of the African Methodist Church, said the "common-sense position" of the majority of Negroes — leaders and rank-and-filers—is that violence will not solve the Negro problem.

He added that, in his opinion, America's "racial and social convulsion is that natural and inevitable result of 300 years of slavery and 100 years of segregation."

He said he believes that the rebellion of Negro workers will continue until Negroes become a part of the industrial transition from unskilled to skilled employment in this automated age.

"But, as a result of the fragmentation of the civil rights movement by the black militants and by Negro students in colleges, the organized pressure that would help Negroes in automated industries is ineffective," Randolph went on.

Noted Progress

He noted the progress made in training Negro youth in skilled trades through apprenticeship programs.

"But that is a long and slow process," he observed.

"In addition to employment opportunity, the Negroes want racial status, which means recognition and equal opportunity for them—along with white students and workers," he went on.

"But the use of violence in an effort to compel universities to take favorable action in the establishment of Negro studies will create a reaction that will result in the postponement of the studies young Negroes are deeply concerned about."

Randolph said it is unfortunate that educational, industrial and business leaders have not grasped the magnitude and the seriousness of the unrest and discontent on campuses.

Randolph, who retired last September as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and now is the union's president-emeritus, will be 80 April 16.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 224,056 SAT. 173,587

MAR 31 1969

Civil Rights leader Bayard Rustin, in a Los Angeles speech commemorating the birthday of A. Philip Randolph, Negro labor leader, called black separation "the biggest lie ever perpetrated." Charging that many young blacks have changed "Black is Beautiful" to "Only Black is Beautiful," he told of a black family in a New York ghetto which pays $100 a month for a rat-infested room to a black landlord. "And that ain't beautiful," he said.

Schenectady Gazette
SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
D. 54,006

MAR 28 1969

Outstanding

One of America's outstanding citizens is celebrating his 80th birthday this spring. He is A. Philip Randolph, long-time labor leader, campaigner for civil rights, writer, editor and lecturer.

To pay tribute to Mr. Randolph on his birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the institute that bears his name—the A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964.

Mr. Randolph became well known in the 1920s as one of the founders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an AFL-CIO affiliated union. He has been international president of that Brotherhood and a vice-president of AFL-CIO. Schenectadians will recall his visits here on a number of occasions. (He spoke at a Union College convocation in 1962, and the following year he gave the annual Steinmetz lecture at All Souls' Unitarian Church).

One of the things that has made Mr. Randolph an outstanding citizen, as the Randolph Birthday Committee points out, is that he has "never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled, often against incredible odds, to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason." The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to practice that philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress — organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals. We heartily endorse this goal and wish the Institute every success.

80 Powers

PEOPLE OF THE WEEK®

Top Negro's Plea For Nonviolence

Another long-time Negro leader in the nation's civil-rights movement has spoken out against violence by militant black youths.

A. Philip Randolph, 80, a member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO, made his remarks at a testimonial dinner given in his honor on May 6 in New York City.

Said Mr. Randolph:

"In my life, I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today—particularly among our black youth—who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles. We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

"And we must reject racial separatism, and together—with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself—reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom."

The Negro and labor. Mr. Randolph, retired president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said that he has always felt that the hope for the American Negro is tied to the white worker of the trade-union movement.

Other Negro leaders have recently made public statements condemning violence as a means of protest. They include Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Bayard Rustin, who organized the 1963 civil-rights march on Washington, and Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

About 1,300 persons attended the dinner for Mr. Randolph. Among those who spoke were Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., and AFL-CIO President George Meany.

(Justice Marshall's views, page 92)

—USN&WR Photo

MR. RANDOLPH urges militants to reconsider their position and reject violence.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, May 19, 1969

Staten Island Advance
STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
D. 62,519 SUN. 59,089

MAY 10 1969

Randolph a driving force for protection of jobs

By ROY WILKINS

Forty-five years ago he was overflowing with vigor and with a sharp challenge to the status quo. Last week he celebrated his 80th birthday and heard tributes from those gathered at the famed Waldorf-Astoria and messages from the absent ones.

A. Philip Randolph, the revered leader in the ranks of civil rights and organized labor, regrets the unfinished business of 1969, but feels justifiable satisfaction in the progress he has stimulated.

More than any other one man, the president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the vice presidents of the AFL-CIO, helped in the 1920s to turn the Negro American public to trade unionism. He urged the race to give priority to economic development. He was a practicing socialist of the Norman Thomas school. He and his partner, Chandler Owen, preached that profit, off any color of man, was the driving force and that men of all colors should organize for protection and progress.

The sleeping car porters, exploited unbelievably by the Pullman company, asked him to help them. Randolph, son a minister, a college graduate and a Socialist theorist, agreed to listen and then wrote articles for his fiery magazine, "The Messenger."

The first meeting, in a effort to thwart the stool pigeons who turned in names to the company, was 100 per cent Randolph. He opened the meeting, delivered the invocation, sang one verse of a hymn, delivered the speech and the benediction. He made the silent men disperse immediately to their homes.

Only three Negro newspapers supported Randolph because the black public was very anti-union and because, too, the Pullman company rewarded the anti-porter viewpoint. But the union was formed and Randolph and his committee finally won a contract. The porters won a raise from $67.50 to $79.50 a month in the first contract. Today, the vanishing porters are paid something over $6,000 a year. Fringe benefits are additional.

After witnessing the refusals of factories to hire Negroes in 1939-41, Randolph organized the first march in Washington. President Roosevelt wanted to avoid an outpouring of black protesters in the nation's capital. The United States was almost certain to go to war against our black citizens.

So, in June, 1941, FDR signed executive order 8802, authorizing the wartime Fair Employment Commission. The march was canceled. Randolph has lived to see that shaky, ineffective FEPC blossom into many state and municipal laws and into the employment provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Implementation is not all it should be, but the principle of no racial discrimination in employment, hooted down in 1939, is now firmly established.

ROY WILKINS

The man who pushed this alteration in a nation's policy saw his dream of a real march on Washington come true on Aug. 28, 1963, when 220,000 persons went to Washington and poured out their hearts and hopes in a petition to their government. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. made the march live with his forensic exhortation. "I have a dream." but it was A. Philip Randolph who looked out over that vast throng and saw a dream walking.

As he surveyed his world the other night, the organ-like voice was there. The cool, unassailable logic was there. The fire, not raging now, was still there. He is gentle, but tough: A fighter, but with a rapier, not a broadsword.

The present-day black rough riders and hard talkers could learn a lot about tactics and integrity from the career of this doughty warrior.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 9.
1964

Dewey Sq. May Be Named for A. Philip Randolph

Council Passes Bill to Honor Rights Leader in Harlem

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

Dewey Square in Manhattan will become A. Philip Randolph Square under a bill unanimously approved yesterday by the City Council. The measure now goes to Mayor Wagner for his signature.

The square, bounded by St. Nicholas and Seventh Avenues and West 116th and 117th Streets, was named on May 3, 1922, for Adm. George Dewey, hero of the Battle of Manila Bay in the Spanish-American war. Admiral Dewey died in 1917.

If the Mayor signs the bill, the square will be officially named for the civil rights leader who is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and president of the Negro American Labor Council.

Yesterday's action marked the second time within a year that the City Council has dropped the name of a war hero from a public facility in favor of another name.

Airport Name Changed

Soon after the assassination of President Kennedy, the Council gave his name to the International Airport at Idlewild, Queens. The official name of the airport had been New York International Airport-Anderson Field. The almost forgotten "Anderson" in the name had been in honor of Maj. Gen. Alexander E. Anderson, veteran of World Wars I and II.

The bill for conferring the Randolph name on the Manhattan square was introduced by Harlem Councilman J. Raymond Jones, who recently was elected Manhattan Democratic leader.

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Jones noted that names honoring Admiral Dewey would still appear on the city records, despite the prospective change. He pointed out that there was a Dewey Place in Brooklyn and a Dewey Avenue in the Bronx.

According to Miss Thelma E. Smith, deputy librarian of the Municipal Reference Library, the one-block Dewey Place runs from Atlantic Avenue to Herkimer Street in the East New York-Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

Dewey Avenue Located

She identified Dewey Avenue as extending for 10 blocks from Ferry Point in the Bronx to Shore Drive in Throgs Neck.

A native of Crescent City, Fla., Mr. Randolph organized the 1942 march on Washington to seek elimination of discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. He also served as a director of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington.

James Heslin, director of the New York Historical Society, a privately-endowed institution

Admiral's Name Still Would Mark 2 Streets in City

at 170 Central Park West, said last night that his organization would not comment on the proposed change of the name of Dewey Square.

The Council also passed a bill authorizing the Welfare Commissioner to continue institutional care of boys and girls, if necessary, until their 21st birthday. At present he yields jurisdiction when they reach their 18th birthday.

About 700 young people nearing their 18th birthday will be affected by the proposed law.

Senator Thurmond 'Doing Well'

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 (UPI)—Senator J. Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, was reported "doing very well" today after major surgery at Walter Reed Army Medical Center here. The operation, performed yesterday, was for removal of Senator Thurmond's gall bladder and repair of a hernia. He is expected to remain in the medical center about two weeks. Senator Thurmond is years old.

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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y. File: 12 AFL-CIO

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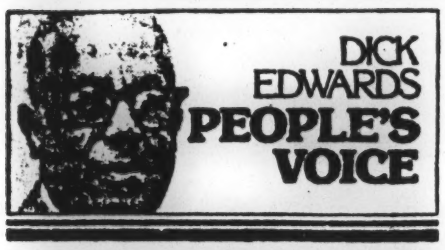
Trade unions continue as blacks' best allies



Just a few days prior to celebrating his 90th birthday on April 15, A. Philip Randolph, dean of American civil rights leaders, wrote a stirring message to black and white trade unionists.

Randolph emphasized: "The vast majority of black people are workers, and the trade union movement, even with all of its imperfections and failings, is the most effective and most powerful defender of the interests of all American workers, black as well as white."

While admitting and pointing out the many problems facing blacks, Randolph—who led the 1963 march on Washington and who organized and led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union of black Pullman car porters—strongly stated that "blacks have one reliable and steadfast ally: the trade union movement."

Referring to current problems Randolph said, "In many important respects, today's challenges bear a striking similarity to the problems we have grappled with for decades. Essentially, they are problems of economics and problems of politics. And most important, they are problems which cannot be solved in isolation from the overall society.

"Consider for a moment the plight of our black youngsters. Throughout the nation, thousands upon thousands of black teenagers and young adults have no opportunity of obtaining decent employment. They are forced to waste their talents, to waste their youthful enthusiasm, indeed, to waste their lives. To make matters worse, some political leaders dismiss this scandal as a necessity, a permanent feature of our economic system."

Sunbelt criticism

Hitting hard at the Sunbelt region, Randolph said the only way for the poor in those areas to improve themselves is by organizing. "Amid affluence and new-found wealth, thousands of workers receive subsistence wages. And because so few have the protection of a union contract, they have no job security, no fringe benefits, and no rights in the workplace."

Referring to the Southern-based companies of J.P. Stevens and the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain, he said they "continue to block their employees from freely organizing into unions. The injustices of these two companies are well known. Thus, I urge you to support the boycott of Winn-Dixie stores and the boycott of all J.P. Stevens products."

As an example of the importance of trade union campaigns, Randolph noted that the current strike involving 19,000 shipyard workers in Newport News, Va., was long overdue. He declared, "These workers were forced to strike by a company which refuses to recognize their right to join a trade union and negotiate for better wages and working conditions. As the company cleverly evades the real issues by filing appeal after appeal with the courts, the workers at Newport News continue to suffer."

Unity is victory

Randolph said that unity by black workers will result in victory. "In Missouri, black voters overwhelmingly opposed an anti-labor question on the ballot; and in Philadelphia, blacks united together in opposing a change in the city charter. Yet, despite these two impressive examples, blacks seem to be withdrawing from politics." Randolph warns that a "do-nothing" attitude will give the politicians "a 'blank check'...and this will roll back every advance of the last 45 years."

Randolph concludes with an appeal to "join the good fight."

He has been following this advice for more than 75 years. Many years age he founded the A. Philip Randolph Institute; the headquarters are located at 260 Park Ave. South. According to Norman Hill, executive director, "the institute's 180 local chapters across the country will continue their efforts to fulfill the dream of Mr. Randolph."

"Every day, hundreds of dedicated trade unionists in all sections of the country follow Mr. Randolph's example by attempting to build a solid political coalition for the kinds of goals Mr. Randolph has so long espoused; goals like full employment, free collective bargaining, social equality, and an end to racial discrimination," said Hill.

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Donald Day

S. E. Brown

WESTERN GANDHI

In Crescent City, Florida, at the turn of the century an eleven year old boy invented a game far more exciting to him and his playmates than cop and robber or baseball. It was fighting for the rights of Negroes. The jimcrow streetcar had just made its appearance in the State and, with other restrictions to keep Negroes "in their place," was causing great resentment. A friend of the boy's parents, noting the intensity with which he played the game, took him aside.

"Philip," he cautioned, "if you keep this up, you're going to be strung up."

"Oh no, I won't," he said, "I'll go North and fight."

Half a century later A. Philip Randolph is still at the same game but he isn't playing. With fifteen thousand members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which he organized and still heads, back of him to a man, with millions of other Negroes who look upon him as a veritable saint, he is undoubtedly the greatest force in keeping this one-tenth of our population of the United States away from the chimera of Communism.

Whether it be "cold" or "hot" Randolph constantly warns the Negroes that they must join the fight against Russia to keep the "jewel of democracy in the firmament of government." But on the other hand he just as firmly insists of the whites that if Negroes are to do this with all their bodies, minds and souls they must have first-class citizenship--now.

The struggle of Randolph to attain this leadership, which could only have happened in the crucible of democracy, is in essence the thing that man has reached out for since he first discovered that he had a mind and a spirit. It is the antithesis of privilege, of patronage, of inheritance, and most of all poles apart from the stultifying doctrine of materialistic Marxian inevitablity.

When Randolph finished high school he went North and lived the hand-to-mouth existence so common to Negro migrants of the period. But he lived it with a difference. Every odd moment, even while waiting for buses, was utilized in serious reading. Nights he took classes at New York ~~University~~ City College. Other hours went for tutoring in Shakespeare in sonorous Oxford English to improve his speaking voice but which also proved valuable later in picking up a few dollars giving readings to clubs and literary societies. But, above all, he never missed an opportunity to speak about the wrongs of the Negro whether it be on a street corner or in an auditorium.

In years of weaving in and out of the tattered seams which tied Harlem to the largest and richest city in the United States

the brooding eyes of this tall, sturdy brown man missed little. And pretty soon his presence and his vibrant voice became known where serious things were talked.

In 1917, with even complacent and isolationist United States jarred from its foundations by World War, Randolph helped launch a monthly magazine, The Messenger, on the credo that "the principle of social equality is the only sure guarantee of social justice."

Said another way, "if you aren't in a position where you can get a hearing, you aren't going to get justice." The first step was to get into a position for getting a hearing.

When the United States entered the War Randolph protested vigorously the hypocrisy of the slogan "making the world safe for democracy" and then asking Negroes who were lynched, jimcrowed, disfranchised and segregated to fight for that principle. He was thrown in jail for a short while and widely denounced as "the most dangerous Negro in America." But he kept right on fighting.

At the War's end he and his paper were among the first to vigorously point the danger of Communism as it was developing in Russia and that it was not the way for the Negro to get a hearing. In spite of this he was labeled everything from an anarchist to a Bolshevist. He came right back: "If approval of the right to vote, based upon service instead of race and color, is Bolshevism, count us as Bolshevists. If our approval of the abolition of pogroms is Bolshevism, stamp us again with that epithet. If the demand for political and social equality is Bolshevism, label us once more."

Randolph's refusal to quit fighting gave him his greatest opportunity. In August, 1925, half a dozen Pullman porters met with him in Harlem to ask him to lead them in forming a union. Hours of the porters stretched out endlessly--three to four hundred a month with less pay for overtime than straight work. The base salary was pitifully small on the assumption that tips made up the difference. Yet, even in good times, tips seldom covered the costs of uniforms, food while traveling, lodging at the end of the run and shoe polish. There was neither lesisure nor money for home life or for giving their families, if any, opportunities in life.

As for Randolph himself the men could promise him little except a bitter fight which on the surface the odds doomed to failure. But it stirred his imagination and he waded in neck deep taking The Messenger along as the official organ of the new union.

In the union's first ten years over five hundred porters were fired for union activities. Even Negro churches and publications opposed what was being done in that it stirred up trouble and made the lot of the Negro worse. Other accused Randolph of pushing too fast. But even then he knew that it was much later than most people thought. So in answer he wrote more for his and other publications and made endless trips across the country, most of them at his own expense, explaining the union to Negroes. He also made frequent appearances before the Mediation Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington, rare for a Negro at the time, pleading the cause of the porters.

Here, for a change, was a leader who wouldn't sell out and wouldn't quit. This was no "Uncle Tom" playing for a soft spot for himself while fooling the Negroes and toadying to the whites.

By 1928 with half of the porters and maids on the Pullman cars in the union Randolph felt that the time had come to ask for definite improvement in the condition of the workers. A strike was called long enough in the future to permit negotiations. The company retaliated by bringing in a corps of Filipinos to scare the Negroes into thinking they would lose their jobs. Then when the A. F. of L. refused to back the strike it fell through completely. Then the big crash came.

Dues and membership in the union fell off to almost nothing. It seemed that Randolph was licked. But he pared expenses even to cutting out electricity and telephone service in the headquarters office--and redoubled his efforts. With money gotten from any legitimate source he made more and more speeches, wrote more and more articles, taunting the Negro leaders for not supporting the strike. "Is it true," he asked over and over, "that only white men are supposed to organize for power, for justice and for freedom?"

One by one--then in droves--the porters flocked back to the union. Then in 1934 when an amendment to the Railway Labor Act outlawed company unions and guaranteed collective bargaining the Brotherhood, by a vote of over five to one, became the official union of the porters. In 1937 the Pullman Company signed a contract with it.

When Randolph came back from Chicago with a two million dollar pay increase, a ~~cut in~~ limiting of the monthly mileage ~~from~~ at 11,000, ~~7,000,~~ 240 hours a month instead of the old unending shifts, the porters were at long last economically on their way to first-class citizenship. This victory--with a record of never a broken promise--gave to Randolph a hold on the union that seems unbreakable. It also gave to Negroes as a whole a big step forward in that it proved that they could unite in a firm, solid organization to fight for their rights, and yet an organization that was not dictatorially controlled.

The victory caused Randolph to shift the grounds for his fight in the future. The gains had been made because the Negroes organized themselves and held stubbornly to a course of action, not because they depended upon others to do the fighting for them. Randolph nowsaw that a viewpoint which he had long held--that trade unionism across the board had the answers for all oppressed groups--was not sufficient. It wouldn't be enough for Negroes to join a general movement for helping out their conditions without first stubbornly fighting their own fight.

"Negroes must look to themselves for freedom," now became Randolph's battlecry. "Salvation for race, nation, or class, must come from within. Freedom is never granted, it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a

continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships. Privation, suffering and sacrifice are the price of freedom."

In saying this Randolph was not separating the cause of the Negro from that of all other workers or from any oppressed group. He was, as he pointed out, merely announcing a doctrine of "self-reliance, self-help, self-determination, self-understanding, to the end of genuine self-growth, self-control, self-progress, and not without willingness for alliance with all sound American movements whose program is in harmony with the struggle of the Negro people for freedom." Nor was it a program of isolationism from the problems of the rest of the world.

Actually, he was stating in substance that every individual, every group, every nation, in a dynamic, democratic world, must first of all fight its own fight because not only is no one else going to do it, no one else can really know what the fight is and what needs to be done.

Even more specifically, as President of the Negro Congress, in 1940 he warned that 11 suppressed peoples must carry on their struggle for freedom "within the framework of the traditions, background and life of the country in which they live.

"Natives of South Africa cannot meet their problems in terms of the social, economic and political customs and practices of the United States of America. Negroes of West Indies cannot grapple with their questions upon the basis of the historical background of India, and the Negro people of America cannot shape and determine their technique and methodology for their liberation by the social patterns and traditions of the Soviet Union."

When Randolph became convinced that the Negro Congress was a front and atransmission belt for Communist activities and propaganda he not only refused to let his name come up for reelection as President but immediately resigned--and advised other Negroes to resign--from the group.

"I quit the Congress," he announced, "because I was opposed to it, or its officers, expressing sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is the death prison where democracy and liberty have walked their 'last mile'!"

"A dictatorship is a dictatorship, don't forget that. Under any dictatorship, freedom and democracy cannot exist. Minority groups, like Negroes, can only struggle, fight, protest and demand their rights, and move forward in a democracy."

Furthermore, Randolph went on to say that every organization should clearly set forth exactly what it stands for, courageously and clearly, so that all can know. Any effort to use organizations as fronts behind which surreptitious work is being carried on is against all of the sound principles of democracy.

When the United States got into the Second World War Randolph had seen under the chip far enough that he believed Negroes should get behind winning it with all their powers. But, on the other hand, he again pointed out that these powers were strictly limited if Negroes were not given the opportunity to fuse their fullest capacities and abilities both into industry and the armed services. When no assurance of fair treatment seemed forthcoming in 1941 Randolph organized his famous "March on Washington" to protest in group. The idea gripped the imagination of the Negroes as few things ever had. President Roosevelt--faced

with the imminent possibility of fity or sixty thousand Negroes marching into the capitol city--issued an executive order forbidding discrimination in employment against Negroes by companies holding defense contracts. He also appointed a Fair Employment Practice Commission to see that the order was carried out.

Few thought--least of all Randolph--that this had solved the problem of discrimination against Negroes. But certainly definite progress had been made. And, even more important, it taught Randolph another vital lesson. Out of its success he created a non-partisan Negro "Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action" group. This is a sort of Gandhi-like movement tailored to fit the needs of a Western world that without resentment or violence but with stubborn insistence is pledged to attain equality for Negroes as soon as possible.

"Nothing stirs and shapes public sentiment like physical action," Randolph said in commenting on the work of this group. "Mass demonstrations against jimcrow are worth a million editorials and orations in anybody's paper and on any platform."

There is nothing in the movement that is anti-white, anti-American, anti-labor or anti-capital. It is simply pro-Negro. It is against jimcrow, not against anything else in the world. It will work with any organization of any sort for democratic improvement. "Its validity lies in the fact that no one will fight as hard to remove and relieve pain as he who suffers from it, " Randolph said. "Negroes are the only people who are

the victims of jimcrow and it is they who must take the initiative and assume the responsibility to abolish it."

World War Two helped focus the attention of the great masses of Negroes--as well as many whites--upon the fundamental issue. In addition to at-home jimcrowish, the armed services with their segregation and discrimination left few Negroes with their souls unseared. The prize insult of all came when German Nazi prisoners were allowed to ride on railroads and buses and Negro boys and girls in Uncle Sam's uniform were jimcrowed; Hitler's soldiers were welcome in theatres, in restaurants and hotels and Negro soldiers were excluded.

To further confuse and complicate the issue the Communists seized upon the situation to make propaganda calculated to convince the Negro that only through the Party could they get their rights. This was easy to do. There were few Negroes in Russia. What had happened to other minority groups were hushed up. And, to help them out, many unreasoning, unreasonable and bigoted individuals in the United States gave them plenty of ammunition to fire. To give credence to their charges and promises they recruited such eminent leaders like Paul Robeson who--overnight--discovered the plight of the Negro. When Robeson came out categorically stating that the Negroes would not fight against Russia, Randolph came right back:

"Exception is registered to Paul Robeson's Johnny-come-lately appearance in the Negro liberation movement as a Messiah. Robeson has spent most of his time, very properly, preparing to become a great artist. Then when he achieved world-wide success

most of his time was spent with important people in government and the arts, mostly abroad. Actually, the real problem is not in the circles he frequents but on Beale Street in Memphis, Auburn Street in Atlanta, Central Avenue in Los Angeles, State Street in Chicago, and Seventh Avenue in New York. Robeson knows very little about the problems of these people or what they will do.

"Enlightened self-interest," Randolph went on, "compels the Negro to help the United States win the cold war, and the hot one if it should come against Soviet Russia, which is the only way to keep the jewel of democracy in the firmament of government.

"The Negro cannot afford to add to the burden of being black the additional handicap of being red."

This was no cowardice on Randolph's part--as the Communists have claimed. Rather it is a position in which he sees the plight of the Negro--and its solution--as an inseparable part of both an ideological and a physical, if needs be, struggle agains Russia. Then if the Negro, in accepting such a conclusion, gains thereby first-class citizenship the entire ideological complexion of the world struggle might well change.

The darker races of the world are on the move. The question of white supremacy, a frankenstein which the whites themselves created, is due like all "chosen people" concepts for a lot of

handling in the future. "It is doubtful," Randolph warned, "that the United States can win the cold war, which is a conflict of ideas and things of the spirit, without the Negro, the measure and test of American ideal and faith."

In 1948, with the "cold"war threatening to become "hot", Randolph's non-violence good-will group demanded equality for Negroes drafted into the armed services. When no assurances were forthcoming, the group advised Negro draftees to sit at home and not report--to do nothing at all and accept whatever punishment was meted out even if it be prison on the theory that four walls and bars were better than the prison of segregation.

In May, 1948, President Truman issued an order forbidding all discrimination in the armed services. The problem has not been completely eliminated although significant progress has been made in the Navy and the Air Force. The group accepted this gain and called off the sitdown strike.

Certainly, if we can make democracy work at home, then we have ended our "ideological" isolationism as we have been forced to end our physical one. And if we can end it without being forced to do so the influence upon the world would be far more powerful.

Thus it is that Randolph has thrown at the United States a challenge that fraughts the imagination with possibilities. And it is a challenge with more potency because it comes from one who has had to fight every inch of the way. Struggle, after all, adds dignity and hope and blots out despair, which is one

thing the democratic world must not indulge in at the moment.

In taking his stand Randolph has back of him a unique situation on which he is counting heavily. "Negroes are the only people in the Western world that in a Civil War to achieve their freedom, refused to hate their enemy, the slave masters," he pointed out. Such a quality, infused into the United States as a whole, might well be the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of ideas for the battle to preserve democracy.

And what a challenge to the Negro. "It is the moral responsibility of the Negro," Randolph said, "to give reality, strength and integrity to American democracy which will enable her to win the ideological war for world democracy, humanity and the good life. It is no small challenge that Negroes who are the most lowly and oppressed of all workers in the Western world have been selected by history to teach White America in particular and the world in general the lessons of democracy and Christian brotherhood."

In the meantime, while thus wading deep in the waters of world problems, Randolph has not for a moment forgotten his duties as President of the Brotherhood. Today porters work 205 hours a month at a minimum wage of ~~$235.00~~ $271.38. This has permitted them to change from the "George" of 1925 to a position of dignity and an asset, other than menial, to the country.

"Give to all Negroes the minimum rights of decency and democracy," Randolph said, "and he will fight his heart out to see that the gates of the Kremlin do not prevail against us."

14--Day

As he sat there in his office, his vibrant voice rumbling through it as if a vast audience was in the background, his brooding eyes looking back, back to Crescent City, perhaps back to the time when his forbears were slaves, great sadness fromed the undertones. But there was dignity, also, dignity garbed in immaculate clothes, a fine, commanding body, in his inintegrity and courage. And there was hope, too, for his eyes were also peering into the future to a time when man would not be judged by the color of the skin but by the color of the soul.

COPY

Introduction at Samuel Gompers Vocational High School, Bronx, N.Y. 4/10/64

A STUDY IN COURAGE

A. Philip Randolph, crusader, labor leader, author, lecturer and American, has done more than any other man in modern America in striving for the civil rights and freedom of all men. Mr. Randolph has literally abandoned his personal wants and used his influence for the advancement of the members of his race.

A. Philip Randolph is the President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president and member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. As the only Negro vice-president of the A. F. L. - C. I. O., he has set a precedent for other Negroes to follow in the field of labor.

Mr. Randolph has been known for his militant Negro Journal, which caused a great deal of turmoil during the Wilson Administration. Ever since this Journal, "The Messenger", was first published in 1915, he, his journal, and his ideals have penetrated the White House and have awakened its inhabitants to the truths and probable solutions of the Negro and labor problems. The advances which the Negro has made since World War II could not have been achieved without his efforts. It took demonstrations and heated discussions with leading men in government to bring them about.

The second World War was a crucial period in the history of the world. This was a struggle which dealt with the life and death of nations. Even then, men were refused jobs in defense plants because of race. Few men sought to change this. A. Philip Randolph was one of those few. But the struggle was a hard one. Convincing the President of the need for an Executive Order was the first major step. When Mr. Randolph planned an all-out Negro march on Washington, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 which abolished discrimination in defense employment. This order was momentous in the field of labor and in the civil rights movement.

There was another practice followed in the United Staes during World War II which Mr. Randolph felt had to be abolished. It was the Jim Crowism practiced in the Armed Forces. This practice shamed America, considering its democratic ideals. Mainly through Mr. Randolph's courageous and dynamic efforts, President Truman's Executive Order 9981 was issued. This Order abolished segregation in the Armed Forces. It also gave new hope to the American Negro.

A. Philip Randolph has done a great deal since 1948. He was organizer and chairman of the Youth March on Washington to uphold the ideals of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. In 1955, he became the first Negro to become a vice-president of the A. F. L. - C. I. O. This appointment not only set a precedent, but also established a new confidence in the American Negro.

On August 28, 1963, over two-hundred thousand Americans, white and black, marched to Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The guiding genius of this massive grass roots movement was A. Philip Randolph. This convocation was the most inspiring demonstration for freedom in the history of these United States. There is a great deal more to be done in order to bring equal rights to all men. But it will come, and when it does the world will think of A. Philip Randolph as one of the men who made it possible.

We owe a great debt to A. Philip Randolph, a debt that can never be repaid by an award. But the ideals and thoughts behind our giving this labor award to Mr. Randolph may in some small measure make him aware of our gratitude.

Courage is measured by a man's ability to overcome defeat. A. Philip Randolph has had defeats, but he had the courage to continue his struggle for the dignity of all men.

THE MAKING OF A LEADER

If the present day Negro leaders were to select one man who could act as an authoritative spokesman for their people, they would probably select A. Philip Randolph. At 74 Mr. Randolph is a dynamic leader who has worked all his life to further the interests of labor, and also to promote equality for the Negro.

Mr. Randolph, born in Jacksonville, Florida, became aware of the Negro's problem during the early years of his life. Mr. Randolph's father taught him that the color of one's skin had nothing to do with one's character and intellect. He received his early education in a high school established for Negroes by the American Missionary Association. There he received, not only academic education, but the desire to serve as an example to other Negroes, and to strive for economic and social equality for all men.

After graduation from high school, he traveled North to New York City where he worked at various jobs in the daytime and studied nights at the City College of New York. From the book, Souls of Black Folk, he learned that drive and intellect were vital to a potential leader. Because leaders are few and followers many, he strove to become one of the "talented tenth". At City College he completed courses in political science, economics, and philosophy.

After leaving City College, A. Philip Randolph set about the task of organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The job was monumental, and it took twelve years to organize the union.

Until 1928 he had been the editor and publisher of the "Messenger" - a journal about Negro life. Upon the formation of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he became the editor of the "Black Worker", which is the official publication of the brotherhood.

In 1942 Mr. Randolph organized a March on Washington to protest job discrimination in war defense plants. After a conference with President Roosevelt, the march of 100,000 on Washington was canceled and the color barriers were lifted in defense plants and factories.

In 1955, when the A. F. of L. merged with the C. I. O., he fought for a provision in the constitution that would prohibit job discrimination in affiliated unions.

Mr. Randolph has written several books on the Negro's problems, conferred with more than five United States Presidents on these same problems, and he is still active today in the fight for Negro rights and freedom. In August of 1963 he was the inspiration for the March on Washington for jobs and freedom. Millions were affected and moved by the message he delivered on that occasion.

F. T. Sennett, President W. M. McIntyre, Vice President C. D. McGee, Secretary E. H. Lindsey, Treasurer
LOCAL UNION No. 186

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

1036 Firestone Blvd.
Memphis, Tennessee 38107

Tele.: 525-8764

June 15, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
National Chapter
A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 South Park Avenue - South
New York, New York

Dear Brother Rustin:

Local Union #186-URW would like to join all the other Local Unions and individuals who have offered condolences on the death of Brother A. Phillip Randolph.

Brother Randolph will go down in history as one of the truly great men of our time. He will always be remembered for his influential voice within the labor movement and his striving to achieve equality and human dignity for all our people.

The death of Brother Randolph was not only a loss to the labor movement, but to all mankind. Brother Randolph's beliefs and teachings will live on as a tribute to him forever.

Fraternally,

F. T. Sennett

F. T. Sennett, President
Local Union #186-URW

Casel Jones

Casel Jones, President
Memphis Chapter-APRI

FTS:HWJ.J

CC: Mr. Norman Hill, Executive Director
National Chapter - APRI
260 South Park Avenue - South
New York, New York

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A RESUMÉ

The lone Negro AFL-CIO Vice President; International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Temporary National Chairman of the Negro American Labor Council; Founder and Organizer of the World War II March on Washington Movement which led to President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, creating the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee and thereby initiating the concept of Fair Employment Practice Committees in American politico-economic life; Co-Chairman of the Committee against Jim Crow in the Armed Forces, whose activities contributed more than any single organization in influencing President Truman's Executive Order banning segregation in the armed forces of the United States; holder of numerous honorary university degrees; Organizer and Chairman of the Youth March on Washington, D. C. in 1958 and 1959 which brought, respectively, 20,000 and 30,000 young citizens, Negro and white, to Washington to demonstrate in favor of implementation of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision; has conferred with more United States presidents than any other Negro in history on the advancement of civil rights for Negroes in American life; resides with his wife, Lucille, in New York City; maintains offices at his union's international headquarters in New York City.

A. Philip Randolph

Vice President: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Co-Chairman: American Committee on Africa

Executive Board Member: Citizens' Union of New York

Member: National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, U. S. Department of Commerce

Member of Call Committee: American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa

Vice President: Workers' Defense League

Executive Board Member: League for Industrial Democracy

Vice Chairman: Post War World Council

Executive Committee Member: Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Asa Philip Randolph, son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889. He attended Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fla., and later, the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage to Lucille E. Green, former Virginia school teacher, in 1914, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello, and Romeo.

But Mr. Randolph's widely-admired eloquence soon took him from the dramatic stage to the leader's platform. His first experience with the cause of Negro labor came shortly after he left CCNY and took a job with the Fall River Line. Attempting to organize the steamship company's waiters, Mr. Randolph was summarily fired.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science, developing an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. Then, in 1917, under the influence of the sociologist Lester Ward, he and Chandler Owen founded The Messenger. Avowing itself "the only radical Negro magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, The Messenger spoke out on other issues. Thus in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lust Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "the most dangerous Negro in America" — a charge often repeated, down the years, by opponents of civil rights.

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(9)

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In 1925, at the request of Milton Webster, T.T. Patterson, and Ashley Totten, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the vicissitudes of the depression, was finally won in 1937, when the BSCP won certification. Meanwhile, in 1928, The Messenger became The Black Worker, the official publication of the sleeping car porters.

With the advent of World War II, Randolph became increasingly concerned about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the war industries. On a Southern trip with Webster, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. His efforts bore fruit as local March on Washington committees sprung up in communities across the country.

Hearing of the proposed March, New York's Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt called Randolph to City Hall and sought to persuade him from executing it. Following this meeting, which failed in its purpose, Mr. Randolph was summoned to the White House, where he met with President Roosevelt and his advisors. When Randolph firmly reiterated his refusal to cancel the March unless Negroes were guaranteed equal employment opportunities, Roosevelt, on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802, establishing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The Order issued, the March was called off, and the National Council for a Permanent FEPC was set up with Randolph and Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers as co-chairmen.

It was not long before Randolph was involved in another aspect of the struggle against job discrimination. Railway unions and companies had long been in collusion against the hiring of Negro locomotive firemen, whose difficulties became more acute with the development of diesel engines. At

their request, Mr. Randolph formed the "provisional committee" of firemen which initiated legal action resulting in a 1944 Supreme Court decision outlawing anti-Negro union deals with the railroads.

In 1948 Mr. Randolph won still another Executive Order, this time from President Truman. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Randolph had indicated he would call upon Negroes not to register for military service so long as the armed forces were segregated. When he executed this pledge from a Harlem platform, he was called to the White House by the President, who shortly thereafter issued Executive Order 9987, establishing a Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

Meanwhile, Mr. Randolph had become a leading figure in the American Federation of Labor and, when the AFL merged with the CIO, was elected a vice-president of the combined body and a member of its 13-man executive council — the only Negro to hold this position.

Within the labor movement, and at its conventions over the years, Mr. Randolph pressed the fight against all forms of discrimination and segregation. Largely owing to his efforts, white-only clauses have been eliminated from the constitutions of all international unions. Mr. Randolph recognized, however, that the elimination of constitutional barriers would be only the first step toward the full integration of the Negro into the house of labor and that continued pressure from Negro workers would be required for further progress. To organize said pressure, he founded the Negro American Labor Council and was elected its first president at its first meeting in Cleveland, November 19, 1959.

While the labor movement has been the focus of Mr. Rahdolph's crusade for racial democracy, his preeminence in the overall civil rights struggle has brought him the unofficial title of "dean of Negro leaders" and made him much sought after, not only by civil rights activists, but by African leaders as

well. In 1957 with Dr. Martin Luther King, just emerged into national leadership from the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Randolph led 33,000 Americans in the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington. In 1958 and 1959, he chaired two Youth Marches for Integrated Schools involving 10,000 and 30,000 young people, respectively.

By this time, the itinerant preacher's son had been invited to the White House by four U.S. Presidents. Back in 1925 he had accompanied the militant Negro leader W. Monroe Trotter to an interview with Calvin Coolidge, to protest lynching. And on June 23, 1958, he was spokesman for a delegation of civil rights leaders who met with President Eisenhower. Two more Presidential visits — with Kennedy and Johnson — were to follow, but under radically different circumstances.

For late in 1962, in the midst of an upsurging civil rights revolution, A. Philip Randolph called Negro leaders together to map out plans for a new March on Washington. This time there would be no cancellation, despite political pressures. Randolph had become convinced that a dramatic display of mass action was essential if the nation was to make progress towards full civil rights. Trade unions, liberals, and religious groups lent unprecedented support to the plan, and, on August 28, 1963, a quarter million Americans, black and white, descended on the capitol in a demand for jobs and freedom.

As father and director of the March, the largest demonstration in the history of the country, Mr. Randolph had forged an extraordinary unity between the Negro community and its white allies, and in the process renewed his unsought position as "dean of Negro leaders."

ST. LOUIS, MO.
MIRROR
W. CIRC N. AVAIL

APR 23 1969

PAGE ONE

Randolph, 80 Years Old, Reflects on His Fights

NEW YORK -- A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a trace of fire in his eyes, declared:

"You've got to fight for what you get. I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview Tuesday of last week, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents, was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inkling of organizing such a Negro union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Mr. Randolph was 80 years old last Tuesday and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 6 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Goal of the Tribute

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said that throughout all the years he has had primary aim -- to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negrom among them.

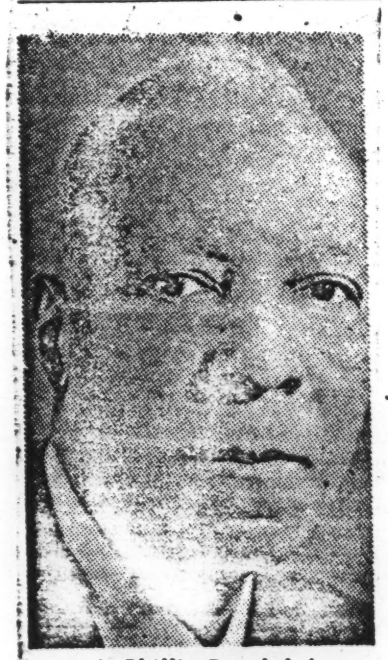
Sitting in his four-room apartment in the cooperatives owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

The the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, (but) I believe that can be overdone. And I believe the cult of blackness

(Continued on Page 9A)



A. Phillip Randolph

The Citizen Register
OSSINING, N. Y.
D. 9,179

MAY 10 1969

Randolph Reflects

(Continued from Page 1)

has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

Editorship Is Recalled

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of The Messenger, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they sought to veer from a path of black alliance with trade unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1915.

Mr. Randolph said that throughout his career he and his associates, had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the buses, medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable.

Voice Remains Strong

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart ailment several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been 6 feet tall. But his powerful, resonant voice was still strong.

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included origination of a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and the defense plants.

Mr. Randolph and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But the President resisted the urgings and even sent Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call the march off. But he was unyielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Emment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an executive order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to whom he had been married 50 years, died only mont before the memorable e

Black Labor Leader's Wisdom

Inside Labor

By VICTOR RIESEL

NEW YORK—It was not meant to be, but it was widow Coretta Scott King's evening. She came—albeit fashionably and dramatically late—to join with many leaders in honoring the veteran black labor leader. A. Philip Randolph, at 80, still eloquent, still resonant of voice, still fiercely proud of, among other causes, having led the sleeping car porters.

Others had come and gone from the thickly jammed Waldorf-Astoria Grand Ballroom on the night of honors. Nelson Rockefeller had thrown away his manuscript and wound up in a minute or two by saying he hoped "little Nelson," his son, would grow up to be the man Phil Randolph is. John Lindsay, tall in his boots as he fights for his political existence, spoke quickly, tensely and with sophistication before returning to the city streets where that day police had had to protect firemen from college demonstrators, students had fought with bats and clubs, and at least one university president had apologized for police intervention needed to protect firefighters attempting to quench flames in a citadel of higher learning.

There was George Meany, labor's president, uneasy in a dinner jacket. He took his five minutes to say that labor had not always eased the black worker's life but now the unions were trying and would try harder because there is still a long journey to the millennium.

THEN SLOWLY, gracefully, dazzling in her white long-sleeved, high-necked bead-trimmed gown, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. made her entrance. Her voice reflected her training, her poise, her confidence; her speech showed the awareness that she now, in the public prints, carried her husband's banner.

Instantly se turned the honoring of A. Philip Randolph into a mass rally for the 400 Charleston hospital strikers. Instantly it was she, with her advisers offstage, who was assuming leadership of what will be the most clangorous and clamorous unionization drive the South has known since John Lewis hurled his CIO legions against the mills of steel and rubber.

It was not the speech her hosts had asked her to make. It was not the tribute of women to Phil Randolph, who for 60 years and more has fought for his causes in the public squares of the land. It was, rather, 14 minutes of subdued but polished oratory, while the men who were chartering planes for the mass flight to Charleston, the men who had led the Memphis strike, the men who were counseling and financing the grape strike, the men who had organized the 1963 massive March on Washington, listened, squirmed a bit and were not at all sure they had not been supplanted by the widow and the Southern Christian Leadership Council.

A few minutes later, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins rose. Softly he spoke, as to a father one loves deeply as a friend and companion and not out of the compulsion of flesh and blood. He had in hand a book of messages to "Phil"—from President Nixon and the elusive Lyndon Johnson and hundreds more.

THIS VOLUME he handed to A. Philip Randolph, who never found the White House more exciting than riding a night train with his brother unionists.

And then he spoke and it was late. Only one newsman stayed, for this newsman never has left a room in which Phil Randolph was set to speak. He had not asked his lyrical comrade Bayard Rustin to write him a speech. He had made notes on the back of a menu. And, since they are words from an old fighter to the young, they should not be lost.

"Our ceremony of rededication," said the still stalwart Randolph across the generation gap to the young around him, including the widow Coretta Scott King, "is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved.

"In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

"WE MUST REJECT confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence. And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to divide within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration.

"We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

"Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundary of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency. And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, at peace with each other and with themselves."

Perhaps it was not all Coretta King's evening after all. There was something quite fiery in the youthful resonance of the 80-year-old fighter.

•

WISDOM—Tempered by realism forged in a thousand battles.

Honor A. Philip Randolph On His 80th Birthday

Dining Room Employee

May, 1969

The entire labor movement, joined dignitaries from all walks of life early this month to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph, past president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a vice president of the AFL-CIO and one of America's most distinguished citizens on the occasion of his 80th birthday. The tribute took place at a testimonial dinner at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria in New York City. Heading a long list of prominent citizens from the labor movement, government, industry, education and social welfare organizations were Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and Mayor John Lindsay. President Siegal attended the dinner both as an HREBIU vice president and as chief executive officer of the Local Joint Board. He has known Randolph, brother Siegal recalls, since childhood.

In accepting the tribute, Randolph spoke of the continuing need for making freedom without

(Continued on Page 8)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH greets trade union friends who sought him out to offer their personal congratulations and good wishes. At left in photo is Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a champion of civil rights. President Siegal is at Rustin's left, and Randolph to the right of photo.

Randolph Honored On 80th Birthday

(Continued from page 1)

respect to color a reality of American life.

Randolph urged militant Negro youths to reject confrontationism and violence in their struggle for freedom and justice.

"In my life," he said, "I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles. We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom."

He was praised for his role in improving the lot of the working man, both black and white, by an array of speakers that included Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, and Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Randolph emphasized, in his response, that he had endeavored through the years to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement.

"The labor movement," he said, "has been the home of the working man, and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed."

Mrs. King, who said Mr. Randolph had been an inspiration to her late husband, called on the 1,300 representatives of labor, the clergy, government and the civil rights movement at the dinner to rally to the cause of hospital workers now on strike in Charleston, S.C., in an effort to gain recognition for their union.

She said that Charleston, like Selma and Memphis, had become a "national test of conscience."

PITTSBURGH, PA.
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DETROIT EDITION
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APR 19 1969

A. P. Randolph's 80th Annal Nears

NEW YORK — Dr. A. Philip Randolph, the 'Grand Old Man' of the labor bargaining table, the maker of an epoch, will celebrate his 80th birthday anniversary this spring. Millions will pause on that day, no doubt, to honor one of the truly great men of this epoch.

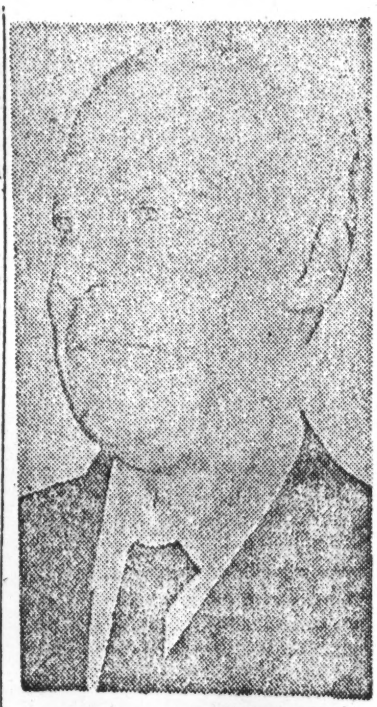
Dr. Randolphs' extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known.

But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind.

He has struggled—often against incredible odds—to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violent in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress—organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.



DR. A. P. RANDOLPH

There are few causes for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been assocated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
SENTINEL
W.-CIRC.N.AVAIL. (N)

APR 12 1969

80th Birthday Tribute May 6 Set for Randolph

NEW YORK — An A. Phillip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by Thurgood Marshall, associate justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader, it was announced by Bayard Rustin, executive director, A. Phillip Randolph Institute.

A testimonial dinner will be held May 6 at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York City. Other events are planned as well. Goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.

Sponsors of the birthday tribute include national labor leaders, industrialists, educators, clergy of all faiths, and political leaders including Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Birthday Committee are Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; C. E. Dellums, president, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters; Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Liuther King, Jr.; Rustin; Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP; Witney Young Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, president emeritus, Morehouse college, will serve as treasurer.

MOUNT CLEMENS, MICH.
MACOMB DAILY
D. 15,500

APR 17 1969

In Our Opinion

Civil Rights Struggle Began With Randolph

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

In 1941, Randolph's plan for a massive Negro march on Washington convinced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948, his influence and authority were behind another executive order by another president, Harry Truman, initiating integration in the armed forces.

In 1963, he conceived and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph was 80 on April 15 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

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born in 1908 on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, and came to seed in a nightmarish world of violence and deprivation. His father, driven to drink and ruin by the black man's burden, abandoned the family; and Wright and his mother wandered over the South, scrounging off friends and relatives. In an orphan's home, Wright learned how to curse. Begging pennies in saloons, he learned how to drink. At six, he was a foul-mouthed drunkard; at twelve, an accomplished thief. The future novelist was saved for posterity by an accidental introduction to the world of books —books that opened up a whole new world of ideas and images and sent him, at the age of seventeen, to Chicago and the dreams Chicago symbolized to the Negroes of the South. But Chicago was no Green Pastures and Wright, in despair, turned to Communism, discovering, as he later related in *The God That Failed*, that the party was not heaven.

By this time, Wright was haunted by an image of revolt and revenge, an image of all the Biggers he had known—men who fought back with whatever they could lay hands on, men defined by the size of their pain and the size of their rebellion: men known, then and now, as "bad niggers." Wright saw the live models of Bigger in Mississippi and on the South Side of Chicago. "They were a wild and homeless lot," he said, "culturally lost, spiritually disinherited, candidates for the clinics, morgues, prisons, reformatories, and the electric chair. . . ."

By gathering up the fragments of the live Biggers and transmuting their lives with the alchemy of art, Wright held up a mirror to a world Negro leaders and white liberals were trying desperately to avoid. In this mirror, the white man—liberal, moderate, and racist—saw himself, and he was an oppressor. In this mirror, the Negro saw himself, and he was a victim mangled and eviscerated by complicity in his own degradation. These were unpalatable truths; and men, as usual, cursed the mirror that reflected their likeness. But it was too late for rituals of evasion. What Wright was saying—literary considerations apart—was that urbanization and industrialization had made the race problem so ominous, so personal, and so menacing that further evasion would lead to national catastrophe. In a world of Biggers, in short, Christian uplift and polite protest were not only futile and Philistine but dangerous.

Enter—at this precise moment—Asa Philip Randolph, a Negro activist who shared Wright's sense of urgency if not his apocalyptic imagery. Randolph, who was the third stone in the line of Negro leadership, saw the gathering storms of which Wright spoke and he tried, desperately, to change the patterns of Negro and white leadership. He failed, it is true, but through him new elements of meaning entered into the Negro-white dialogue.

Randolph was something new in the history of Negro leadership—a man with a sense of history, a broad understanding of pressure and power, and a total commitment to broad ends involving the Negro masses. A tall man, lean and bronze, with a deep vibrant voice and a fondness for Shakespeare, Randolph was, in the words of Roi Ottley, "all soul." What was also true, and more to the point, was that he was all commitment. And his sense of commitment stemmed from a total immersion in the sociography of Negro-white conflict. He was born in 1889 in Crescent City, Florida, the son of an AME minister. He was six when Booker T. Washington went to Atlanta to bless appeasement; and he was twelve when Trotter called for a remembrance of the abo-

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What mattered, above all, was resistance. Randolph's boyhood idol was Henry McNeal Turner, the fiery AME bishop whom Du Bois called "one of the last of the mighty men." Turner believed that the Lord helped those who helped themselves, and two guns were a part of his ecclesiastical regalia. On one occasion, as a brown boy stood wide-eyed in amazement, the bishop parted his robes and checked the firing mechanism on his pistols, saying: "My life depends upon the will of God and these guns." It was an image, this, and Asa Philip Randolph never forgot it. Violence was not then and never would be his way—but defiance was.

Leaving the South, going with the other black migrants to the North, Randolph became a Harlem agitator. On soapboxes and street corners, he called for Negro and white unity and deprecated the program and policies of the Talented Tenth. With Chandler Owens, he founded the *Messenger*, "the only radical magazine in America." Randolph spoke out sharply against Negro involvement in the first war for freedom and spent several hours in a Cleveland jail. After the war, he founded and forced company recognition of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. With the union as his base of power, he ranged out as an articulate advocate of a new departure. In the thirties, he was elected president of the National Negro Congress. He was at this juncture a socialist, but he loathed Communists; and he broke with the Congress in 1940, charging Communist infiltration.

As World War II neared and as Negro degradation increased, Randolph became convinced that new and different tactics were needed. Although defense industries were crying for labor, Negro unemployment was still at depression level. Defense industries, almost without exception, made it clear that Negro workers were not wanted. Some plants, in fact, welcomed all workers, "except Germans, Italians, and Negroes." Worse, infinitely worse, was the aura of bigotry surrounding preparations for an all-out war against racism. Although a Negro—Charles Drew—was primarily responsible for perfecting the blood bank technique, the Red Cross refused, at first, to accept Negro blood. And when Negro blood was finally accepted, it was segregated. Separatism also bloomed in the armed services. Negroes were barred from the Air Corps, the Marines and other branches of the service.

It was World War I all over again, but with a difference: neither the Negro nor the world was the same. Left to their own devices, deserted by white liberals, sensing another betrayal in the making, Negro Americans became bellicose and belligerent. "Established organizations" bestirred themselves, holding conferences and days of prayer and appeal. The NAACP organized a nationwide day of picketing of defense installations, and the National Urban League sponsored a national radio appeal. But something more substantial than appeals was needed. George S. Schuyler, the tarttongued journalist said: "The masses of Negroes are getting fed up on these frauds." Schuyler called for an organization that

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"would have worked out some technique for fighting other than sending letters and telegrams of protest."

Asa Randolph's mind was running in the same groove. He had never placed great store in the traditional techniques of protest. The only thing that stayed power, he believed, was power. "Politicians only move when you move them."

More than any other leader in Negro history, more even than the leonine Douglass and the erudite Du Bois, Randolph focused on the aorta: power. He was interested in what power could do. He was interested, above all, in the only instrument of power available to a Negro leader, an instrument that, strangely enough, every major leader had avoided like a plague, the unpredictable instrument, the potentially explosive instrument: the Negro masses.

One day in 1940, Randolph left New York City and headed South on a speaking tour. As the train rolled across the Virginia countryside, where his forbears had served as slaves, Randolph brooded over the failure of the politics of talk. His mind went back to his father and to Henry McNeal Turner and to all the other men and women who had suffered and died while men talked. And, of a sudden, an idea—stunning and frightening in its simplicity—rose in his mind. Randolph turned to his traveling companion, Milton Webster, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and made an incredible suggestion.

"I think," he said in his measured Oxford accent, "we ought to get 10,000 Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue asking for jobs in defense plants and integration of the armed forces. It would shake up Washington."

Indeed, it would. "But where," Webster asked, "are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

Randolph could not be bothered by details. He was possessed now by the beauty of the idea and in his mind's eye he heard the sound of black feet tramping the pavement in front of the White House.

"I think," Webster recalled later, "the first place where Brother Randolph and I talked March on Washington was in Savannah, Georgia. The head colored man in town opened up the meeting, introduced me, and ran off the platform to the last seat in the row. It scared everybody to death."

And yet, underneath the fear, there was a strange fascination. Men turned away from the thing, in dread; but they crept back, time and again, fascinated. No matter. Randolph went back to Harlem to the Brotherhood headquarters on the third floor of a building that housed beauty salons and dancing schools; and there, in the midst of the agony and the joy of Negro living, he started the wheels to rolling, conferring with "established Negro leaders" (Walter White, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lester Granger and others), winning either their silence or their consent. He then organized a national organization, using union outlets in various cities as a base. On May 1, 1941, he issued a dramatic call, urging ten thousand Negroes to prepare for a black invasion of Washington on July 1.

> Dear fellow Negro-Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.
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> In this period of power politics, nothing counts but

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> Dear fellow Negro-Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.
>
> In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure through the tactic and strategy of broad, organized, aggressive mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. To this end we propose that ten thousand Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.
>
> An all-out thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up white America.
>
> It will shake up official Washington. . . . It will gain respect for the Negro people. . . . It will create a new sense of self-respect among Negroes. . . . MASS POWER CAN CAUSE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION in all Government Departments, Army, Navy, Air Corps and National Defense jobs.

The Negro press, which had been cool to Randolph and his idea, warmed now to the struggle, printing big headlines of defiance. And the white press? The white press was wary, silent. But white men of power were watching, and Randolph knew it. Savagely, now, Randolph increased the pressure, calling a series of mammoth mass meetings across the country, coolly, shrewdly,

upping his estimate of the expected crowd with each new press release.

Now the white power structure began to move. But, and this is typical, no one said anything to Randolph. The moves were tangential, peripheral, seemingly unrelated to the pressure building up in the ghetto. On April 11, Sidney Hillman of the Office of Production Management urged defense plants to hire Negro workers. President Roosevelt followed this up with a personal letter to government agencies.

Randolph, smelling blood, so to speak, upped the ante, announcing almost total support from the Negro community. It was a naked war of nerves, but it was something else: Randolph was deadly serious. And when this became crystal clear, Randolph, along with Walter White, was summoned to a meeting in New York City Hall. At this meeting, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and other liberals urged Randolph to call off the March. It was unwise, they said, imprudent, and dangerous. Mrs. Roosevelt expressed deep concern over the plight of Negroes and promised to speak to the President about it. But a march, she said, was the wrong approach; it would do more harm than good. Randolph, measuring his old friends, said he was sure that the March would do some good. In fact, he said coolly, "it has already done some good; for if you were not concerned about it you wouldn't be here now. . . ." This was truth, stark, naked truth; and the liberals adopted another tack. Mrs. Roosevelt expressed concern over the personal inconveniences such a march would entail. The marchers, of course, would not be able to find places to sleep and eat in the rigidly segregated capital. Randolph answered—and there was steel in his voice now—that the demonstrators would march into hotels and restaurants and demand service.

It does not take a great deal of time to get from Manhattan to Harlem; but when Randolph returned to his Harlem office, a telegram was awaiting him. High officials wanted him to come to Washington "for a conference on your project."

On Wednesday, June 18, Randolph, Walter White, and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League, were ushered into the presence of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The President sat at his

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desk, surrounded by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and other high officials.

"Hello, Phil," the President beamed, exuding his famous charm. Putting his guests at ease, the President embarked on a favorite strategem, a long and amiable filibuster filled with anecdotes and amusing stories. But Randolph was neither flattered nor amused.

"Mr. President," he said, cutting into an anecdote, "time is running on. You are busy. We want specifically to talk to you about the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't live with this thing. What are you gong to do about it?"

"Now you're quite right, Phil," the President replied. "And I'm going to do something about it. Call off this march of yours and we'll do something. Questions like this have sociological implications. They can't be gotten at with hammers and tongs. They can't be settled with marches."

Neither, Randolph said, in so many words, could they be settled with good intentions. The President looked at Randolph, measuring him. How many people, he asked, will march? Randolph, without blinking an eye, said one hundred thousand. The President looked at Walter White and repeated the question. Walter White said one hundred thousand. Neither White nor Randolph knew for sure; nobody would ever know. It has been suggested that Randolph was bluffing. If so, the bluff was brilliantly successful.

The President was genuinely alarmed.

"We cannot have a march on Washington," he said. "We must approach this problem in an analytical way."

"Then, Mr. President," Randolph replied, "something will have to be done and done at once."

"Something will be done, but there must be no public pressure on the White House."

"Mr. President," Asa Philip Randolph said, his rich voice booming, "*something must be done now!*"

And something was done, almost immediately. Seven days later, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802, establishing thereby a wartime Fair Employment Committee. And Randolph,

carrying out his part of the bargain, went on the air and "postponed" the March, an act that did not please some of his followers. The young activists of the youth division—a young man named Bayard Rustin among them—condemned the postponement, and Randolph used the occasion to lecture his followers on the tactics of a mass pressure movement. Let us note five themes:

> 1) *Objectives must be concrete and specific.*
>
> In the first place, the purpose of the march was specific, and not general. It was to secure an Executive Order from the President of the United States abolishing discriminations in national defense . . . [and] in the Federal departments of the Government.
>
> 2) *Objectives must be simple and vital.*
>
> These were objectives that the people could understand, visualize, and feel. These objectives were developed in harmony with sound mass psychology; namely, that the people cannot struggle for an omnibus program with a multiplicity of aims, but must have one central and vital issue around which to rally. . . .
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> 3) *Leaders must be flexible and tactically mobile.*

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> These were objectives that the people could understand, visualize, and feel. These objectives were developed in harmony with sound mass psychology; namely, that the people cannot struggle for an omnibus program with a multiplicity of aims, but must have one central and vital issue around which to rally. . . .
> 3) *Leaders must be flexible and tactically mobile.*
> The strike vote is the positive, tangible expression of the will of the workers to strike if their demands are not complied with. However, the workers know, and so does the union, that all their demands will never be complied with. Therefore, when—as a result of negotiation and conference—the chief aims of the organization of the workers are realized, the proposed strike is called off.
> This does not mean that another strike may not be proposed and scheduled.
> 4) *Mass movements must avoid romanticism.*
> The Negro masses who want jobs now would have hurled curses upon the heads of the leaders of the Negro March-on-Washington Movement if they had sacrificed an immediate and practical opportunity to secure employment opportunities for Negro masses in defense industries in order to satisfy a handful of Negro youth who apparently were more interested in the drama and pyrotechnics of the march than in the basic and main issues of putting Negroes to work.
> 5) *Idealism is no program.*
> It would seem to me that your first function as a serious group, devoted to the cause of the Negro masses, was to actually mobilize the youth of the country—at least of Harlem. This you never did. You were more articulate

> about what you hoped to do than what you actually did. It is a grave question in my mind whether the youth division would have actually mobilized 25 youths to go to Washington. There is no tangible evidence to the contrary.

In this letter, and in his vision of battle for the March, Randolph's fundamental traits as a leader emerged—boldness of conception, largeness of view, determination, and pragmatic shrewdness. It was said then that he lacked the administrative sensibility which is so dear to Negro militants and white liberals. But administration is one thing, and leadership is another. Administrative skills of the kind admired by Negro bureaucrats—attention to detail and paper work, the care and feeding of white liberal allies, etc.—would not have produced the great breakthrough of the first Presidential Executive Order on race relations since the Emancipation Proclamation.

Despite the opposition and/or silence of most Negro men of power, Randolph raised, almost singlehandedly, a new issue; and he focused the Negro's mind on a new technique and a new vision. Up to that moment, the dominant issues in Negro life were poll tax legislation, antilynching legislation, "separate-but-equal" school facilities and the white primary. Now, FEPC became the dominant myth, displacing other symbols and cares.

Although the wartime Fair Employment Committee did not accomplish a great deal, it was a point of focus which changed the climate of race relations and the vision of Negro leadership. Here now, for the first time since Reconstruction, was a decisive act by the federal government on behalf of Negro citizens. And hereafter Negro strategy would be based, implicitly or explicitly, on the necessity for decisive intervention by the federal government. It would be based, too, on the need for unrelenting pressure on the government. Roy Wilkins noted that the issuance of the Executive Order "was forced on the administration by the March-on-Washington crusaders, proving once more that we get more when we yell than we do when we plead."

So it seemed to many. When the shooting war began without any appreciable change in the situation of Negroes, yelling became a habit in the ghetto. Continued discrimination in defense

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plants, riots and revolts in army camps, and increased tension over housing and employment in Northern cities pushed Negro America to the edge of open revolt. Some Negroes like pacifist Bayard Rustin served prison sentences as conscientious objectors. Others like Lewis Jones refused to serve in a segregated army. Still others like Elijah Muhammed and his Muslim followers refused to fight for a segregated country.

Most Negroes backed the war effort, but they were clearly in a conditional mood. There was widespread apathy, cynicism, and demoralization in the rigidly segregated armed forces; and a Negro, in a letter to the *Raleigh News and Observer*, told America that time was running out. "This is very likely to be the last war," he wrote, "that the white man will be able to lead humanity to wage for plausible platitudes." More graphic was the epitaph a Negro soldier suggested for his tombstone: "Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man."

A measure of the wartime mood, and a thermometer of Negro despair, was the Sojourner Truth Housing Project riots in Detroit. When, in 1942, armed white men attempted to prevent Negro occupancy of a federal housing project bearing the name of the great Negro woman leader, Detroit was pushed to the edge of open war.

Negro leaders in Detroit and other cities said frankly that they no longer understood the Negro masses. Dr. J. S. Nathaniel Tress, a Charlotte, North Carolina, leader, said: "I am afraid for my people. They have grown restless. They are not happy. They no longer laugh. There is a new feeling among them—something strange, perhaps terrible."

It was obvious to millions of white Americans that something strange and terrible was moving behind the Negro mask. The implications of this thing that nobody dared to name were shrewdly weighed in an editorial in the New York City newspaper, *PM*. "At no time in American history has the Negro enjoyed so much liberty as he does today. At no time has the Negro been so conscious and so resentful of the injustices and indignities still imposed upon him. Unless Americans understand this paradox and *act upon it quickly* the all-out war drive may be gravely handicapped."

Propelled by the imperative mood of the Negro community and the charismatic challenge of Asa Philip Randolph, "establshed organizations" shifted tactically. The NAACP sponsored direct-action thrusts (mass marches for integrated army divisions, picketing of defense plants) and adopted a tougher, more polemical posture. As a result, NAACP membership rose sharply. By 1945, the organization had some five hundred thousand members, as compared with the 1940 membership of sixty-five thousand.

Walter White, the blonde, blue-eyed executive secretary of the association, emerged in this period as a talented advocate and a superb lobbyist. He succeeded, at least during the war period, in transcending the narrow limits of the protest tradition.

White was an interesting figure—colorful, dramatic, energetic. The fair-skinned son of a fair-skinned postman, he was born in 1891 in Atlanta and raised in comfortable circumstances. After a brief career as an insurance man, he joined the NAACP in 1918. The young NAACP worker attracted national attention with a series of articles on lynching. Bold and courageous, he "passed"

eting of defense plants) and adopted a tougher, more [illegible] posture. As a result, NAACP membership rose sharply. By 1945, the organization had some five hundred thousand members, as compared with the 1940 membership of sixty-five thousand.

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A cool customer, White—cool, confident, and ambitious, never wanting for a ready retort or a revealing fact. These qualities helped White survive white mobs and a series of internal NAACP wars with W. E. B. Du Bois who did not, to put it mildly, like White. When James Weldon Johnson resigned in 1930, White became acting secretary and assumed full control the next year. But the NAACP secretaryship does not, as White soon learned, make one a leader. It carries with it the possibilities of leadership. But the office itself, like the office of executive director of the Urban League, is a clerkship—and clerkship, as Richard Neustadt pointed out in quite another connection, is not leadership. But

clerkship, for all that, is important, at least negatively. By carrying out the duties of his clerkship, an NAACP executive plays a modest, but nonetheless important, role in racial affairs. If he has no talent for making things happen, he can, at the very least, stop things from happening. But something more is required—as Garvey reminded White's predecessor, James Weldon Johnson, and as King reminded White's successor, Roy Wilkins, and as Randolph reminded White himself—for creative leadership. White succeeded by great dexterity in overcoming his temporary eclipse by Randolph. By the late forties, he was one of the most important Negroes alive. It is true that he did not alter in any fundamental way the tactics and strategy of the NAACP; it is true that he, like his predecessors and his successor, had no answer, outside lobbying and litigation, to the question: what can the average Negro do now? But he did expand NAACP influence, creating a Washington office and youth and church divisions. He also carried out his clerkship with unprecedented flair, distinguishing himself in the process as probably the best lobbyist Negro America has produced. It can also be said, I think, that White demonstrated great agility in the forties by moving the NAACP structure in the direction of the dominant, direct-action trend. But this, as it turned out, was a temporary stratagem and not a long-term shift in strategy.

White has been criticized severely for alleged shallowness and dilettantism. In a brilliant essay, "Negroes in Gray Flannel Suits," Lillian Smith argued that White's approach, and the NAACP's approach, was shallow and socially naive. There was truth in this, but it was not the whole truth. White was an uncomplicated, middle-class American type. He was a gregarious man who loved good food, old wine, and the company of important white people. If, as his critics contend, White occasionally confused the state of social justice with the number of important white people he could call by their first names, he did see clearly the perils of gradualism. He also played an important role in popularizing the basic NAACP legal shift from an attack on "separate-but-equal" facilities to an attack on segregation *per se*.

In this season, the Negro press was also very active, making the slogan, "Victory at Home and Abroad," a part of the mental

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equipment of almost every Negro. So insistent were Negro newspapers that the government considered and rejected pleas for the arrest and incarceration of Negro editors.

As a result of the unrelenting pressure of Negroes of every creed and class, America began a slow retreat from the bastion of white supremacy. Negroes were accepted into the Air Force, Marines, and WAACS. Segregated officer candidate schools were abolished; and, as a direct result of the brilliance of a Nazi General, Negroes fought with white men in combat units to roll back the bulge.

If Negroes were growing more set in their determination, the wrath of white racists was also rising. There was virtual panic in some areas of the South, and some white journalists and businessmen said that if winning the war meant Negro equality then they preferred to lose the war.

The world was changing—brown men and black men were pushing their heads up above the water—and white men, feeling themselves watched, observed, and judged, were afraid. That feeling came out in a resolution of the South Carolina House of Representatives.

"We reaffirm our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it. Insofar as racial relations are concerned, we firmly and unequivocally demand that henceforth the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone."

It came out in the anguished plea of a Mississippi Democrat who asked Northern Democrats to kill FEPC. "I come to you as an American asking you as another American, for God's sake to help us."

There was an hysterical note in this, and this hysteria doomed white liberalism. Walter White noted presciently in 1942 that "the highest casualty of the war to date" was white liberalism in the South. Before Pearl Harbor, interracial dinners, interracial meetings and interracial dances were not uncommon in the South. Men, at that point, did not take their lives into their hands when

they spoke out in favor of racial equality. As late as 1944, it was possible for Senator Lister Hill of Alabama to vote for an FEPC appropriation. And as late as 1946, the North Carolina Baptist Convention endorsed (and quickly reconsidered) FEPC.

Now all this changed markedly. The South became a closed society which did not tolerate dissent. Ralph McGill, who later broke away from the Southern tradition, fulminated in this age against the NAACP and federal intervention. The Atlanta editor opposed the poll tax, but cheered a Southern filibuster against the poll tax because, as he put it, "the motives behind the bill are probably the most sordid and hypocritical ever introduced into the Senate chamber."

With hysteria mounting in the South and fear spreading in the North, America faced a national crisis. "Nearer and Nearer the Precipice," was the summation of a "liberal" Southern writer in the Atlantic Monthly.

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How does America meet a racial crisis?

By insisting, first of all, that a crisis does not exist; by insisting, secondly, that Negro leaders join them in this petty deceit. Failing in these two tactics, America falls back to a strategy of talk—of promises, of reports, of conferences, of surveys—and a strategy of mirages, of token appointments of token Negoes. If these strategems fail to take the wind out of the approaching hurricane, America makes a concession in form, taking care to emasculate even the form in application.

These archetypal responses were tried in the forties and, inexplicably, all of them failed. Men who took the trouble to inquire discovered a disquieting fact: Pearl Harbor had killed or, at least, had seriously wounded Uncle Tom. It had been possible, before Pearl Harbor, to get Negro leaders to denounce malcontents. Now they not only refused to denounce "agitators"; but they said with disturbing unanimity that the "agitators" were telling the truth. When Negro leaders were summoned to the Office of Facts and Figures, they astounded official Washington by declaring, to the man, that Negro morale could not be improved unless the Negro condition were improved. There was a similar failure of the old tactic of co-optation—appointing a Negro to a symbolic but powerless position. William Henry Hastie was

named civilian assistant to the Secretary of War, but he resigned, in an unprecedented act, and denounced discrimination in the armed forces.

It was the same old ball game on the same diamond with the same two teams—but the men in dark skins were playing by a new set of rules. To make things even more vexing, Randolph chose this moment to introduce a foreign variation—Gandhism. Sensing the mood of the people, he called for a national campaign based on "nonviolent goodwill direct action." "The American Gandhi," as newspapers called him, proposed school, streetcar and bus boycotts, mass marches on city halls and the White House, and the maintenance of a picket line around the White House "until the country and the world recognizes the Negro has become of age and will sacrifice his all to be counted as men, free men."

Gandhism was not an entirely new development in the ghetto. In the early twenties, when Gandhi began his nonviolent resistance campaign in India, hearts picked up and men said why not here. E. Franklin Frazier, an angry young man of the day, examined the matter at some length in the *Crisis* and counselled against Gandhism. There would be a "blood bath," he said, if a Gandhi arose to lead Negroes. As for loving one's enemies, Frazier said he was "primarily interested in saving the Negro's self respect," adding: "If the masses of Negroes can save their self-respect and remain free of hate, so much the better for their moral development. . . . I believe it would be better for the Negro's soul to be seared with hate than dwarfed by self-abasement." All in all, Frazier concluded, nonviolence was neither practical or expedient. He did not believe in "wholesale violence," but he was convinced that "violent defense in local and specific instances has made white men hesitate to make wanton attacks upon Negroes."

This did not end the speculation which continued throughout the thirties. During this decade, bands of black men made pilgrimages to the brown man of India. Howard Thurman, then dean of the Howard University chapel, was the leader of a group of American Negroes who were told by Gandhi that perhaps it would be through the American Negro that the principle of nonviolence would enter the world. It was at least a possibility, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and other activists kept the option

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open during the thirties. More persuasive perhaps than either Gandhi or the Sermon on the Mount was the success of John L. Lewis with his blitzkrieg series of sit-down strikes in 1937.

Randolph, watching and weighing the mood of the people, fused the indigenous tactics of the labor movement and the ideology of Gandhi. In 1942 and 1943, he succeeded in creating the first American nonviolent movement and the first Negro mass movement that was not based on black nationalism. His March on Washington Movement had fire in it; it moved, pulling people along on a surging tide of discontent and defiance. Local branches, based on his union outlets, were organized in Northern and Southern cities. In the summer of 1942, Randolph staged a series of mass meetings of a size and intensity unparalleled in the history of the Negro resistance movement.

"The power of the new movement is mysterious," Edwin Embree wrote. "It has almost no organization, no big machine for promotion and publicity. Yet it grips the people's imagination and holds their loyalty. Masses of the darker common people are looking to Randolph as the Modern Messiah."

All this was of vast importance in the political education of Negroes. For the first time, the Negro masses participated in a social crusade. Hundreds of thousands of lower-income Negroes came to social maturity in the feverish days of Randolph's crusade.

By 1942, Randolph was at the zenith of his power, and men were hailing him as "the mightiest man since Frederick Douglass." But there were doubters and scoffers. "Established Negro organizations" were horrified, privately, by Randolph's reliance on combat tactics—picket lines and mass demonstrations. And some noted —and this was the heart of the matter—that the March on Washington movement did very little marching.

White liberals, as usual, agreed with Randolph's goals but not his methods. Liberals, moreover, were mortally offended, or so they said, by the exclusion of whites, as a matter of policy, from the March on Washington movement.

Randolph united his detractors by a bold 1943 call for a national civil disobedience movement. The *Pittsburgh Courier* said:

> A. Philip Randolph is guilty of the most dangerous demagoguery on record.

> The "March on Washington" plan was bad enough, but alongside a call to civil disobedience, it seems quite sane.
>
> For a stated period Mr. Randolph is suggesting that colored citizens disobey all Jim Crow laws as a demonstration of their dissatisfaction with them (and presumably he is prepared to lead the way) but there is to be no violence!

The *Courier* went on to say that such a campaign would "offer irresponsible and vicious elements an excuse for slaughtering thousands of colored citizens." The *Courier* did not doubt that Negroes would remain nonviolent, but pointed out that whites would certainly use violence.

Randolph struck back, calling his detractors "petty black bourgeoise" who wanted "results without risks, achievement without action." The MOWM planned, he said, to hold nonviolent institutes to train Negroes in the techniques of Gandhian nonviolence.

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As for mass action, he said: "The immediate, positive and direct value of mass action pressure consists of two things: one, it places human beings in physical motion which can be felt, seen and heard. Nothing stirs and shapes public sentiment like physical action. Organized labor and organized capital have long since recognized this. This is why the major weapon of labor is the STRIKE. It is why the major weapon of business is the Lock-out and the Shut-down. All people feel, think and talk about a physical formation of people, whoever they may be. This is why wars grip the imagination of man. Mass demonstrations against Jim Crow are worth a million editorials and orations in anybody's paper and on any platform. Editorials and orations are only worthwhile and effective when they are built around some actual human struggle for specific social and racial rights and against definitive wrongs.

"Mass social pressure in the form of marches and picketing will not only touch and arrest the attention of the powerful public officials but also the little man in the street. And, before this problem of Jim Crow can be successfully attacked, all of America must be shocked and awakened. This has never been done, except by race riots that are dangerous socio-racial explosions. Moreover, mass efforts are a form of struggle for Negro rights in which all Negroes can participate, including the educated and the so-called

uneducated, the rich and the poor. It is a technique and strategy which the "little Negro" in the tavern, pool-room, on the streets, jitterbugs, store-front preacher, and sharecropper, can use to help free the race."

As for white participation, Randolph said: "Now, the March on Washington Movement is an all Negro movement, but it is not anti-white, anti-American, anti-labor, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. It's simply pro-Negro. It does not rest so much upon race as upon the social problem of Jim Crow. It does not oppose interracial organizations. It cooperates with such mixed organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League, and churches, and trade unions. Its validity lies in the fact that no one will fight as hard to remove and relieve pain as he who suffers from it."

Speaking thus, of pain and petitions and physical action, Randolph gave notice that a civil disobedience campaign was imminent. No one knows what would have happened had Randolph continued with his plans. For at that juncture the pain bubbled to the surface and America was face to face with that which informs all race relations discussions: miniature civil wars. There were riots in the summer of 1943 in Harlem, Mobile, Los Angeles, and Beaumont (Texas). The most tragic event of that summer, and in some ways the most tragic event of the decade, was Detroit's "Black Pearl Harbor" of June 20. Thirty-four persons were killed and more than one thousand were injured in rioting which raged until federal troops were called out.

The riotous summer of 1943 was a basic turning point in the Negro-white dialogue. The riots of that year illuminated the outstanding debts and the outstanding hatreds. Fearful of similar explosions, cities all over America "discovered" the race problem. By 1945, more than four hundred committees, official and unofficial, had been established by American communities. Most of these committees accomplished nothing; many, in fact, closed shop after the danger of widespread rioting passed.

After the riot season of 1943, the great tide of revolt subsided and Negro leaders, finding themselves on exposed beaches in ridiculous poses, retreated to islands of petition. Hopes of changing the world by direct assault dwindled, and men looked to God

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—or Thurgood Marshall—for surcease. The 1943 March on Washington Convention "deferred" action on the proposed civil disobedience movement and "postponed" the March on Washington.

The great crusade was over.

The crusade failed for many reasons—the failure to develop a stable following, the hostility of Negro and white men of power, bad timing, bad luck. All these played a part. So also did Randolph. By failing to produce ("Success," the cynical French say, "hides many errors"), by failing to stage a march or, failing in that, to get arrested, Randolph probably dimmed the ardor of his following. Moreover, as some of his followers later admitted, it was a mistake to call for a national civil disobedience movement without adequate local preparation. Randolph, unlike King, started at the top with a call for a national movement. But it is significant that King has not yet reached the point where Randolph started.

Although the crusade failed, it was not without a certain significance. "No daring," Rene Crevel said once, "is fatal." What is also true is that no daring goes unnoticed by the young. Seeds were sown in this season—a Bayard Rustin in New York City, an Ed Nixon in Montgomey—that would bear fruit before the game had run its course. And a structure—the Congress of Racial Equality—was organized to sustain the spirit of the forties.

CORE, as the Congress is called, grew out of a memorandum, "Provisional Plans for Brotherhood Mobilization," prepared by James Farmer, a young graduate of Wiley College and Howard University, on February 19, 1942. The Farmer memorandum envisioned a national movement based on the Gandhian tactics of direct, nonviolent action. But Farmer warned against "an uncritical duplication of the Gandhian steps in organization and execution." He suggested a five-year or ten-year plan, "after which, it is to be hoped, relentless noncooperation, economic boycott, civil disobedience, et cetera, will be thrown into swing wherever and whenever necessary."

Farmer miscalculated by ten years. National CORE, an interracial organization using sit-ins and picket-line tactics, was organized in 1943. By 1953, the end of Farmer's first ten-year plan,

CORE was a paper tiger with a token staff. But ten years later, CORE and Gandhi and "et cetera" were a part of the American language and the Negro mind.

Nobody could foresee that development in 1943. The "riot season" served to consolidate the position of militants and moderates. "Established organization" emerged from the shadow of the crusade and resumed control of events with Randolph as an ally. At this juncture, the civil rights movement entered an interesting phase, which continues today, of *ad hoc* coalition building. Instead of expanding vertically by sending roots down into the Negro masses, Negro leadership decided to expand horizontally by allying with labor, religious, and civil libertarian groups whose roots, on the race issue anyway, were shallow indeed. The first fruit of this development was the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, co-chaired by Randolph and Allen Knight Chalmers, a Congregational minister and professor. The committee did not succeed in attempts to push an FEPC bill through Congress, but local units, some of them autonomous, were successful in drives for state and municipal bills.

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One of the important byproducts of this movement was the engagement of the energies of the Negro church. Until the middle forties, the Negro church was a major accommodating and accommodative instrument in the Negro community. Run by cautious, conservative men who looked for salvation "up yonder," the church held itself aloof from the social struggle. In an exhaustive study, B. E. Mays and J. W. Nicholson noted in 1932 that "the church's program, except in rare instances, is static, non-progressive, and fails to challenge the loyalty of many of the most critically-minded Negroes. . . ."

The FEPC struggle gave the Negro church an opportunity to redeem the pledges of Richard Allen and the pioneer Negro preachers; and sensitive men seized the opportunity, traveling to Washington to buttonhole congressmen and senators and sponsoring rallies and mass meetings in their sanctuaries. In 1944, the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches gathered in Washington in response to a "mandate issued by the Negro people calling upon the church to present their cause to our Government and its lawmak-

ers." It was noted that "this was the first time in Negro Church History that such a legislative project was initiated by the Church and it represented a distinct departure from traditional ecclesiastical procedure."

The reverend lobbyists were no more successful than their secular brothers. Although they learned something about life and politics in the FEPC movement, they were not yet, as Louis C. Kesselman noted, "politically emancipated." They were not fully committed; they were "unwilling to take steps to advance the FEPC movement if it meant the assumption of risks or interference with their own church activities." And it was becoming clear, hour by hour, that risks and total engagement were necessary for a meaningful assault on the barriers of Jim Crow.

The postwar world ushered in a new period of reaction and fear. Congress was dominated by a loose coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern conservatives, most of them Republicans, who chipped away steadily at New Deal social and economic gains. Worse, a climate of fear was moving over the Western world in the wake of communist gains in Europe and Asia.

This was a time of disillusionment and defeat for Negro Americans, of riots in Columbia, Tennessee, Athens, Alabama, and Chicago, Illinois, of isolated attacks on Negro veterans in the Black Belt areas of the South. They were singing, in these years, *When the Lights Go On Again All Over the World*—and only the Negro seemed to remember that the lights had not shone now in Mississippi for more than one hundred years.

Richard Wright packed his bags and went to Paris, saying goodbye forever to America. W. E. B. Du Bois, back at the NAACP with a vague title, began his migration to the left; and Paul Robeson, huge, black, and eloquent, moved, voice and baggage, into the left-wing camp. Asa Philip Randolph, sensing what he called a tide of reaction, called for the establishment of a third party.

A chilling barometer of Negro despair was an absolutely astounding act by the conciliatory NAACP. On October 23, 1947, the NAACP filed "An Appeal to the World" with the United Na-

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tions and asked that august body to intervene in the domestic affairs of the United States on behalf of a suffering and oppressed minority.

What this all meant—the NAACP petition, Wright, Randolph, Robeson, and Du Bois—was that the pain was becoming unendurable, and that some men were willing to bet their careers, their honor, their very lives on human grandeur. And once that point was reached, as Myrdal pointed out obliquely in 1944, somebody had to do something.

There were men in America who knew this. They knew the war had internationalized the color problem and that the coming struggle for power between Russia and America made some concession to Negroes and Equality absolutely necessary. There were, to repeat, some men who knew this. But what they did was entirely disproportionate to the amount of cramp and pain Negroes felt. President Harry Truman appointed a Civil Rights Commission which brought in a long and admirable report. The report was glowingly eulogized in the press, filed, and forgotten.

But men were waiting and watching; among them, Asa Philip Randolph. For the second time now, Randolph raised a new issue, thereby illustrating the duty of a leader to educate the masses, both Negro and white, by forcing them to confront new elements in a changing situation. In the latter part of 1947, Randolph began to agitate for an integrated armed forces. When President Truman called for a peacetime draft, Randolph acted. To the consternation of millions of Americans—Negroes and whites—Randolph announced that he would lead a civil disobedience movement against the draft. With Bayard Rustin and other young activists, Randolph established the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. The league's objective was a Presidential executive order against segregation in the armed forces.

President Truman called Randolph and other Negro leaders to the White House. But Randolph was bargaining from a position of strength and he and Truman knew it. The conference was amiable until Randolph said that his travels across the country had convinced him that "Negroes are sick and tired of being asked to shoulder guns in defense of democracy abroad until they

get some at home. They are prepared to resort to civil disobedience and refusal to register for the draft if it means serving in a Jim Crow Army."

Truman flushed and said heatedly, "I wish you hadn't said that. I don't like it. I'm doing the best I can. You know what I have asked Congress to do."

Randolph refused to back down, pointing out that he was not questioning the President's integrity but his sense of history.

"I don't like it at all," the President cut in. "I wish you hadn't said that."

Randolph said he was sorry he had to say it, but truth was truth.

Called before the Senate Armed Services Committee with Grant Reynolds, co-chairman of his committee, Randolph repeated his threat.

"I personally pledge myself," he said, "to openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, in an organized refusal to register and be drafted."

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"It may lead to indictments for treason and very serious repercussions," Senator Wayne Morse warned.

"We are willing to pay that price," Randolph shot back, noting pointedly that "Senator Morse has never felt the sting of Jim Crow. . . . I believe any of you men would raise hell in America if you felt the indignities and injustices that are suffered [by Negroes] in America."

Hell was precisely what Randolph intended to raise. He went immediately to a soapbox and urged draft-age youth in his audience not to register with their draft boards. "I am prepared," he announced, "to oppose a Jim Crow Army until I rot in jail."

The power structure moved now to its basic tactic: divide and segregate. Established Negro leaders were summoned to a conference with Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and other functionaries. Forrestal suggested the appointment of an advisory committee of prominent Negroes; but the prominent Negroes balked, demanding a token of good faith. Not only did the group refuse to repudiate Randolph, but they, in effect, supported him by flatly refusing to form the advisory committee. Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, announced after the conference that "the group agreed that no one wanted to con-

tinue in an advisory capacity on the basis of continued segregation in the armed services."

Meanwhile, a great debate raged in the Negro community over Randolph's strategy. Most Negro leaders avoided open repudiation of Randolph, hoping that the threat would win basic concessions. *Newsweek* noted that Walter White, "the careful and cautious" NAACP secretary, "did not share Mr. Randolph's faith in the efficacy of a civil disobedience campaign," but that the only alternative was "the immediate and total abolition of segregation." The magazine concluded that Randolph expressed what a vast number of Negroes, particularly young Negroes, felt and thought about segregation.

Faced again by a determined Randolph and a Negro community teetering on the edge of revolt, white men of power retreated. On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued two executive orders, creating an FEPC board to eliminate racial discrimination in federal employment and a President's Committee on Equal Treatment and Opportunity in the armed services. This was not, by any means, what Randolph had demanded. But he accepted the olive branch and called off the civil disobedience movement, noting that the campaign had forced issuance of two pivotal executive orders and had "jarred Negro spokesmen out of tolerating compulsory racial segregation, in war or peace."

Though Randolph was appeased, other activists were not; and the new Progressive party provided an instrument for venting despair. Calling for a basic change in the Negro situation, eschewing the token approach of the Democrats and Republicans, the Progressive party raised racial tensions to a new high. Prominent Negroes—Paul Robeson and several "respectable" doctors and lawyers—were given positions of real power within the party; and more than thirty Negroes ran for state and federal offices on the party ticket. Henry Wallace, the 1948 Presidential candidate, campaigned in the South with an integrated staff.

In several states, notably North Carolina, mobs attempted to break up integrated Progressive party meetings. When Glenn Taylor, a United States senator and the party's vice-presidential candidate, attempted to enter a Negro church in Birmingham through a door marked "Negro," he was arrested on a charge of resisting a police officer.

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The Progressive crusade was a basic and bare-knuckled challenge to the power structure which reacted with basic and bare-knuckled tactics. Pointing to the Communists, who were an undoubted part of the crusade, the power structure ruthlessly counterattacked. White men of power were particularly apprehensive about the Negro community. After all, there were real grievances in the Negro community; and Wallace, a former U.S. vice-president, was promising to redress these grievances. Would Negro leaders abandon their basic strategy of maneuvering between the two major parties? Would Negroes release the emaciated Democratic bird and reach for the elusive but temptingly fat Progressive bird in the bush? Discreet calls were made in almost every community. In *Community Power Structure*, a study of decision-making in Atlanta, Georgia, Floyd Hunter traced the lineaments of deliberation.

> Many of us [Negro leaders], a Negro leader reported, were in sympathy with the aims of the Progressive party, but we felt that more could be gained ultimately by sticking to the older parties. We discussed the matter of alignment very carefully among ourselves [the top leadership group], and decided to play a waiting game. We knew that the Progressive party was scaring the leaders uptown and we thought the fright was good for them. If the party gained strength we could always threaten to go along with it, but we would wait and see.
>
> All of the leaders have one or two white men they can go to and discuss various matters that concern us. Whenever there is a threat of trouble or when the police get too brutal, we can get help from some of the men we know personally. *At the time of the Progressive party activity the white men got in touch with us.* They wanted to know how our people were reacting to the propaganda being put out by this party. They said they were very much against the party and hoped we were. They said they had helped us in the past and they wanted our help now.
>
> We discussed this among ourselves and we agreed to let the uptown boys dangle a little. We finally told them, however, that we were not for the Progressive party ourselves and we would do what we could to discourage it in the community here. We said we could not act openly, but we would do what we could. We figured that we would really gain more by such a move on our part. As

> things turned out the Progressive party was a flop. I definitely think we gained something by not going too radical. *Our strategy is to get places for ourselves in the older parties.* [Emphasis supplied.]

Because of the total opposition of Negro and white men of power and the flagrant machinations of Communists, Negro voters elected to keep the bird in hand. But they profited, so to speak, from the fall-out of the movement. The Progressive threat probably forced the Democrats to take the "strong" 1948 stand on civil rights. And it convinced many of the necessity of making at least a token move toward Negro equality.

Equally persuasive was the specter of Paul Robeson who went to Paris and said it was unthinkable *to him* that American Negroes would fight against Russia. After returning to America, Robeson was the focal point of a series of riots and disturbances in Peekskill, New York, and other communities. Aided by Du Bois, who resigned from the NAACP and aligned himself with the left, Robeson attempted to create a People's movement. The attempt

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The Robeson drama, the Progressive crusade, and the Cold War fear were pivotal elements in the collapse of the revolt of the forties. A great retreat began after the Progressive crusade. The NAACP, the Urban League and the liberal establishment began to clean house, barring Communists and silencing radicals. Frightened by the growing power of the reds without and the growing power of conservatives within, liberals threw out the baby and the bath water. Picketing and mass demonstrations became dangerous forms of dissent. The word masses assumed an ugly meaning; and polite protest was enshrined as the only means of struggle.

By 1949, the great rehearsal was over and men crept back, sheepishly, to the dressing room to exchange masks of rebellion for masks of acceptance under protest. It was all over; but nothing was forgotten. Seeds were stirring under the great white snow; and, in season, the flowers of rebellion would grow.

IV. LULL:

Bigger in Wonderland

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The A. Philip Randolph Story

Introduction

Ernest G. Green
Executive Director
R-T-P, Inc., Recruitment and Training Program

The information contained in this "hand-out" is a short biographical sketch of Asa Philip Randolph, considered by many as the "Dean of the Modern Civil Rights Movement." A more thorough and detailed account of the life of this prominent labor and civil rights leader can be found in the book, A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait, by Jervis Anderson; Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, Inc.

This abbreviated approach, however, has been utilized for a two-fold purpose: (1) it will serve as an educational piece for those who know very little about the man who has "the longest and most consistent record of service in the struggle for human, social, economic, and political freedom;" and (2) it will emphasize the significance and lasting impact of his many accomplishments that were performed before 1950, when Mr. Randolph was 60 years old and approximately 54% of today's Black population was either too young to read or not born. The concern for this segment of the Black masses (those under 35 years of age) is of the utmost importance because many of them were participants in the civil rights movement of the late 50's and early 60's.

Many of this group are acquainted with the name A. Philip Randolph, for he also participated in these more recent struggles for freedom, even though at the time he was almost 75 years old. Too many, however, have no idea what this "grand old man" has meant to the struggle for equality and freedom for minorities in this country.

In a small way, we hope that this information serves to enlighten a portion of the masses as to the true meaning of the name, Asa Philip Randolph.

The A. Philip Randolph Story

Asa Philip Randolph, the son of a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune Cookman College) in Daytona Beach, Florida and later attended the City College of New York. Although he never earned a formal academic degree, he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and made his entire life truly an educational experience. Mr. Randolph presently holds honorary doctorate degrees from 14 universities, including Harvard, Columbia, and Howard.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

After his arrival in Harlem in 1911, he developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs, which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Black journalism. Even at this point in history when speaking out in favor of social and economic equality could be equated with favoring Communism now, as co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph accepted the burden of criticism and stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America. As he often said, " ... the movement for racial freedom cannot proceed independently of the movement for social and economic change ..." Ironically, this became, some 45 years later, the theme of the 1963 March on Washington, "The March for Jobs and Freedom."

In addition to militantly championing the rights of Black people, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland, Ohio against American participation in World War I in particular, and specifically against "Black soldiers being asked to risk their lives abroad in defense of freedoms denied them here at home," Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lusk Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America" - a charge often repeated over the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T. T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph accepted the leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 after 12 years of hard work, sacrifice, and dedication. Not only was this the first contract ever signed between a union of Black workers and a major American corporation, but when the porters voted in May and June of 1935 to accept the Brotherhood as their bargaining agent, it was the first time in American history that Black workers had the opportunity to vote as a national group in an election, under federal supervision, for their economic rights.

With the Brotherhood now a full-fledged member of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), Mr. Randolph carried his fight for fair employment and equal rights into the "House of Organized Labor" against unions that discriminated against and excluded Black members. Throughout his many years as a member of this body, as well as after the AFL and the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) came together in the merged federation it is today, (AFL-CIO), Mr. Randolph profoundly influenced the evolution of equal racial policies. This influence, however, did not become noticeable until the late 1950's, when a number of the craft unions removed color clauses from their constitutions and Black membership in organized labor showed a dramatic increase. In the early 1960's, he helped establish the "outreach programs" and other structured efforts that are placing thousands of minority workers into skilled and well paying jobs in the construction trades of organized labor.

In the early 1940's, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and A. Philip Randolph became the spearhead and principal sustenance of Black mass politics and protest. The political strategy of mass protest and civil disobedience, which has since become commonplace in the civil rights movement, was developed and utilized by Mr. Randolph and his followers before Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown were born, and when Martin Luther King, Jr. was still a boy.

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Black march on Washington to protest the exclusion of Black workers from jobs in the defense industries and in government. He agreed to call off the demonstration <u>only after</u> President Franklin D. Roosevelt, under the pressure of a

possible 100,000 Blacks marching on Washington in war time, issued Executive Order 8802 which banned discrimination in defense plants and in the federal government. This order also established America's first Fair Employment Practices Committee. It was the first major act by the national government to remedy the abuses suffered by Black citizens. Thus, Mr. Randolph set the stage for the revolution of direct action of the 1950's and 1960's.

Out of the 1941 March on Washington movement came the birth of the non-violent civil disobedience strategy and, in Mr. Randolph's words, " ... the refusal of Negroes to obey any law which violates their basic citizenship rights ..." This tactic was successfully applied in 1948 when Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the Armed Forces was not abolished, masses of Blacks would refuse to be drafted. When Mr. Randolph's call was answered by scores of Blacks going to jail, the federal government was embarrassed, angry, and confused. When Mr. Randolph would not be stopped, President Truman issued Executive Order 9981 to comply with these demands. Finally, the legal basis for discrimination was broken by the leadership of one man - A. Philip Randolph.

With the rise of the modern civil rights movement during the 50's and 60's and the rise of "younger activists," Mr. Randolph no longer dominated the broad arena of the freedom struggle. However, he did remain the principal Black spokesman for political and trade union democracy and for an economic solution to the American race problem. The political, social, and economic consciousness that he had helped raise would now be carried on by other young leaders. The movement was now in the capable hands of such leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr. (SCLC), Roy Wilkins, (NAACP), Whitney Young, (Urban League), Dorothy Height, (National Council of Negro Women), Bayard Rustin and others. Nevertheless, none of these ever made a major move without consulting Mr. Randolph, now affectionately known as "The Chief." Incidentally, he has been consulted by every U. S. president from Calvin Coolidge to Richard M. Nixon concerning matters which have affected the lives of minorities in this country.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. This gathering was a monument to his profound interest in a civil rights coalition. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference "To Fulfill These Rights" when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Throughout his career Mr. Randolph had the intellectual courage to challenge those philosophies and ideas which hampered the progress of Black people. He fought the notion that Blacks should reject trade unionism and align themselves with big business. He argued against the theory of the "Talented Tenth" -- that Black advancement would be achieved through an educated elite -- as espoused by W.E.B. DuBois. He denounced the nationalism of Marcus Garvey as repressive and reactionary. He opposed Communist domination of the National Negro Congress because he understood that the Communists were less interested in American Blacks than in furthering the interests of Soviet Russia. And, he pressed ahead with his plans for non-violent mass protest at a time when many in the Black community opposed such tactics as too radical.

While engaging in these many intellectual debates, Mr. Randolph never became vindictive; nor did he perceive of opposition to his views as a personal affront. He worked and remained friendly with those individuals whose philosophies differed from his. And he always respected those who, while opposing him on a specific issue, nevertheless were struggling with him for a common goal: racial equality in America.

A. Philip Randolph, now 85 years old, is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He served as international president of the union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council. Mr. Randolph has been the recipient of many civil and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights. In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, America's highest citizen's award.

Throughout these 50 plus years of service to the cause of equality and freedom for his people, Mr. Randolph carried himself with an aire of dignity and respect, allowing nothing nor anyone to force him to compromise his principles or his integrity. The following excerpts from some of his speeches offer some insight into the wisdom, strength and character of "The Chief," Asa Philip Randolph.

> " ... We want the support of everybody we can get, but not at the price of surrendering principles that are vital to our existence ..."

" ... Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuous evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political, and religious relationships. No people will lose their freedom fighting for it ..."

" ... The first condition to be worthy of help from others is for an individual, race, or nation to do something for itself ... I consider the fight for the Negro masses the greatest single service I can render to my people, and the fight alone is my complete compensation ..."

" ... At the banquet table of nature there are no reserved seats. You get what you can take, and you keep what you can hold. You can't take anything without some power. And power comes from organization ..."

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RANDOLPH — GADFLY TO HIS RACE AS WELL AS TO PRESIDENTS

NBC TV News interpretative, Monday, March 25, 1963 — By Ed Edwin

The Labor leader, A. Philip Randolph, once was profiled by the New York Times as gadfly to three Presidents — Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt. He has been controversial. Roosevelt once told him not to go at things with hammer and tongs, but Roosevelt did what he asked. Randolph is now 74, and has added John Kennedy to his list.

But he is also gadfly to his own race.

This past weekend, he began planning a Negro Jobs Rights March on Washington — June 13 and 14. He hopes that 30,000 to 100,000 workers will join him.

Actually this march is aimed more at Negroes than at official Washington. Randolph feels that "Negroes themselves must be awakened to an impending economic disaster." He is talking about structural, or technological, unemployment in the age of automation. This built-in, or hard-core, unemployment is rising among the unskilled and semi-skilled. It affects a proportionately higher number of deprived minorities — Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians. This is because higher percentages of deprived minorities are concentrated in unskilled work. These jobs are disappearing.

Statistics show — In New York, two Negroes are out of work for every non-Negro. In Chicago, the ratio is 3:1. In South Bend, Louisville, and Phoenix it has been 5:1.

The National Urban League has singled out retraining of Negro workers as their most important economic need, so they can qualify for skilled work. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity — headed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson — has negotiated agreements with many industries to open up jobs once racially restricted. Joseph Overton, National Secretary of the Negro American Labor Council, feels that now money should be spent on action projects, rather than surveys, such as training the unskilled to take advantage of new opportunities. Too few Negroes qualify for skilled work now open to them.

What Randolph foresees otherwise is an Orwellian spectre: permanent slums — black ghettoes — surrounded by affluent society in a clean age of automation. Randolph talks about vanishing hope and growing anger — moods driving some Negroes to drugs and drink, or making others responsive to extremist calls.

Malcolm X, Harlem leader and national strategist of the Black Muslims, tells street rallies that white controllers, with their police, encourage Negroes to use dope and liquor. The Black Muslims demand separation of races. They are growing.

Randolph is on record against these expressions. But he does have a picturesque anecdote analyzing the civil war. A worker told him, "You know, chief, the civil war was not about freeing the slaves. The Southern white people and the white people of the north got to fighting. And the black men simply got away.

Well, Randolph's listeners chuckle. Then they listen to his advice about waking up and organizing to get an equal opportunity to earn in an age of automation.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

BIOGRAPHICAL FILE

Profiles And Notes

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, prominent labor and civil rights leader, is president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which he organized in 1925. He served as international president of the Union from 1925 until his retirement in 1968. He is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and former president of the Negro American Labor Council.

Mr. Randolph, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) in Jacksonville, Florida, and later he attended the City College of New York.

Inspired by his father with a feeling for the spoken word, Mr. Randolph showed an early interest in acting, particularly Shakespearean drama. Following his marriage in 1914 to Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher, he helped organize the Shakespearean Society in Harlem, ultimately playing the roles of Hamlet, Othello and Romeo.

Meanwhile, he had read extensively in philosophy, economics and political science and developed an interest in the Socialist Party of Eugene Victor Debs which he eventually joined. In 1917, under the influence of the sociologist, Lester Ward, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen founded THE MESSENGER. Avowing itself to be "the only radical magazine in America," this socialist publication has been regarded by scholars as among the most brilliantly edited ventures in Negro journalism. As co-editor and publisher of THE MESSENGER, Mr. Randolph stressed economics as the basis for the solution of the racial problem in America.

In addition to militantly championing Negro rights, THE MESSENGER spoke out on other issues of the day. Thus, in 1918, while speaking in Cleveland against American participation in World War I, Mr. Randolph was arrested and later described by the Lust Committee (forerunner of the Dies Committee) as "The Most Dangerous Negro in America"--a charge often repeated down the years by opponents of civil rights.

In 1925, at the request of Ashley L. Totten, Milton Webster and T.T. Patterson, Mr. Randolph undertook leadership of the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This uphill battle for certification, marked by fierce resistance from the railway companies and the hardship of the depression, was finally won in 1937 and made possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. Meanwhile, in 1928, THE MESSENGER became THE BLACK WORKER, the official publication of the Sleeping Car Porters.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest--a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement--in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948 Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands.

He served as Director of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. He continued to pursue these goals at the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights", when he projected the idea of a "Freedom Budget for All Americans."

Mr. Randolph holds numerous university honorary degrees and has been the recipient of many civic and fraternal awards, including the NAACP Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement in the field of race relations and civil rights, and, in 1964, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest citizen's award.

BIOGRAPHY

A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and National Director of the March on Washington Movement, which was largely responsible in getting President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 under which the Fair Employment Practice Committee was established.

Co-Chairman of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Recipient of the Spingarn Award for the year 1941 for outstanding achievement for Negroes. Recipient of the Clendenin Award for 1944 for achievement in behalf of organized labor.

Recipient of the Degree of LLD from Howard University, Washington, D. C. in 1942.

Encl 2

17 - ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH, Labor Organizer. Born Florida 1889. Studied at City College, N.Y. Hon. LL.D. Howard 1942. In 1925 organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, now with 16,000 members, and fought for wage and other benefits for railroad workers. His positive demands for equal jobs and pay for Negroes in war work lead to formation of FEPC.
Distinguished for leadership in labor. Married and home in New York.

Encl 1

Thumb-Nail Sketches
for
Portraits of Outstanding
Americans of Negro Origin
September, 1949

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

Asa Philip Randolph, best known as A. Philip Randolph, is International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He was born in Crescent City, Florida in 1889 and is the son of a minister. He worked successively in New York and Jacksonville, Florida as a railroad section hand, elevator and switchboard operator, waiter and porter. He studied at the College of the City of New York and has furthered his education by voluminous reading. He is widely recognized as an eloquent speaker. He was co-founder and editor of "The Messenger" now out of existance, which published the economic implications of the race problem.

In 1925 Mr. Randolph set out to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It takes in train porters, car washers and other railroad workers and claims a membership of 16,000.

Through the Brotherhood, wages of sleeping car porters have increased and other benefits obtained to bring them an adequate living scale.

In 1941 he organized a March-on-Washington movement against discrimination of Negroes in war industries. The march did not take place but its plans resulted in a White House conference, at which Mr Randolph demanded positive action by the administration. Out of this came President Roosevelt's directive which set into motion the formation of the temporary Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Mr. Randolph received the Spingarn Award in 1942 and the Clondenin Award for 1944 for achievement in behalf of organized labor. He was granted the honorary degree of LL.D. from Howard University in 1942. He is married and makes his home in New York at 2311 - 7th Avenue.

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SKETCH OF A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, prominent labor leader, lecturer, and author, is International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which he organized in August 1925.

For thirteen years, until 1928, he was publisher and editor of the Messenger Magazine, a journal of Negro life, stressing economics as the basis for the solution of the Negro problem in America; and he is now editor of the Black Worker, official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Mr. Randolph is co-author of "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races", "The Truth About Lynching", ~~Political Socialist~~; is author of the "World Crisis and the Negro People Today," and "The Crisis of Negro Railroad Workers."

Mr. Randolph received his early education at Cookman Institute, Florida, and later attended City College In New York. He holds an honorary degree, LLD, from Howard University; and was awarded the Spingarn medal for outstanding achievement in 1941. At one time, Mr. Randolph was lecturer on economics and history at the Rand School of Social Science. His latest outstanding activity is the organizing of the March On Washington Movement, to aid in the elimination of discrimination against Negroes in defense industries.

This movement was the direct cause of the President issuing an executive order and his appointment of a Fair Employment Practice Committee to eliminate discrimination in defense industries on account of race, color, creed, or national origin. He is the Co-Chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

He is the recipient of the Spingarn Award for the year 1941 for outstanding achievement for Negroes. He is also the recipient of the Clendenin Award for 1944 for achievement in behalf of Organized Labor.

FOR RELEASE
Tuesday, September
14, 1943.

LABOR PORTRAITS:

A. Philip Randolph
of
The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

By John Chamberlain

FREEDOM HOUSE, N. Y., September 14....

One of the most frequently voiced reasons for not accepting Negroes in certain unions is that the Negro is an alleged "natural scab." There may have been a suggestion of truth to this complaint in times long gone by. But the United Automobile Workers union, to pick a specific instance, is discovering these days that the Negro makes as good a union man as any.

If further proof is needed, there is always the "Negroes" own Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the creation of a great Negro leader named A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Randolph was the organizer of the Negro March on Washington Movement, which first dramatized the Negro's extremely realistic attitude toward a global war that is supposedly being fought against Hitler's philosophy of racism. But long before Pearl Harbor Mr. Randolph's organizing genius had resulted in ponderable social and economic gains for his people.

A. Philip Randolph was born in Florida, the son of a Methodist minister. He came North to look for an education, and he entered City College of New York, but his first real schooling in economic reality came when he was fired by the Old Fall River Line for trying to organize a protest against the living conditions of the steamship company's waiters.

Randolph impresses Roi Ottley, a first-rate Negro journalist, as being "all soul." Be this as it may, Randolph has an eye to quite solid and materialistic advantages for his people, which he gains by striking when the iron is hot. Back in the mid-Twenties, when economic conditions were not too onerous even in Harlem, there was some talk of organizing the Pullman porters. The porters, however, were getting steady work and good tips, which made them relatively oblivious to the advantages of unionization. In the face of general apathy, Randolph held a meeting and set up an organizing committee. And by 1927 some three thousand New York Pullman porters had signed up.

Randolph's career as a labor organizer is curiously similar to that of the pre-1941 John L. Lewis. In the late Twenties and early Thirties, when the United Mine Workers were publicly adhering to the slogan "No Backward Step," John L. Lewis saw his dues-paying membership melting like snow in April. The same thing happened to Randolph and his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The porters' 1929 strike fizzled sadly. And in the early Thirties the union was just about busted.

Under NRA, however, Randolph, like Lewis, seized the opportunity presented by the historic Section 7A of NRA. A whirlwind membership drive soon put the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on its feet again, and in 1937 the Brotherhood was certified as the porters' bargaining agent with the Pullman Company.

Randolph's attitude toward the war has been conditioned by his years of struggle for an "indivisible" American democracy. He believes in the Four Freedoms, in a war against the principles of racism. But, as Roi Ottley has written, he has a shrewd notion that the Negro never gets anything except in times of great general social upheaval. Randolph wants the Negro to fight the war, but he wants him to fight it on a fair quid pro quo basis. For every ounce

of Negro energy put into smashing the Axis, he thinks it only fair to expect an equivalent amount of increased democracy on the home front.

A. Philip Randolph is not a rabble-rouser. He is straightforward, a fighter who says what he means and then goes after his announced desires. He has been outspoken in his criticism of certain A. F. of L. unions for excluding Negroes. He wants legislation to enforce the constitutional guarantee against being deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. As his friend Roi Ottley says, "if Randolph has his way, Negroes will continut to hammer on this evil of Jim Crow until the monster is buried for all time."

######

A. Philip Randolph

During World War 1 one of the greatest population shifts in the history of the United States commenced. Eventually, over a million Negroes left the ramshackle cabins in which they had lived in the South. There they had been the exploited serfs of a backward agricultural economy, an economy that had deteriorated steadily since Civil War times. During the war they flocked northward to the industrial centers, driven by poverty, prejudice and fear -- an average of 56 Negroes were being lynched every year -- and lured by extravagant promises of riches, glowing reports of good conditions and naive hope in the future. The first great wave of the northward migration occurred between 1916 and 1919, when industry, its labor force depleted by the draft and its production enormously increased, was searching for a plentiful supply of cheap labor to produce war material. The second wave -- between 1921 and 1923 -- was the result of stringent immigration laws, which cut off the European labor supply of still-expanding industry.

Some of the expectations of the migrating Negro were fulfilled in the North. Enough of his hopes were realized to keep a northward trickle flowing during the thirties, a trickle that would swell again into a steady stream whenever the demand for labor exceeded the supply. The Negro did, for example, gain the right to vote when he left the South. His children attended school, many for the first time. And he was treated like a human being rather than as a domesticated animal. But he was forced to live in overcrowded, segregated areas. And Northern race riots were as productive of anguish as Southern lynch mobs. Moreover, unemployment, an ever-present spectre to the working man in our industrial economy, resulted in starvation just as surely as did crop failure.

Of all the evils that the Negro faced in the North, the most widespread, and one of the most serious, was unemployment. Hired during an emergency at minimum wages, he was the first person to be dismissed when conditions changed. And while his employers used him and cast him aside, organized labor refused to have anything

to do with him. The constitutions of at least 22 unions (over half of the American Federation of labor's affiliates) banned Negroes. And as the number of Negroes in industry rose, many unions became more and more hostile. Some of them insisted upon special anti-Negro clauses in their contracts with employers. One such contract, negotiated by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, specified that "at least 51 percent of firemen on this line must be white and the road agrees not to employ Negro engineers and in the future all vacancies must be filled by white firemen."

Samuel Gompers, who headed the AFL, suggested that unions should encourage separate local unions and central organizations for Negroes -- Jim Crowing the colored worker. When he was accused of intolerance and discrimination, Gompers bridled and later gave lip service to the cause of Negro workers. In 1916, 1917 and 1918, he introduced resolutions at the annual AFL conventions calling for the organization of Negro workers. But he never set up any machinery to implement these resolutions. Only when A. Philip Randolph organized the sleeping car porters, in 1925, did the Negro begin to have a meaningful role in the labor movement in America. And when Randolph finally forced the AFL executive committee to grant his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters an international charter -- the first awarded to an all-Negro union in the 47 year history of the AFL -- he was serving not the porters alone, but all colored working men.

Asa Philip Randolph, the man who has done so much for darker-skinned American workers, was born at Crescent City, Florida on April 15, 1889. His father, James William Randolph, was a poor man, a preacher in the African Methodist Church, serving three of the poorest parishes in the state. His salary as a minister was so small that he could not support his wife, Elizabeth (Robinson) Randolph, and their two children upon it. So he opened a small cleaning, dyeing and tailoring shop to supplement his income. The whole family worked in the shop as occasion demanded, James being forced to rush out frequently on parish business. And in this fashion they got on.

Even with the help of the shop, however, the Randolphs did not have smooth sailing. As soon as they were able, the children got odd jobs after school, mother taking over the duties of the shop when her preacher husband made sick calls or went out to officiate at a country wedding or wake. Young Asa's first independent contributions toward the welfare of the family were earned as errand boy and general helper to a white grocer in town. So anxious was he to help out that he didn't even stop at home to eat his dinner after school. He had his mother prepare the food and put it in a bucket, which he snatched up and carried off to his job. Then, when a break in his duties gave him time, he would sit down behind the counter and gobble his meal.

As he grew older, Asa sought better-paying jobs. For a while he worked as a clerk in a grocery store, his experience as errand boy helping him to get the job. Then, testing his strong young muscles, he took a job one summer as a section hand on the railroad, digging and shoveling dirt, loading flatcars, and laying crossties and rails. When school resumed, he left the railroad to drive a delivery wagon, after class, for a large chemical and drug company. Later, he worked for fertilizer and trucking concerns. And he supplemented his earnings whenever he could by selling newspapers, or he filled whatever odd moments he had between work and school by helping out in the family tailor shop. Nor did he let up on his studies. Completing grade school, he went on to high school at Cookman Institute in nearby Jacksonville. Then, when he had finished up at the Institute, he looked around for greater opportunities.

Asa decided that his best chance for success lay in quitting his home town and trying to continue his education in the North. The opportunity for advanced study was limited in the South, particularly for a Negro. And if Asa remained at home he would be a burden to his struggling parents, for books and supplied cost money and the boy would have to limit his working hours to attend college. Perhaps on his own he could live cheaply and eke out the money for the desired education. Anyway, it was worth a try. So the boy set off for New York.

Settling down in Manhattan, Asa found a job and enrolled at the College of the City of New York, taking courses in Political Science, Economics and Philosophy.

Soon, however, he discovered that the necessity of earning a living interfered with his studies. Working as a porter for the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, he could only snatch at his studies as he rushed from job to school. But philosophy is not for him who runs and reads. Asa tried other types of work, hoping to ease his burden and have more time for study. He worked as an elevator operator and as a waiter in a railroad restaurant. Indeed, he took any job he could land, for his interest in the condition of the working man, stimulated by his studies and fostered by his won plight, was getting him into trouble with employers. He already had a reputation as a "trouble maker" because, having secured a position as waiter on a Fall River Lines ship plying between New York and Massachusetts, he organized a protest against conditions in the "Glory Hole," the foul living quarters of the crew. He was dismissed for his efforts and reports of his activities were circulated from employer to employer. Neither work nor study went smoothly for young Asa.

Despite his difficulties, however, and the increased responsibility he shouldered in 1915, with his marriage to Lucille E. Green, he would not give in to unscrupulous employers. Such employers, fanning the flames of war hysteria for the sake of larger profits, aroused Asa's antagonism. Working the the shipyards of the Virginia Tidewater area during the early years of the war, he tried to organize the workers, hoping to win for them a larger share of the tremendous profits being reaped on war contracts. But the shipping interests proved too strong for him. Negroes, particularly, were brutally intimidated by gangs of thugs employed by the bosses, and efforts at unionization were viciously crushed.

When America entered the war, Randolph and a friend, Chandler Owen, launched a monthly magazine called THE MESSENGER. Its purpose was to arouse the Negro to an awareness of his critically important position in mass production industries and in the army. Take advantage of this position, the editors argued, to force the government to correct some of the worst abuses from which you suffer, even if this means striking and resisting the draft. Asa was arrested and thrown into jail for his stand, but charges could not be made to stick and he was released after a couple of days.

After thewar, A. Philip Randolph, as he was beginning to be known, participated in a number of organizational campaigns among laundry workers, motion picture operators and members of the building and garment industries. He said, "The Negro should organize himself because with organization he will be better able to break down the barriers and prejudices of white workers against him than he will without...." But until 1925, it was primarily as a writer and lecturer that Asa functioned. At the Rand School of Social science in New York, where he taught for a while, he lectured labor, radical and liberal groups on the evils of intolerance and discrimination. and in THE MESSENGER and other periodicals for which he wrote, he demanded unconditional social, political and economic equality for all men, black and white. Joining the Socialist Party to implement his demands, he was that party's candidate for Secretary of State for New York in 1921. And he has since run for other offices on the Socialist ticket.

In August, 1925, Randolph joined a small group of men who had gathered in a Harlem recreation hall to outline a campaign for organizing the sleeping car porters of America. A long history of failures lay behind such efforts. As early as 1915 an attempt had been made to unionize the porters, but the leaders of the effort had all been dismissed by the Pullman Company and the effort came to nought. Most recently, the company, sensing the discontent among its employees, had sponsored an employee representation plan known as the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association. The porters, as Randolph pointed out, "innocently accepted it as a declaration of justice by the Pullman Company ..., unable to realize that an organization which is handed down by the boss to wage earners is for the benefit of the boss and not the wage earner." Dues collected from the porters -- $26 a year from each man -- were being used by the company to pay labor spies who rode the trains on the lookout for union "agitators" and "trouble makers."

The job that A. Philip Randolph took on when, at 36, he was elected president of the newly organized Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was tremendous. Of course, The Pullman Company, a national carrier operating over every railroad in the country,

did all it could to stop the new union, distributing anti-labor news free to the porters and firing over 500 men for union activities during the first ten years of the Brotherhood's existence. Luckily, President Randolph was not dependent on the Pullman Company for a job. But most of his associates were. Fortunately, they were men like M. P. Webster, Bennie Smith, C. L. Dellums, Ashley L. Totten and E. J. Bradley, who, with or without jobs, pushed the fight for unionization, putting up with extreme poverty, many of them, rather than abandon the Brotherhood. The attitude of the majority of porters toward the union was far different, however. "If it succeeds, we are for it," they said. "If it doesn't, we are against it."

Under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, the Brotherhood did succeed. Pleading his case before the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Mediation Board and a Federal Court, Randolph finally won recognition for the Brotherhood, establishing it, in law, as the porter's union. Then, backed by increasing numbers, he pressed for revision of the Railroad Labor Act, insisting that the porters should be included within the scope of that act. Victory came in 1934. By 1937 the Brotherhood was strong enough to strike directly at sources of trouble within the Pullman Company itself, demanding a new contract for the men with provision for two million dollars in long overdue pay increases. Once again victory went to the union, and skeptics were finally convinced of its importance.

Down through the years Mr. Randolph, who has been elected president of the Brotherhood time after time, has gone on winning advances for the porters. And with each new victory membership in the union has increased. Today the once struggling young organization numbers well over 18,000 members. Its president and founder looks upon the Brotherhood, however, as having a significance beyond that which it has achieved through its distinguished service to the porters. It "has exerted a great moral influence," he declares. And he sees it as a stimulus to Negro participation in unions everywhere and as a powerful force in the fight to end discrimination in the labor movement.

One of the most significant illustrations of the pervasiveness of the moral influence pointed out by Randolph is provided by events growing out of the merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955. A. Philip Randolph was named a vice president of the giant new labor organization. Along with Willard S. Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Workers, who also became a vice president of the new merged group, he thus became one of the first Negroes ever to attain so high a rank in labor circles. His position on the executive council of the joint labor organization has been interpreted as a sign of the growing importance of the Negro in organized labor and as a guarantee that the no discrimination pledges contained in the charter of the new federation will be strictly observed.

Negro workers everywhere rejoice in A. Philip Randolph's new status. Important as his role in Brotherhood affairs has been, his influence has not been limited to those affairs alone. In the thirties he served on Mayor LaGuardia's Commission on Race. During the forties he threatened to organize 50,000 Negroes and lead them to Washington in protest against the sidetracking of efforts to establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee. His threat brought results, and the committee was promptly instituted. Throughout his career, Randolph has been active in opposing segregation in the armed services, and his continuing protests have had much to do with lowering the barriers of race in our military organizations. His resignation, in 1940, from the National Negro Congress, "because of the progressive ascendancy of Communists into control," did much to discredit that organization by arousing unsuspecting people to an awareness of its nature. He has served as a member of the New York City Housing Authority and as a representative to the Second World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In the latter capacity he was nominated to present the views of the North American delegates on ways in which the Confederation could organize free trade unions in undeveloped areas of the world.

On every level, local, national and international, and in many different spheres of activity, Asa Philip Randolph has made important contributions to the welfare of his fellows. Brotherhood is, for him, more than the name of an organization: it is a way of life.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, National President of the Negro American Labor Council, these epithets identify A. Philip Randolph whose effective civil rights protests place him securely in the annals of American social and documentary history of the twentieth century.

For thirteen years, until 1928, he was publisher and editor of The Messenger, a journal of Negro life and since then the editor of The Black Worker, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A gifted orator and prolific writer, he is sought as a lecturer not only on the continent but around the world. Among his co-authored works are "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races" and "The Truth about Lynching." Other published pieces include "The World Crisis and the Negro People Today" and "The Crisis of the Negro Railroad Worker."

In 1941, as founder and organizer of the March on Washington movement, he persuaded President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, establishing the concept of fair employment practices in American law. In 1948, as co-chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in the Armed Forces, he contributed, perhaps more than any person, in influencing President Truman to issue the order banning segregation in these services. In 1958 and 1959, as organizer and chairman of the Youth March on Washington demonstrations, he brought first 20,000, and then 30,000 young citizens, Negro and white, to the nation's capital in support of immediate implementation of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

A. Philip Randolph, the dean of Negro leaders, still leads the fight for civil rights and with the wisdom and vision that spans two world wars, he steadfastly adheres to the belief that if the Negro in America is to be free he must be the first to raise his fist in his own defense.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A RESUMÉ

The lone Negro AFL-CIO Vice President; International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Temporary National Chairman of the Negro American Labor Council; Founder and Organizer of the World War II March on Washington Movement which program lead to President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 creating the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee and thereby initiating the concept of Fair Employment Practice Committees in American politico-economic life; Co-Chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in the armed services whose activities contributed more than any single organization in influencing President Truman's Executive Order banning segregation in the armed forces of the United States; holder of numerous honorary university degrees; Organizer and Chairman of the Youth March on Washington, D.C. in 1958 and 1959 which respectively brought 20,000 and 30,000 young citizens, Negro and White, to Washington to demonstrate in favor of implementation of the Supreme Court's School Desegregation Decision; has conferred with more United States Presidents than any other Negro in history on the advancement of civil rights for Negroes in American life; resides with his wife, Lucille, in New York City; maintains offices at his union's international headquarters in New York City.

AFL-CIO

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CENTRAL PROGRAM SERVICES DIVISION

TALKS & FEATURES BRANCH

LABOR WORLD --NEWS AND VIEWS #187
Listen M. Oak

October 3, 1956

ANNCR: Once again we present our weekly program, LABOR WORLD -- with news and views of events that affect the welfare of workers on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This program is prepared by our labor editor, Listen M. Oak, with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. This week the highlights are:

WAGE INCREASES FOR MINERS AND MEAT-PACKERS;
FREE TRADE UNIONISTS COMMENT ON LABOR UNDER COMMUNISM;
AMERICAN STEELWORKERS' LEADER DISCUSSES POZNAN TRIALS; and
GARMENT WORKERS' UNION INVESTS IN NEW HOUSING PROJECT.

And now, with the details of these and other stories, here is _____:

NARR: Industrial wages in the United States are at an all-time high -- with eighty dollars per week as the average wage -- and they continue to go up. The latest increase won by American trade unions is in the meat packing industry. Officials of the United Packinghouse Workers and of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have hailed a recent settlement reached with five major meat packing companies as the best in the history of the industry. The contract will give about one hundred thousand workers an immediate increase of ten cents an hour -- and boosts of another seven and one-half cents in each of the next two years. There are also improvements in "fringe" benefits -- health insurance, welfare and pension funds.

NARR: (CONT.) The differential between the pay of men and women doing the same work will be eliminated wherever it exists throughout the industry. When a worker is laid off as a result of mechanization of his job -- or automation -- he will get severance pay. The contract includes a clause providing that if the cost of living goes up, there will be a corresponding wage rise. The length of paid vacations is increased -- up to four weeks per year for those with long seniority.

The agreement with four of the biggest meat packing companies was reached by peaceable negotiations. In the fifth case, a ten-day strike took place before a settlement was concluded.

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More news of wage increases: the United Mine Workers of America opened their forty-second convention in Cincinnati on October second. The highlight of this meeting was the announcement of a new contract with the coal mining companies. It provides for a wage increase of one dollar and twenty cents a day now and another raise of eighty cents beginning next April first. This will bring the miners' basic daily wage to twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents. The miners will also receive a boost in their annual vacation benefits, bringing it to $180.

Other news from the convention:

John L. Lewis, the miners' union chief, announced that the union is investing part of its accumulated welfare and pension fund in the stocks of electric utility companies. These firms are the greatest users of coal. In the past ten years, according to a report made at the convention, the miners' welfare fund has distributed about $900,000,000 to needy miners and their families -- in the form of pensions, medical and hospital care, and other benefits. The coal operators pay a royalty of forty cents on every ton of coal mined into this fund.

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NARR: (CONT.) The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has just completed a study of the hourly output of workers in the steel industry. It finds that between 1947 and 1955 the increase averaged 2.9 percent a year -- or 23.2 percent for the eight-year period.

In another study, the bureau reports that between 1947 and 1955 average hourly earnings in the steel plants rose from $1.44 to $2.37-- an increase of 65 percent. This does not include the graduated wage boost won last July by the steelworkers. Becoming effective in three annual instalments, it will bring the average hourly wage to a total of $2.73 by 1958. In the eight-year period ending in 1955, the steelworkers' average weekly earnings rose to $96. In the same period the cost of living increased by only about 20 percent.

In other words, wages for steelworkers have been going up much faster than either productivity or the cost of living.

For industrial workers as a whole, AFL-CIO economists report that between 1947 and 1955 the buying power of wages rose 26.7 percent -- and the value of so-called fringe benefits, in various forms of social insurance, added to that percentage.

Economists note that the worker in Communist-dominated countries has unfortunately not fared at all so well. There, in general, the increase in wages lags far behind the increase in productivity. The Communist economic doctrine requires workers to increase individual output if they want more money -- regardless of rises in the cost of living or in over-all industrial productivity.

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The World Federation of Trade Unions has alleged concern for working conditions and the welfare of labor in the Communist-ruled countries -- and elsewhere in the world. The general council of the WFTU -- a group commonly recognized as a Communist labor front -- last week /

NARR: (CONT.) met in Sofia, capital city of Bulgaria. At that council session -- the eighth so far -- Louis Saillant, secretary general of the WFTU, again called for what he called international labor unity "in the fight against exploitation, against the burden of armaments, and for the right of peoples for self-determination"-- in the free world, of course. He said nothing about fighting for these goals in the Soviet orbit of influence.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which has a membership of fifty-four million in eighty-one free countries, estimates that the World Federation of Trade Unions has only about seven million members outside of the Iron Curtain. A recent pamphlet published by the ICFTU declares:

VOICE: "Within the Soviet orbit, where nine-tenths of the WFTU membership lives, the workers have none of the rights listed in the WFTU's own "Charter of Human Rights." They do not have the right to organize freely and independently in unions not controlled by the Government, which is the only employer. They do not have the right to freedom of speech, or freedom of press, or freedom of assembly. They do not have the right to bargain collectively. They do not have the right to strike."

NARR: This ICFTU pamphlet, entitled ANOTHER HOAX, quotes at length from official Communist documents and speeches of the Communists to prove its case. It cites the very constitution of the Soviet trade unions in evidence that they do not function as unions do in the free world--but as part of the apparatus of the dictatorship. They do not protect the interests of their members, says the pamphlet, but of the totalitarian state. Their main function is to enforce labor discipline and increase production. The ICFTU pamphlet concludes:

VOICE: "The WFTU is not a bona-fide trade union organization -- but a front for the Soviet Union. The aims of Communism and the WFTU are contrary to the interests of the workers. International solidarity of labor for bread, peace and freedom, and unity of action with democratic

VOICE: (CONT.) organizations, is desirable -- but not with Communists or Fascists, the enemies of liberty, democracy and social justice."

NARR: This ICFTU analysis of the role of trade unions in Communist society was inadvertently confirmed as recently as last week -- in a speech by Czechoslovak President Antonin Zapotocky. He stated that it is the duty of the party and the state, rather than the unions, to guard the interests of the workers. He denounced trade union leaders who dispute the correctness of party resolutions and decisions. Said Zapotocky:

VOICE: "All members of the party, no matter where they work, are bound by the rules and resolutions of the party."

NARR: He asserted that wages in Czechoslovakia -- admittedly far too low -- cannot be raised unless workers work harder and increase production. To bring this about is the task of the Communist trade unions, he said.

Further confirmation of the ICFTU assertion that unions in the Soviet orbit do not have the right to strike came from Wiktor Klosiewicz, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions in Poland. In a recent speech, discussing the Poznan strike which turned into an uprising when the police started shooting workers, he asked a question which he proceeded to answer himself:

VOICE: "Have workers in Poland the right to strike? The answer is the strongest 'no'."

NARR: Klosiewicz conceded that, at Poznan, the unions had lost the confidence of workers. He admitted that conflicts do arise between labor and the Communist state, and commented that they must not be allowed to mature -- that the unions must resolve them before an explosion takes place.

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NARR: (CONT.) The Poznan "bread-and-freedom" riots, and the resultant trials that are currently underway, were also the subject of comment by a leading figure in the American labor movement.

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, gave the Voice of America his views on the trails being held in Poznan -- trials of workers arrested for participation in the strike of June 28th. Said Mister McDonald:

VOICE: "It is reported by American correspondents that in these trials the judges and prosecutors appear to lean over backward to be fair to the accused. The prosecutor admitted that force had been used to extract confessions, but stated that this had been stopped.

"If this is true, it represents a victory for the Poznan workers, for the Polish people who are overwhelmingly opposed to Communism, and for the democratic forces of the free world which protested against Communist cruelty in suppressing the uprising and demanded a fair trial for those arrested. The hope voiced by President Eisenhower that the trial be open and fair is a universal sentiment, shared by every decent person on earth.

NARR: And Mister McDonald went on:

VOICE: "Once again, American steelworkers salute the heroic Poznan steelworkers who risked their lives in striking for bread and freedom -- and the other people of Poznan who joined them in demanding that the Soviets get out of their country.

"The Polish Communists know full well that it is the so-called Communist legality that is in the dock in Poznan. Indeed, it is the entire Communist system that is on trial, with the whole world watching as a jury."

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NARR: The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which already owns and operates two huge cooperative apartment buildings, three health clinics and a luxurious summer resort, has embarked on a new enterprise. David Dubinsky, the union's diminutive but energetic president, signed a contract with the Chase Manhattan Bank which authorizes the investment of $20,000,000 in a far-reaching program of construction of small homes. The money will come from the union's welfare and pension fund and its general treasury. It is planned to increase this investment by $5,000,000 each year.

The funds will be invested in Veterans Administration mortgage loans. Payment of these loans is guaranteed in part by the Federal Government. Most unions confine their investments to Government bonds--but the ILGWU expects that investments in housing will not only be more socially beneficial but yield a greater income to the union. The profits will be used to give expanded service to the union's 440,000 members.

The Ladies Garment Workers Union now has $185,000,000 in its welfare and pension fund--in addition to $65,000,000 in its general treasury.

(OPT) David Dubinsky of the ILGWU was born in Poland, then ruled by Tzarist Russia. He engaged in Labor and socialist activities was exiled to Siberia, escaped and came to the United States. He was one of the architects of the Congress of Industrial Organization, then returned to the fold of the American Federation of Labor. Later he worked energetically for the merger of the CIO and AF of L--which was consumated in December, 1955. Recently Dubinsky was elected to the executive committee of the merged federation.

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NARR: (CONT)

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He has been a pioneer labor leader in many fields -- including the investment of union funds in such enterprises as low-cost housing. The union recently completed construction of a $15,000,000 cooperative village involving clearance of several blocks of tenements in New York's lower East Side. In dedicating this village, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said that it was a monument to the revolutionary change in the life of American garment workers that the union has achieved. (END OPT)

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ANNCR: And with that item we close this week's edition of LABOR WORLD. Listen again next week at the same time for more news and views on the labor scene.

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A Philip Randolph

1 International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, National President of the Negro American Labor Council, these epithets identify A.P.R. whose effective civil rights protests have secured for him a place in the annals of American social and documentary history of the twentieth century.

In 1941 as founder and organizer of the March on Washington Movement he persuaded President Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 establishing the concept of fair employment practices in American law. In 1948 as Co-chairman of the Committee against Jim Crow in the Armed Forces he contributed perhaps more than any person in influencing President Truman to issue an armed forces FEPC banning segregation in these services. In 1958 and 1959 as organizer and chairman of the Youth March on Washington Demonstration he brought first 25,000, and then 30,000 young citizens, Negro and white to the nations capital in support of immediate implementation of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

2 Mr Randolph received his early education at Cookman Institute in Florida and later attended City College in New York. For thirteen years, until 1928, he was publisher and editor of the Messenger, a journal of Negro life and since then the editor of the Black Worker, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A gifted orator and prolific writer he is sought as a lecturer not only on the continent but around the world. Among his co-authored works are "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races" and "the Truth

About Lynching; among his other pieces are "The World Crisis and the Negro People Today" and "The Crises of the Negro Railroad Workers."

4 He has conferred with more United States Presidents than any other Negro in history; he holds many honorary university degrees. Yet with the wisdom and vision that spans two world wars he steadfastly adheres to the belief that if the Negro in America is to be free he must be the first to raise his fist in his own defense.

5 He resides with his wife, Lucille in New York City; maintains offices at his offices at his union's international headquarters in New York City.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Close-up
May 1, 1944

A Champion Defender of Workers' Rights

NEW YORK POST
DAILY MAGAZINE SECTION
MONDAY, MAY 1, 1944
26

Above everything else A. Philip Randolph head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is independent and fearless.

That's the reason he is not a candidate for Congress from Harlem's new all-inclusive Congressional district. But these characteristics, which have won him almost sainthood in the Negro community, explain why he will be awarded the Clendenin Medal tomorrow at Carnegie Hall by the Workers Defense League.

A few weeks ago both Democratic and Republican party leaders were offering Randolph the chance to go to Congress. This would have been a fitting climax to his life-long fight in behalf of Negro workers and other minorities. But there were strings attached. He had to promise to "behave", when he got to Washington.

Contributed Most to the Protection of Workers' Rights

The offer was turned down.

But it was even before this latest demonstration of his intellectual integrity that the board of the Workers Defense League had unanimously decided that Randolph was the man who had contributed most to the protection of U. S. workers' rights during the last year.

He had some tough competition. The board considered William Green, AFL head; Philip Murray, CIO chieftain, and Walter Reuther, the brilliant young vice-president of the United Auto Workers.

The reason Randolph will receive the prize, the WDL explains, is that he almost alone was responsible for President Roosevelt's executive order creating the Fair Employment Practice Committee. It came out of a White House conference after Randolph announced plans for a passive resistance March on Washington by leaders of a Negro citizenry grown tired of discrimination.

Born in Crescent City, Florida in 1889, the son of a poor minister, Randolph experienced the usual tribulations of the Negroes in the deep South, from early childhood. His father's church, the African Methodist Episcopal, removed its preachers from one pastorate to another every four years. The constant moving about gave Randolph not only the opportunity to meet different groups of people at an early age, but to see a vast variety of hardships that the Negro must suffer wherever he went. The people who came to his father's churches everywhere had this in common: they were always Negroes, they were segregated from others of the same faith and different color, and they were always poor. Most often they would pay for the upkeep of the churches with bushels of potatoes, a leg of a pig, some eggs.

Pat Photo by [illegible]
WELL, get a medal

Father Worked as Tailor To Eke Out a Living

In order to eke out a living, Randolph's father, in addition to being a minister was also a tailor. The deep sincerity of the people who came to the church services had a great effect upon Randolph. So did the great devotion of his father to his religious beliefs.

Being calm and collected himself, even as a child, Randolph felt that the church services would be much more enjoyable if there were not so many emotional outbursts or revival meetings. But he soon realized that oppression had a great deal to do with these emotional manifestations, that they represented not only hope, but also escape from hard and bitter forms of exploitation and racial hatred.

Randolph attended segregated public schools and then went to a college in Jacksonville maintained by his father's church. At the time of the Civil War the Methodist Church split on the issue of slavery, and the churches of the North subsequently sent missionaries to the South to establish schools for Negroes. At Cookman Institute, which Randolph attended, half of the teachers were white and half were negro. All the students were colored. He does not underestimate the rare and exceptional contribution to the Negro made by the American Missionary Assn. at that critical period, nor the value of the typical classical education he received.

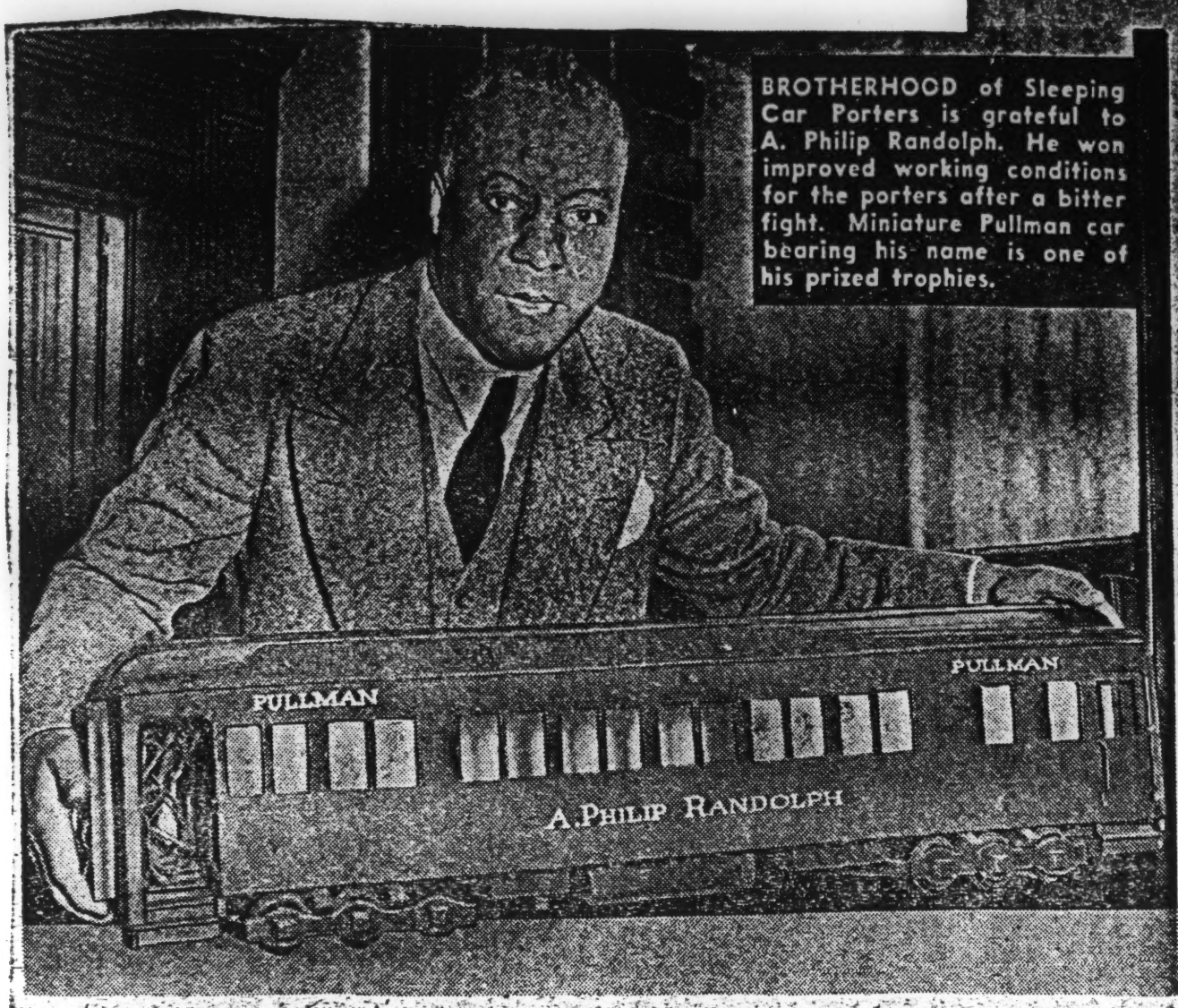
He Founded "Messenger" Advocating Socialism

Then he came to New York, continued his education at City College at night, and got a job as editor of "The Hotel Messenger," published by the National Assn. of Colored Head Waiters. Discovering that the head waiters were exploiting the side waiters under them, through gambling and selling uniforms, he promptly exposed these malpractices. The head of the association at once called Randolph and his associates to a conference, and in a raging voice declared: "How dare you publish such a thing? Is this what we are paying you for?" In characteristic fashion, Randolph replied: "Isn't it the truth?"

"You are fired!" thundered the owner. "I wish never to see you again. Get out fast!"

Thus it was that, leaving this publication, Randolph founded the now famous "Messenger." This was the first magazine published by Negroes advocating Socialism as a method of solving the Negro problem.

With Chanler Owen, Randolph established an independent political forum in Harlem, composed of Negro students from Columbia, NYU and CCNY. Randolph's reading and studies at this period led him to join the Socialist Party, and he ran for all the offices, including everything from Assemblyman to Secretary of State. When the split in the Socialist Party occurred, part of it



BROTHERHOOD of Sleeping Car Porters is grateful to A. Philip Randolph. He won improved working conditions for the porters after a bitter fight. Miniature Pullman car bearing his name is one of his prized trophies.

becoming Communist, Randolph remained with the Socialists.

In 1925, while conducting a street meeting in Harlem, some Pullman porters heard Randolph speak and asked him to organize them. Having himself worked on railroads as a section hand, laying rails and cross-ties, loading cars with dirt and as a water-boy, before he had come North, Randolph was automatically interested in their problems.

Meeting in the home of one of the six porters who had asked him for aid, Randolph helped give birth to the new enormous Brotherhood of which he is still the leader.

Trouble began at once. Randolph was immediately branded as an agitator and a demagogue. The porters were fired. Their activities were a direct threat to company unions. Five hundred porters lost their jobs in the fight to gain recognition for the new union. Nor was recognition finally gained until 1937. Only then was the organization certified as a bargaining agent by the National Mediation Board.

Since that time the Brotherhood has negotiated various agreements to the advantage of its members, gained raises in pay and improved working conditions.

Still Trying to End Discriminatory Pacts

Not that discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry has ceased, by any means! As chairman of the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, Randolph is still trying to wipe out discriminatory agreements between "white" railroad unions and employers.

Randolph is still the head of the March on Washington movement, which group is holding a political conference in Chicago on June 25, when problems relating to Jim Crowism, Fascism and anti-Semitism will be taken up.

As chairman of a Committee to obtain a Permanent Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee to continue after the war, Randolph takes a long view, knowing that the fight against discrimination is far from won.

An inveterate reader, Dubois' "Souls of Black Folk" had more influence on his development than any other book written by a Negro. Despite never having become a Communist, Marx's works influenced his thinking profoundly. So did Lester F. Ward. Among Negro writers, Randolph particularly admires James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Georgia Johnson.

"As the largest single minority that has suffered the most, both spiritually and morally, I believe that the Negro must take leadership in the struggle against the anti-Democratic forces," Randolph said firmly. "Not only must we take leadership to help all those who are oppressed, but the Negro needs to do this as a purifying force, to expel the poison of Jim-Crowism lodging in our souls as a result of long experience with oppression and suffering."

From Shakespeare to FEPC

By TED POSTON

Luckily for supporters of federal legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee—thousands of whom are scheduled to rally at Madison Square Garden on Feb. 28—A. Philip Randolph took a licking on the first major decision of his career.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Young Asa Randolph, a serious-minded student in Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fla., was determined to become an actor and singer. But his itinerant Methodist minister father and his deeply religious mother wouldn't hear of it.

It was no passing fancy, the tall, deep-voiced president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and the man most responsible for the existence of a temporary FEPC, explained today as he pushed his plans for the big Garden rally.

"I really wanted a stage career. I started taking singing lessons in my teens. I memorized every line in 'Othello,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' and 'Hamlet.' But my parents were very firm about it. They made me promise not to become a professional actor."

The future winner of the Spingarn, Clendenin and other awards for Negro and labor leadership didn't turn professional, but he didn't give up the Bard of Avon right away either. Years after he left Florida where he had been born in Crescent City in 1889, he organized the Shakespearean Society in Harlem and played Hamlet, Othello and Romeo before audiences, and—one time—at the old Lafayette Theatre.

Wife Was School Teacher And "Hair Parlor" Owner

The 56-year-old Randolph, broad-shouldered, erect and smooth-faced despite his now-graying hair, discussed this early ambition in a deep vibrant voice whose diction and broad accent once led the late President Roosevelt to interrupt a bitter White House conference to ask: "Phil, what year did you finish Harvard?" (He never attended Harvard nor finished any other college, although he holds an honorary Ph. D. from Howard University in Washington, D. C.)

Mrs. Randolph is the former Lucille Greene, a Howard graduate, and one-time Virginia school teacher. She was a beauty shop proprietor ("hair parlor," he calls it) and he was managing a job placement bureau when they first met in Harlem.

The old Fall River Line bounced the young CCNY student out on his ear when he tried to organize his fellow waiters. A group of headwaiters hired him to edit their house organ and promptly fired him when he exposed their petty rackets. The old Lust Committee (forerunner of Dies) branded him "the most dangerous Negro in America," when, with Chandler Owen, a young Columbia student with whom he had been reading law and Lester Ward, he founded "The Messenger," a Socialist magazine, and led an all-out fight against conscription in World War I.

Planned to Show Strength By March on Washington

And Mrs. Randolph was in on the decision back in 1925 when Milton P. Webster, Ashley Totten, T. T. Patterson and three other Pullman porters asked the then young Socialist (a Liberal Party member now) to help them form a union.

"You can list those three men," he said, "among the persons who most influenced my life. They stuck with me and the Brotherhood when we didn't have a crust of bread or a nickel to make a phone call."

Randolph's 10-year fight with the Pullman Co.—punctuated by threats of arrest, indirect offers of bribery, attempted intimidation by private detectives and wholesale dismissals of more than 500 porters, is a much-told tale. But today, 16,000 Brotherhood porters receive a $137.50 monthly minimum wage as against $67.50 in 1925.

World War II brought Randolph his greatest pressures however—this time largely from his friends. He quit the Socialist Party because he didn't share its opposition to an all-out war against Fascism. And then, one day in 1940, while making a Southern trip with Webster, he conceived the idea of a March-on-Washington by 10,000 Negroes as a means of obtaining an executive order outlawing discrimination in defense and government employment.

So, early in 1941, he wrote a series of articles for the Negro newspapers outlining his plan, and overnight, Marching-on-Washington Committees sprang up all over the country.

Mayor LaGuardia, Randolph's close friend and the Brotherhood's first volunteer counsel, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom he deeply admired, summoned Randolph and White, NAACP executive secretary, down to City Hall. It won't work, they told him. You can't intimidate the Federal Government. And you can't settle a moral question by executive order anyway.

Then Randolph and White were summoned to the White House.

FDR Firm but Friendly —Smile Breaks Tension

The President was warm that day, Randolph recalled, but not too friendly at first. Flanked by his Secretaries of War and Navy and other ranking Government officials, he summarily demanded that the proposed march be called off. Randolph refused and requested the issuance of a non-discrimination executive order. Mr. Roosevelt challenged anyone's right to exert pressure on the White House, but neither White nor Randolph would back down. The argument became heated. The tension was finally broken though by FDR's sudden smiling query about Randolph's Harvard accent.

And the conference broke up with the President's promise that "something will be done." Two weeks later on June 25, 1941, he issued Executive Order 8802, establishing a President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

A few months later, Randolph organized the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, and with Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers as co-chairman, started the drive which led to indorsement of permanent legislation by leaders of both major political parties and to the recent Senate filibuster against S-101. The filibuster didn't worry him much.

"We'll win," he said, "because the masses want a Permanent FEPC. And our Feb. 28 demonstration of inter-racial, inter-faith, AFL-CIO solidarity on this question will give further evidence of our mass support."

Some day, but only after FEPC is an accomplished fact, Randolph hopes to get back to the diversions he dropped when he first tackled the Pullman Co.

Baseball games, for instance. He was a fair pitcher and a pretty good first baseman before becoming a hair-pulling fan. Or the theatre. He loves serious plays but hasn't had time to see one in years. He still sees a movie now and then and loves the cops and robbers type like "The House on 92nd St."

Since he only sleeps four hours a night, he has been able to keep up somewhat on his reading—principally labor, economics, philosophy, biography and the poetry of Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley and Dunbar.

He tried to follow his doctor's advice to "slow down" last year, but wound up addressing more than 500 FEPC and Brotherhood meetings — including one in Topeka, Kan., less than a week after he got up from a pneumonia attack. The Madison Square Garden rally on Feb. 28 is only one of a series scheduled for this year.

Young Asa Randolph kept his promise to his parents, but wasn't it Shakespeare who cracked about all the world being a stage?

NEW YORK POST, FEBRUARY 13, 1946

By [illegible] *Article I*

"Mother and Dad kept whispering to one another that evening, and there was gloom in the house. Other men came by in twos and threes to talk to my father. I had no idea who was going to be lynched or why or what a lynching was really. But just hearing the rumors and the talk was frightening. Later the men came by for my father. 'You get the gun,' he told my mother as he left us, 'and sit up with the boys until I get back.' Mother was a good marksman. She took down the shotgun and sat there with it across her lap until daybreak. My brother James and I kept the vigil all night with her. I was only about nine—he was two years older.

"Some time after dawn, my father returned. He was weary and and tired but the gloom was gone. The men of the town—his friends, members of the church where he preached—had gone to the County Jail, stood all night like sentries in the street and kept the lynch mob from coming. I'll never forget it. It had a tremendous effect on me."

A Florida lynching that never came off 60 years ago may have had more momentous echoes than scores that went off on schedule. For the young witness who never forgot it was a boy called Asa Philip Randolph. He learned at his mother's knee and in his father's house that he and his people were not helpless but possessed power, great power.

The only "Negro problem" he ever admitted to thereafter was how to hitch up that power for action on the "broadest, daring and most gigantic scale."

For half a century he has preached collective self-reliance and practiced power politics aimed at nothing short of "revolutionizing the conscious and subconscious mind of the dominant white people of these United States."

He has been summoned to sessions at the White House by U. S. Presidents, and he has been hustled off to jail by agents of the U. S. Dept. of Justice.

He has led one of the most remarkable mass movements in American political history, and he has been a solitary voice in the asphalt wilderness.

He has been called the most dangerous Negro in America and he has been called a modern Messiah.

He has been reviled as a young seditionist and revered as an older statesman. He has been hailed as a prophet and written off as a relic.

Some of the most distinguished white people in America count him as their friend; yet he forever counsels his following that the U. S. Negro is and must be his own best friend.

He has never won an election in his life; yet a dynamic four-letter instrument of national policy which he conceived and extracted from a reluctant President two decades ago has echoed explosively through every national political convention and election since that time.

"Randolph emerged this year," wrote Allan Morrison in Ebony in 1958, "the unquestioned No. 1 leader of the nation's 17 million Negroes." Morrison was referring to the moment when Randolph's three colleagues on the Big Four delegation of Negro leaders attending the June 23 conference with President Eisenhower—NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, National Urban League Executive Director Lester B. Granger and Rev. Martin Luthern King, president of the Southern Leadership Conference—"unanimously and unhesitatingly chose the gray-haired labor leader to be lead-off spokesman for the group . . . and present a nine-point program of action."

Randolph has been hailed at times as the greatest leader of his race since Frederick Douglass. Yet in the nation at large he is less widely known than many newcomers in the encyclopedias of jazz or sport.

He has never served in the armed forces or set foot on a military reservation; he even risked arrest for "treason" by advising young Negroes to refuse to register for the draft and older Negroes to refuse to serve on draft boards. Yet he played a larger role in revolutionizing the U. S. military establishment than most graduates of West Point.

Small Union . . . Wide Influence

He is president of a small union embracing workers in one of the lowliest callings in the hierarchy of labor. Yet, as a vice president of the AFL-CIO, spokesman at international labor conclaves, and now as founder of the Negro-American Labor Council, he casts a shadow which reaches into virtually every union hall in the land.

He has often been so busy agitating for the economic advancement of others that he couldn't pay his own rent. He has never earned more than $13,200 a year, his current salary as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; he has lived in the same modest five-room apartment for 25 years, owns neither car nor property and rides to work every morning on the Eighth Av. bus.

He is in the league with John L. Lewis and Winston Churchill when it comes to creative use of the spoken

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He has been a virtuoso interpreter of Shakespeare on the off-Broadway boards, and a hallboy in a Manhattan apartment. (A building at 89th and Columbus once bore the scrawl: "P. Randolph swept here.") He has been an editor and a busboy; he has worked at almost every odd job except that of Pullman porter—and for 35 incredible years he has headed the Pullman porters' union.

The 18,000 members of that union—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—call him "Chief." Close friends call him "Mr. Randolph." His massive presence and aura make it somehow unseemly for anyone except Presidents to call him "Phil." Yet his wife, Lucille, after almost 50 years, still calls him "Buddy."

In the Executive Council of the AFL, he and his friend John L. Lewis were known as the "two dissenters." But the years have made Randolph a serene optimist who dissents more and more about less and less.

In the '20s he edited The Messenger, "the only radical Negro magazine in America," which endures in public archives—and the secret files of the FBI—as one of the ornaments of the age. Yet as an economic determinist he would admit that this publication—like the porters union—is a kind of monument to the endurance and endowments of his wife, Lucille, who worked all the while as manager of one of storied Madame Lilia Walker's hairdressing and straightening emporiums. ("What was the name of that little paper you used to run, Buddy?" she kidded him the other day about what has been called one of the most brilliantly edited magazines in the history of American Negro journalism.)

The Maker of History

He is interviewed oftener by historians than by the press and TV. A recent work of political history ("When Negroes March" by Dartmouth Prof. Herbert Garfinkel, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.) advanced the thesis that it will be impossible to understand Negro politics of 1960 without a study of Randolph and his 1940 March on Washington Movement. Randolph hasn't read the book yet. He is so busy these days planning motion and commotion for the election year that he hasn't had time to catch up with the historian's new calculating up with choreography he spent for more [illegible]

Dozens of books have concerned themselves with Randolph's opinions and passions; yet he is usually propelled into the daily press by the angry reactions of others. In 1922 he made the front pages of the New York Times when the dismembered hand of a white man was discovered by the police in his incoming mail. Appended was a threat signed "K.K.K." In 1959 he made the headlines again when AFL-CIO president George Meany asked angrily: "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negro members in America?" In between, Randolph's epic achievements have gone largely unrecorded.

His old-fashioned office is situated in an ancient building overlooking the main street of Harlem, U. S. A. Yet it is a command post looked to for tactical consultation and strategic advice by leaders of mass movements from Montgomery, Ala., to the Sahara and elsewhere. Visitors from Asian and African nations beat a path to his door. He has lived most of his 70 years in this city; yet he is perhaps better known abroad than he is on the street where he lives.

He is less the politician than the poet, the seer who voices the hidden wisdom of the race; yet he has stood toe to toe with the great political figures of his time and with commanding silence, watched them eat their own words. Some of the words later eaten:

"You cannot settle great social questions with hammer and tongs, Phil."—FDR, June, 1941.

"I wish you hadn't said that (Negroes will refuse to fight in a Jim Crow army)."—Harry Truman, March, 1948.

"If you put (Jim Crow) in a class with corruption and communism, that's where you and I part company, Phil."—George Meany, September, 1959.

He has been dismissed as being hopelessly old hat; yet the avant-garde of Negro leadership finds itself inexorably following in his footsteps. On Sunday, Jan. 24, at Carnegie Hall, his juniors like NAACP chief Wilkins and Martin Luther King have called together a Salute to A. Philip Randolph to honor his decades of leadership.

He is the despair of technicians, trained "administrators" and organization men.

In a time when so many things, including politics, have been reduced to a science, he is a man of emotion who elevates political and moral matters by never failing to arouse emotion in others, whether they be friends or foes.

The coming year, when a national election may well hinge and turn on the explosive issue of civil rights, an issue which Randolph has been firing and stoking for half a century, no one can hope to understand or fathom what may happen without knowing something about this altogether saintly and remarkable [illegible] who looks 50 and acts like an angry young man.

Article II

Asa Philip Randolph was the son of a preacher, born in Crescent City, Fla., in 1889. Life with Father made him a tag-along knee-high member of the marching order of the church militant: African Methodist Episcopal. The King James Bible and McKinley Republicanism—orthodoxies elsewhere—were subversive doctrines in the Rev. James W. Randolph's hands.

"Dad was a mighty Republican propagandist," the son remembers. "The Reconstruction era was over, but Dad talked forever of the great days when Negro Republicans had served in the Congress and the U. S. Senate. They were very much alive in his mind. At the same time he was close to being a black nationalist. Jesus Christ was not white, he would tell us. God is not white. Angels have no color. God has none. We were steeped in the concept that race was no basic distinction. What mattered was merit, quality, worth."

Theirs was no pie in the sky Christianism of gauzy Green Pastures. It was the Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition religion of the swamps. Randolph recalls it this way:

"Dad usually preached at the annual conferences of the AME Bishops. He took great pride in taking my brother James and me with him to these conventions and introducing us to the patriarchs of the church as 'my boys.'

"There elderly bishops had the same flavor as the Apostles in the Bible; they actually looked like pictures out of our Bible at home, especially Bishop Henry MacNeal Turner, the able aggressive prophet from Georgia and Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner, another man of overwhelming force and character.

A Man to Know

"They were great experiences, these conferences. Bishop Turner was a relic of the Reconstruction Dad talked about. He had once sat in the Georgia legislature. Bishop Turner's militancy never dimmed, but often reached the point where the people of Georgia drove him into the swamps. Dad carried me to him as a man he wanted us to know. I can never forget him once taking two pistols out from under his cloak, checking to see they were loaded. 'My life depends upon the will of God and these guns,' Bishop Turner would say."

Rev. Randolph ministered to three small rural congregations near Jacksonville. Yet his pastoral income was so small they eked out a living running a family laundry, cleaning, pressing and mending business. When he was too young to deliver bundles on his own, young Philip made the round with his father.

One time they trekked out together to a nearby sawmill to deliver a bundle to the white foreman of the place. When they came near, the white man exploded profanely and hollered "Take those clothes to my home and get out of here or I'll throw you out."

"I was only a little lad" Randolph recalls. "But I was startled. My father didn't say anything. I knew we needed the money and I wondered how we would get paid. My father's helplessness before the abuse of this white man registered profoundly. I wasn't completely conscious of color yet, but I had a feeling it happened because we were dark and he was white. I kept asking Dad about it for days. He told me not to worry."

The rude contrast between his father's powerful dignity in ecclesiastic circles and his helplessness in the marketplace disturbed the boy deeply and set him to thinking:

"This was the first time I felt there could be a crisis between people of different color."

Bedtime Reading

Self-educated himself, Rev. Randolph began tutoring his two sons early.

"We were steeped in Biblical history. Reading the Bible aloud was as much a part of the routine of our home as suppertime. He read us a chapter of the Bible aloud at night before bed. Dad was interested in St. Paul and I came to admire him greatly too. I felt here was a great mind and a leader. Dad always stressed how he always met his trials with courage and fortitude, was never overcome by vicissitudes, always finished his course. He had a vision and a sense of mission, he looked for attacks and expected persecution but he always finished what he set out to do. This had a great effect on me. Dad's narration of the book of Moses was something spectacular. Everything we could expect in life was a variation on these themes.

"Before we had any formal education we had learned to read and read aloud. Passages that were difficult we read over and over to appreciate and get to understand them.

"Dad spoke beautifully and clearly. He was a great one for emphasis. A word like res *pon* si bility trembled with meaning the way he pronounced it. Words, their pronunciation, their meaning, these were a game with my brother and me. We played quiz games at home the way others played catch. By the time we got to school we had the equivalent of a primary education. After all Dad taught school. Mother had been one of his pupils. He had married her when she was only 13. She was a beautiful woman only 15 years older than I was.

"The lady next door had a piano and taught a group of children. We were sent there. She taught me to use my right hand instead of my left. She taught us rhythm and music and we learned to recite little things to her accompaniment.

"James was far more intellectual than I was, interested in many other things. Later I got my early glimpse of Negro history through him. He never wanted to go to church when Dad went to one of his outlying congregations to preach. But we always went to the conferences together. When the proceedings began we would watch them intently and listen to all the speakers—and then comment and judge whether or not they were speaking the English language correctly."

Brother James was an intellectual prodigy. "I never had the keenness, the precocity he had," Randolph insists. "Teachers at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville marveled at his brilliance. He carried me along. They were interested in me because of him."

James became a mathematician, an ardent medievalist, a writer of Latin verse.

"If he had lived," says his brother, "he would be in the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton today. James died suddenly of diphtheria in the early thirties."

At Cookman, where the two boys enrolled, half the teachers were white New England volunteers. After 60 years, Randolph talks of his school days with such emotion that they seem like a pageant of brotherhood crowded with heroines.

"A glorious chapter in American history," he says of Cookman.

"One day their story will be told. They suffered isolation and ostracism at the hands of the white South [illegible]

[illegible] A cousin here who was janitor [illegible] at 59th and Columbus offered him a job as a hallboy for $4 a month. A summer's earnings would barely have paid his railroad fare, so he made a deal with a head waiter on one of the boats of the Clyde Line, working as a bus boy without pay to make the trip.

Summers in Manhattan made him an authority on the world outside to his fellow students in Florida. When he finished high school at Cookman, he decided his future was in New York. Randolph attended City College at night, subsisting on odd jobs he was able to wangle during the day.

Although he was stimulated by a professor or two, particularly the young Morris R. Cohen, his habit of extracurricular self-education was strong. He browsed and dipped in every book he could lay his hands on. He met a young Columbia law student, Chandler Owen, and read law books with him for a year. Owen introduced him to the dynamic new sociology of Lester Ward; Randolph, in turn, introduced Owen to an economist he had heard mentioned at CCNY: Karl Marx.

They worked out their own synthesis of the two modes of thought and talked themselves into the Socialist Party. Then they joined forces, pooled their capital and opened a small employment office at [illegible] and Lenox Av.

Randolph had organized himself out of dozens of jobs by trying out his theories of trade union organization. The little job bureau—with an improvised training program on the side for untutored Negroes from the South—removed him from one temptation. But the sign they painted on the door was fraught with continuity; they called their business "The Brotherhood."

The same office building also housed a salon of Madam Lilia Walker, first lady of Negro beauty science who had made a fortune with hair-straightening processes. The manager of her Lenox Av. establishment was a tall, honey-colored beauty with striking natural silver hair. Lucille Green was a graduate of Howard University who had taught school in Christiansberg, Virginia, before coming to New York where they organized the first Howard U. alumni association.

Miss Green was so exotic she thought Mr. Randolph exotic, and vice versa. They became acquainted, then inseparable, sharing an interest in Shakespeare, socialism and a host of things larger than themselves. In 1913 they were married.

"For our honeymoon we took an open street car to South Ferry," Mrs. Randolph remembers. "And back."

"Ye Friends of Shakespeare" was an uptown off-Broadway theater group the Randolphs were active in rehearsing and presenting scenes from the great plays before church and community groups. The talented Negro actor Henry Strange spotted Randolph in one of these presentations and took him under his wing.

The Young Crusaders

When the Rev. Randolph heard his son was being groomed for the stage, deep objections were voiced. Nothing was considered quite this sinful unless it was drink, an allied peril of the theatrical life which Randolph had, with an awesome sense of discovery, observed in his mentor.

Through their budding employment bureau, Randolph and Owen met leaders of a new union of Negro head waiters. With prospective members scattered in big hotels from New York to Florida, the union wanted to publish a magazine.

After an interview with the chief of the group, Randolph and Owen were commissioned to write and edit an organ called "The Hotel Messenger." Negro waiters in those days might have belonged to Actor's Equity, had there been one. They usually wore musical comedy livery and put on a show that was a combination of dance and mime.

Feeling somewhat foreign to this terrain, Randolph and Owen began doing a lot of leg work, interviewing hotel workers about their problems and [illegible] principal beef, they soon found, was that [illegible] themselves were given to organizing [illegible] and poker parties which sidewaiters felt [illegible] patronize.

Another form of prewar payola involved the sale of these expensive uniforms. Headwaiters got a rake-off on each purchase.

The two young editors reacted to this corruption in the ranks with fervor and outrage. They wrote stinging articles exposing the nefarious practices. When the union leaders found themselves exposed in their own publication, they reeled with disbelief and summoned Randolph and Owen for an audience.

"Lies, libel" the infuriated chieftains shouted. "What are you trying to do to us?" Summarily, they were sacked.

Rank and file members were overjoyed to see their ancient grievances aired. "This will make things better" the young editors were told by cautious supporters.

With this small taste of the power of the printed word, Randolph and Owen decided to make a big gamble and try to keep the magazine going. They dropped one word from the masthead and in 1917 published their first independent issue of "The Messenger" which they proclaimed as the only Negro radical magazine in America.

They started on a shoestring; they kept traveling on the same shoestring for 10 years.

Article III

At Monticello, Va., in 1777, it has been narrated, a young plantation slave got wind of a published declaration authored by his master, Thomas Jefferson, to the effect that all men were created equal and endowed with certain novel and inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

As a serious-minded fellow, the slave took these rumors literally and fled. He was, of course, pursued, apprehended and ended up in the plantation pokey where his elders patiently explained to him that the whole thing was a gruesome joke.

Most serious revolutionary notions begin as laughing matters. They can be tolerated and passed around as jokes for years, decades, centuries. But anyone taking such propositions too seriously too soon does so at his own risk.

And so it was in 1917 when war was declared and President Wilson proclaimed it a crusade to make the world safe for democracy.

Unlike so many young American writers who were to succumb belatedly to disillusion, young A. Philip Randolph understood instinctively the peril of taking Wilson seriously. But it was a risk he could not evade. Randolph was editor of The Messenger, which called itself, without challenge, the "only radical Negro magazine in America."

The eminent W. E. B. DuBois had written a famous editorial in the NAACP organ, The Crisis, calling on Negroes to close ranks and support the war effort. Randolph ridiculed DuBois as an intellectual who had lost touch with the people; who talked to them, not with them. Then, addressing the man in the White House, he wrote that "lynching, Jim Crow, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and out, disenfranchisement of millions of black souls in the South—all these things make your cry of making the world safe for democracy a sham, a mockery, a rape on decency and a travesty on common justice."

Quite predictably, the Postmaster General declined to deliver such inflammable notions through the mails. Civil liberty in the U. S. is dead, Randolph replied, adding philosophically that "for the Negro it was dead before." Street corner circulation of The Messenger grew by the thousands.

"We were selling 5,000 copies in Seattle," Randolph recalls. "And nobody knew there were any Negroes out there."

The Messenger had a huge unpaid circulation among the inmates of Leavenworth, where many Negro soldiers and civilians had been imprisoned for mutiny. These included members of the 24th Infantry Division involved in the bloody Houston, Tex., mutiny of August, 1917. Nineteen soldiers had been hanged, 13 of them without opportunity for proper appeals.

To many Negroes, the liberal Democratic President's idealistic pronouncements about "The New Freedom" were too bitter a pill. Many of them had heard about the numerous Washington jobs, reserved for Negroes under the patronage of the preceding Republican Administrations, which were taken away and given to white persons.

Stories had also spread about the casual post-Inauguration visit of the President's first wife to a government bureau in early 1913 where she found, to her distress, that white and Negro government workers were using the same plumbing facilities. The first Mrs. Wilson, it was said, nagged some Cabinet members into reestablishing pre-Reconstruction customs, including Jim Crow, wherever practicable.

In 1917, 30,000 Negroes lined New York's Fifth Av. to watch 8,000 of their neighbors march to the beat of muffled drums protesting wartime outrages against members of their race. In the state elections that fall, an estimated one-fourth of Negro voters cast protest votes for the Socialist ticket on which Randolph ran for Secretary of State, his wife for a seat in the Legislature.

It was in this heady political atmosphere that Randolph and his friend, colleague and co-editor Chandler Owen, headed West in the spring of 1918 for a series of meetings from Scranton to Seattle on "The Negro and the War." Bales of their magazines were freighted on ahead to be hawked on street corners coast to coast.

It was a hot night in June, in Cleveland, Ohio, when Randolph and Owen collided with the majesty of the U. S. government. Eugene Debs had been arrested and jailed a few nights before. The word was out that the same team of Justice Dept. agents, experts on sedition, were working in Ohio.

It was an immense meeting in the heart of downtown, Randolph recalls, well organized by the Socialist brethren:

"While Chandler Owen spoke, I sold magazines. When it was my turn to speak, he passed through the crowds. While I was talking I could see from my soapbox that Owen was engaged by some men in the audience and was undergoing vigorous questioning."

Randolph had begun as usual, by telling the crowd they were all doing their bit to make the world safe for democracy. There was a pause and some laughter. "And unsafe for hypocrisy" he thundered to wild applause, adding:

"How can we make the world safe while Americans are unsafe, especially Negroes, from lynching, while this great crusade is going on?"

The government agents crowded to the edge of his soapbox, tugged at Randolph's trouser leg and said "Get down, boy, you're under arrest for treason."

The two speakers were hustled off to jail, with most of the crowd following along.

"We were extremely well read," Randolph recalls ruefully, "and had read somewhere that political prisoners were entitled to special privileges, so we refused to eat. We were ignored at first, but when we insisted, the Justice Dept. agents finally took us out to a restaurant for our meals."

A prominent Negro woman in Cleveland offered to provide bail, but the government declined. After a couple of days a prominent Socialist lawyer arrived from Chicago to intercede for the two prisoners. At his insistence they were finally ushered before a federal judge for a hearing.

The judge looked at the sheaf of files provided him, describing various dastardly deeds, then squinted idly at the two Negro lads before him. He seemed, Randolph recalls, unable to discern—or face—any possible connection between the papers and the prisoners. Pushing the documents aside, he said testily to a clerk:

"What have *these* boys been arrested for?"

The U. S. Attorney mumbled something about some new and unfamiliar legal doctrine having to do with selective service and other matters. The judge kept insisting it was some kind of mix-up. At 70, Randolph barely looks 50. At 27, he looked too young to be eligible for the draft, let alone to be seriously described as a general menace to the state.

The defense attorney attempted to get in a few words, but the judge brushed him aside. Then, in the most fatherly tones, he asked.

"What have you boys been doing?"

"We were holding a meeting, Your Honor," Randolph said.

"What were you talking about?" the judge asked.

"The Negro and the war," Randolph said.

The judge nodded and inquired: "What did you say?"

In mellifluous tones, Randolph bounced Wilson's wartime slogan from the courtroom walls, pronouncing the word "democracy" with stress on each of its four syllables. Then, in the same tones he pronounced another word which sounded unmistakably like "hypocrisy."

The judge winced, rubbed his eyes and signaled for silence. He lowered his voice to a whisper in the apparent hope that the defendants would take a hint. The U. S. Attorney hurriedly produced a sheaf of exhibits—

[redacted]

two youths before him.

Then he pointed to underlined passages in the exhibits. One described the President of the U. S. as a "descriptive historian of the old school" who had forsaken the sanity of his earlier pronouncements and become a menace to incipient German revolution.

Another blasphemously downgraded the American Revolution to a military adventure designed to divert popular discontent from the landed colonial aristocracy and focus it against the Redcoats.

Editorials called for votes for women—and Negroes; for child labor and minimum wage laws; for lifting the yoke off India, Ireland, Algeria and U. S. island possessions in bondage to "the Trusts."

Finally, in issuing a call for an International Council of the Darker Races, Randolph and Owen claimed to be performing a "public service for the white people."

"I don't believe it," the judge said, re-reading the gamy passages. "You boys didn't publish this."

"We did, Your Honor," they replied.

"I don't believe it," the judge repeated. Peering at the Socialist lawyer from out of town, and eyeing the stirring spectators in the court, the judge seemed to find a glimmer of a way out. "Someone's been *using* you boys," he said. Without allowing a second for protest, he added:

"Tell you what I'm going to do. I'm going to turn you fine boys loose if you'll go home to your parents. They'll see to it these people don't use your names on stuff like this."

The Socialist lawyer and the U. S. Attorney stared at one another, poised for titanic and historic debate. The judge ignored them, treating them like truant officers into whose care he was unloading a problem child: "I'm turning these fine boys loose and I want you to see to it they go home to their parents."

The adversaries were speechless. The judge withdrew. The whole affair had begun when the Justice Dept. pulled at Randolph's pants. Now he felt the whole U. S. government was pulling his leg. The charge of treason had been reduced to a laughing matter, from which there was no appeal.

The Warning

Defrauded of martyrdom on grounds of incredibility, the two "boys" caught a train for Chicago, where a meeting had been scheduled in a large Negro church. There was little if anything in the papers about the courtroom scene. But when the editors reached Chicago, the church was locked up tight. The pastor could not be found. It took hours to find the janitor, who admitted nervously to knowing nothing about anything.

Friends in Chicago told them the alarm had spread. The ordeal of Eugene Debs was filling the papers but, Randolph recalls, "The Negro press was alarmed and ignored us. So we got a wooden box, went into the street and blasted the government before an enthusiastic crowd."

Chicago's Negroes were aroused, Randolph remembers. "It was very hot. We went to the home of a prominent Negro to spend the night, but we never got to bed. People poured in to see us. We sat there until morning talking to people who poured out their anger and bitterness. This decided things. We were going to continue our tour, holding street meetings and selling magazines."

The agents of the Justice Dept. were invariably the nucleus of each crowd in each town, Randolph recalls. Finally a Negro agent representing the Attorney General arrived with the warning that if they continued to attack the war they would end up in jail:

"He also recommended that we refrain from any mention of President Wilson. 'If you don't,' we were told, 'you'll go back to jail.'"

Subsequently, the Justice Dept. envoy paid Randolph the compliment of another ultimatum.

"He warned us to tone it down and promised we wouldn't be arrested as long as we stayed out of Washington, D. C.," Randolph recalls.

The audacity of this off-limits proclamation made Randolph's first march on Washington inevitable. He and Owen entrained for the capital, held several street meetings, attracted huge audiences, sold their magazines, lashed out at President Wilson; yet the government never moved against them.

Wilson, like Randolph, has often been criticized as the kind of unbending dreamer in whom absolute inflexibility is brought to the point of self-defeat. But in 1918 it was Wilson who bent. The Justice Dept. recommended prosecution of the "most dangerous Negro in America." But, Randolph was informed later, Wilson declined to act; he felt it would not be wise.

* * *

More than three decades later, when the U. S. and UN forces were fighting a war in Korea, Randolph once again mounted his soapbox on the street corners of Harlem, USA.

This time, Randolph implored Negroes to support their government in what some super-patriots were then derisively calling "Truman's war." At last, Randolph told street meetings, the U. S. Army was shedding its Jim Crow tradition and upholding a political ideal that could accurately be described with the Wilsonian slogans of 1917.

Virtually everything had changed except the tall, lean, bronze man on the soapbox making a speech about the Negro and the war.

Article IV

A profound result of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, according to Martin Luther King, is that Negro citizens have learned to speak the truth to white citizens, and white citizens have become used to hearing it. If the South's "New Negro" is one who speaks the truth, A. Philip Randolph is one of the oldest of the breed.

In the '20s, his was a lonely voice. His magazine, The Messenger, went unheeded, unquoted. It reached many influentials abroad, but few at home. Its readership among white people in the U. S. was largely confined to alert officials of the Justice Dept. and the FBI, whose attention he had attracted in World War I.

The kind of truth he recited—as an authentic voice of Negro protest—is unsettling still. It is not difficult to imagine how unpalatable it was at the time:

WARTIME VIGILANTISM: "The anti-Hun spirit was especially intense among American Huns . . . Germans were tarred and feathered like Negroes."

PROHIBITION: "If this nation permits flouting of the 14th and 15th Amendments it will have to tolerate disregard of the 18th."

CRIME: "A white crook and a Negro crook may hold up a store together, rob a bank together, blow a safe together, but they cannot stay in jail together —not in Chicago."

H. L. MENCKEN: "A real 100 per cent parochial American."

A CATHOLIC IN THE WHITE HOUSE (1928): "All candidates are friends of the Negro before election and all are indifferent to his interests after election because of the political ignorance and weakness, stupidity and corruption of Negro political leadership . . . (However) whatever sins may be charged against Catholics, they have not aligned themselves with Negro haters and lynchers . . . The Messenger be- [illegible] would be an [illegible] thing for the soul of America."

BLACK AND TAN CABARETS: "In the Chicago [illegible] of 1919, government and rule of law collapsed. [illegible] fell down, the reversion to savagery was complete except for the black and tan cabarets where mixed couples of whites and Negroes danced in locked embrace (to the beat of music under general attack as sinful).

WHITE SUPREMACY: "A vicious dogma fortified by the state, apotheosized in literature, upheld and dramatized on the stage, defended in the press, given the color and sanction of holy writ in the pulpit.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: "In 1882 Negroes stood in line at a White House reception . . . In 1922 at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, U. S. Marines enforced Jim Crow with bayonets."

The Messenger began as a trade union organ and was to end as one. In 1925, a small group of valiant Pullman porters tried again—for the umpteenth time since 1909—to organize a union. The Pullman Co. had zealously guarded the public image of the porter as a kind of faceless, soulless creature. Any porters even rumored to be thinking of joining a union were fired as pretenders to humanity and a menace to the sleeping cars.

The Organizers

Ashley L. Totten, the eventual secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was fired within days after calling a secret meeting in 1925, the way dozens had gone down before him. He began looking for a leader the Pullman Co. couldn't reach. Randolph filled the bill.

Six men met with him in secret. Randolph read all the formal motions; then he seconded them and did all the voting—so no man present could accurately be accused by company spies.

Randolph rallied the porters and raked the company in the columns of his magazine. The company replied by calling him a "wild-eyed uppity Negro hustler who never made up a Pullman berth in his life." It trotted out every trick in the books to put down the rising—even adding a few twists unique in labor history. The aged Robert T. Lincoln—Tad, son of the Emancipator—occupied a berth at the Pullman Co. as Chairman of the Board and was cynically and sentimentally exploited to win the "loyalty" of the underpaid hirelings. Key porters were bribed with supervisory jobs. "Jokers," Randolph called them, "to chloroform the porters and keep them from organizing."

Pullman payola persuaded many Negro newspapers to join the editorial attack on Randolph and the union. The new union president was depicted as a Bolshevik,

ment was lend-lashed to the Pullman Co. Negro oracle Perry Howard, a GOP National Committeeman and Assistant Attorney General in the Coolidge Administration, opened fire on Randolph.

The drive was only two months old and the new union was close to being down and out when Howard made the tactical error of challenging Randolph to a debate in Chicago.

Milton Webster, fired for talking union in 1918, who was also a GOP ward leader in Chicago and one of the secret six, still remembers Howard's intervention as "our big break."

"Brother Randolph and I were holding a lodge of sorrow when that challenge came," Webster recalls. "We couldn't accept quick enough or pray hard enough that the Lord would preserve Mr. Howard's good health and not allow him to change his mind. The Lord was with us. Mr. Howard showed up in the biggest hall in the Negro section of Chicago. In almost less time than it takes to tell, Randolph ran him out of gas. I got my coat ripped off helping the police get Mr. Howard out of the hall."

That debate cracked much of the opposition of the Negro community and the Porters were on their way. The Garland Fund endowed the union with a $10,000 grant; President William Green afforded such encouragement as the AFL allowed. But a handful of porters and the leader they had chosen were really all by themselves.

After Randolph had headed the Porters for three years, The Messenger, re-titled The Black Worker, became the union's official organ. For the first decade, while Randolph fought hopelessly for the inclusion of three little words—"sleeping car employees"—in the Railway Labor Act, his income was so precarious that both he and the union might have gone down had it not been for Mrs. Randolph, who worked every day as a hairdresser to meet household bills.

It took another two years and a smashing electoral victory surpervised by the government before the Pullman Co. would even answer a union letter.

In the heyday of union upsurge in the '30s, when management capitulation seemed inevitable, the company offered recognition to the union if it would get rid of its "socialist president." A final tack was a check for $10,000 which was offered Randolph through an intermediary if he would take an extended vacation abroad. At last, in 1937, the company did what it had sworn never to do—it sat down with Randolph and his Brotherhood Committee and signed a contract which quadrupled the income of the porters in a few years.

Meanwhile, admission of the Brotherhood into the AFL as a union in good standing brought Randolph's massive presence and Shakespearean tones into labor's national conventions, where few Negroes had ever been seen, let alone heard. He began haunting labor's house with the demand that the big unions open their doors to Negroes and that affiliated locals which in-

[redacted]

get miracles. Year after year he made [redacted] appeal and year after year he was voted down.

In 1937, after fellow dissenter John L. Lewis had led a phalanx of unions out of the AFL to form the CIO, the craft union paladins at an AFL convention listened in amazement when Randolph rose to the defense of the CIO.

By 1940, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was both a legend and an institution, with a fame out of balance with its size. Airlines, crossing the country overnight, had made the Pullman porters a shrinking trade in a contracting railroad industry. History-making as far as Randolph was concerned, appeared to be a thing of the past.

Once more, war changed all that. Randolph was no prisoner of the past. He was quick to see the menace of Hitlerism. He had read the racist doctrines of Mein Kampf early in the game, and supported aid to Britain.

Early U. S. wartime legislation paid lip service to the democratic amenities. The Selective Service Act carried the Hamilton Fish amendment forbidding racial discrimination, as well as another amendment making hash of the ban. In the wartime boom in defense industries the Negro was the last to be hired. New wartime industries like aircraft would entertain applications from Negroes only for janitor jobs.

The despair, disgust and dismay that Randolph had observed among Negroes in 1917 was back. The bitter Civil War axiom of Frederick Douglass was back in style: "In time of trouble, the Negro is a citizen; and in time of peace an alien."

In April, 1940, Randolph resigned the presidency of the National Negro Congress. The Communists, he said, with John L. Lewis on the platform behind him, had captured it. They could have it. As a parting shot, Randolph pointed out that the outfit wasn't even the Negro outfit it claimed to be; a third of its [redacted] were white, most of its funds came from [redacted]

[redacted] Arnold Hill of the Urban League called at the White House and presented President Roosevelt with a memorandum calling for integration of the armed forces.

Earlier, Randolph and White had gone to the White House to plead for an anti-lynching law. Randolph didn't quite know how to take the man in the White House—a President more revered by Negroes than any since Lincoln, more powerful as a leader than any Chief Executive in memory. FDR did not meet Randolph's fire with ice, as Coolidge had done in 1926 on a similar visit, but with helplessness, pointing to the Southern controlled Congress. When Randolph [redacted] effect of a Presidential declaration against [redacted] FDR said, "Perhaps."

But the President warned: "If nothing happens, a letdown will come. Your cause will suffer."

Randolph left the White House feeling as helpless as the President claimed to be. To make things worse, White House Press Secretary Steve Early—by inadvertence or design—pulled a public relations maneuver which compounded the dismay. He issued a White House statement declaring that the "policy of the Defense Department is not to intermingle colored and white personnel." The United Press reported: "Early said the segregation policy was approved after Mr. Roosevelt had conferred with Walter White, president of the NAACP, and two other Negroes . . ."

The protest against a Jim Crow Army had been suppressed; an indorsement of Jim Crow on the part of Walter White and "two other Negroes" had been implied; truth had been turned on its head.

The Negro leaders fired back an angry wire to the President; FDR and Early made public their regret at the "misunderstanding." But the damage had been done.

Some days later, Randolph and his rough, tough and unlikely sidekick, BSCP Vice President Milton Webster, left Washington on a southbound train. Any more White House meetings would be a waste of time, Randolph suggested. Webster, a Chicago Republican of 30 years standing, agreed.

Once more they were holding a "lodge of sorrow." In silence Randolph observed the Virginia landscape where his ancestors had been slaves.

He remembered his minister father and the men of his congregation walking out in the night to stand sentry duty around a Florida county jail to hold off a lynch mob.

The train rolled on. Finally Randolph broke the quiet.

"I think we ought to do something," he said. "I think we ought to get 10,000 Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue asking for jobs in defense plants and integration of the armed forces. It would shake up Washington."

Webster nodded agreement. "But where," he asked, "are you going to get 10,000 Negroes?"

Randolph said he believed this miracle, too, was possible.

"I think," Webster said later, "the first place where Brother Randolph and I talked March on Washington was in Savannah, Ga. The head colored man in town opened up the meeting, introduced me, and ran off the platform to the last seat in the row. It scared everybody to death."

In this day and age, the states of Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin* enforce laws prohibiting racial discrimination. Fifteen years ago there were none.

The FEPC slogan was added to the political language on June 25, 1941, when President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 establishing a wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee.

If one read only what the New York Times thought fit to print next morning about this development, or heard what White House Press Secretary Steve Early saw fit to provide in the way of briefing or background, this was just another alphabetical agency sprung full blown from the New Deal brain trust.

Brain-trusters knew better, of course, especially those involved in drafting the Executive Order. Joseph L. Rauh Jr., then general counsel for Lend-Lease, remembers a frantic phone call from the White House one day that June. It was an anxious wartime aide of the President's, who asked him to draft an order banning racial discrimination in defense industries.

There was some interchange about the details and the deadline, but the White House aide kept emphasizing that it was a rush job: "There's a fellow here by the name of Randolph who's threatening to march 50,000 Negroes on Washington. We need it by noon."

After the order was drafted and delivered, the White House aide was back on the phone. It needed working over, he said. "Randolph says it isn't tough enough."

With a sudden curiosity about this powerful unknown figure who seemed to be calling the shots, Rauh asked, "Who the hell is Randolph?"

* * *

In the winter of 1940, the idea of marching thousands of Negroes down Pennsylvania Av. was one man's dream born of desperation. Within months, it had spread like wildfire.

The NAACP and the Urban League somewhat reluctantly joined Randolph and other leaders of the Pullman Porters' union in the planning stages. The Negro press, cool at first, soon joined the clamor. The fate of earlier protest marches—like Coxey's Army and the veteran's bonus pilgrimage—was not an inspiring precedent. And unlike these earlier protests, Randolph's movement—though it was to become the top story week after week in Negro newspapers—rated no substantial mention in the "white press."

The Proclamation

In March, 1941, Randolph announced that D-Day had been set for July 1 and drafted a dramatic proclamation:

"Dear fellow Negro Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.

"In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure and still more pressure . . . mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. To this end we propose that 10,000 Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES . . . An all-out thundering march . . . and huge demonstration at Lincoln's monument will shake up white America. It will shake up official Washington . . . gain respect for the Negro people . . . create a new sense of self-respect among Negroes . . . Mass power can cause President Roosevelt to issue an Executive Order abolishing discrimination."

The stepped-up pace of organization and agitation filled the Negro papers; the blackout elsewhere was almost complete.

The Porters' union carried the burden of finances and organization. Some $50,000 was laid on the line. Union members sparked committees, hired buses and trains, undertook the formidable logistic planning required to move the equivalent of an army division.

It was a thriving movement; no mightier pressure had ever been brought to bear in the political history of the American Negro. Yet there was still no evidence that official Washington was heeding any of the noise.

On the stump in Harlem one spring day, Randolph had a sudden recollection of other meetings in other streets years before, in 1918 to be exact.

"I had reason to believe my personal movements were under surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation," he says with a smile. Through scores of protest meetings in World War I, Randolph got used to finding a core of observers from the Justice Dept. invariably on hand.

Randolph in 1941 decided the FBI could be a great help in the problem of communications. Instead of burying himself in strategy conferences and administrative matters, Randolph stayed on the streets. He trekked up Seventh Av., down Lenox, up Eighth. He walked into beauty parlors and said a few words; he invaded pool halls and spread the message; he rallied inhabitants of bars, shops, restaurants. He spoke on street corners and in theater lobbies. He quit talking in terms of 10,000 marchers—responsive audiences were raising the ante.

Word of the public response to his exertions would, he hoped, reach Washington in a form in which they could be believed; in the dull, routine, time-place-and-nose-count reports of the vigilant FBI.

The first hint of recognition came April 11 when OPM labor chief Sidney Hillman sent a letter to all defense plants urging them to hire Negroes.

Later President Roosevelt himself wrote similar missives. Finally Mayor LaGuardia was deputized to talk to Randolph and point out the significance of the President's appeal to war industries. Randolph remained unmoved.

He met in New York's City Hall with the Mayor and Mrs. Roosevelt, two old friends whose motives were above reproach. Walter White of the NAACP was with him. They were urged to call off the demonstration, cancel the march. Mrs. Roosevelt promised to ask the President to explore the matter thoroughly and expressed concern over where the thousands of Negroes would eat and sleep in the crowded, segregated capital city. Randolph replied, without hesitation, that many of them expected to march into hotels and restaurants and order dinner.

When he returned to his union office there was a cryptic telegram from Navy Secretary Frank Knox, summoning Randolph to Washington "for a conference on your project."

Two days later, another FDR memo to Hillman and OPM head Knudsen was reported, urging that defense jobs be opened to Negroes. But the underground movement which had triggered this action still remained underground, as far as most of the nation's press was concerned.

The Negro press hailed the action of official Washington as a sign that the ice had been broken. Finally, on June 18, Randolph and White were ushered into the President's office.

FDR sat at his desk, flanked by War Secretary Stimson, Knox, Hillman and Knudsen. LaGuardia, too, was there.

"Hello, Phil," the President began amiably, as Randolph remembers the scene. Throwing his head back, smiling with the charm "few people could resist," Roosevelt embarked on a friendly filibuster studded with anecdotes and jokes.

Time was passing. Randolph broke in.

"Mr. President," he began, "time is running on. You are busy. We want specifically to talk to you about the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't live with this thing. What are you going to do about it?"

"Now you're quite right, Phil," Randolph recalls the President saying. "And I am going to do something about it. Call off this march of yours and we'll do something. Questions like this have sociological implications. They can't be gotten at with hammer and tongs. They can't be settled with marches."

The President pressed White and Randolph on the number of marchers expected. Both men replied coolly with their maximum estimate. Nobody knew. Nobody would ever know.

"Phil," he said firmly. "You can't bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington. We can't have that. There will be trouble. Somebody might get killed."

"There won't be any violence, Mr. President," Randolph assured him. "Nothing will happen. We want you to address the marchers."

This, Randolph recalls, seemed to upset the President most of all. If Negroes marched and he greeted them, it might set an ominous precedent. Every disgruntled group in the nation might start moving on the capital. Call it off, the President insisted; then we'll talk again.

"We cannot call it off, Mr. President," Randolph replied. "We have pledged our people it will not be called off unless you issue an Executive Order abolishing discrimination."

"Executive Order?" the President inquired. "There have been no Executive Orders issued for years. What will it accomplish?"

"With the authority and moral force of the Presidency behind it," Randolph insisted, "people will give it respect. Our people will get fair treatment."

**Indiana and Kansas have FEPC laws without enforcement powers.*

The Order

FDR promised nothing, but suggested Randolph and White confer with a Cabinet group on plans to deal with the situation in defense plants.

"In government too, Mr. President," Randolph added, "The government is the worst offender."

No government can operate under a threat from any of its citizens, the President countered. Randolph repeated the pledge he had made not to call off the demonstration without a written Executive Order.

It was LaGuardia who broke the impasse.

"Come on, Henry," he said to Secretary of War Stimson. "He isn't going to call it off. Suppose we go to work on a formula."

The large session broke up into two small ones, where the jockeying continued. Having stood firm with FDR, Randolph could not be moved by any legalisms offered by members of the Cabinet.

Finally they broke up for the day. LaGuardia agreed to call Randolph when the Administration had made up its mind. A week remained until D-Day.

The next day LaGuardia telephoned Randolph that the President was prepared to issue an Executive Order banning discrimination in defense production. Randolph insisted that the government itself be included in the scope of the order. He won his point. On June 25, FDR's order was announced.

FEPC was hailed in the Negro press as the most significant U. S. government declaration affecting Negroes since the Emancipation Proclamation. Randolph was mentioned in the same sentences with Frederick Douglass.

At the Administration's request, Randolph addressed a nation-wide radio audience. The march had not been called off, but "postponed."

"It is my aim," he said, "to broaden and strengthen Negro March on Washington Committees all over the United States, to serve as watchdogs on the application of the President's Executive Order to determine how industries are complying with it."

Jim Crow in the Army remained untouched by the order. The movement had not accomplished all it had set out to do, but neither would the Atlantic Charter.

When FEPC enforcement seemed to be flagging a year later, Randolph took to the soapbox again; protest rallies were organized in Madison Square Garden, in Chicago, in St. Louis. A 15-minute blackout of homes and stores made Harlem "dark, dry and silent" to dramatize the evening when 25,000 Negroes packed the Garden.

Randolph was escorted through the auditorium by a parade of 100 Pullman porters in white coats, led by a chef in a white hat and trailed by 50 uniformed maids. The ovation was deafening.

The same year, when Randolph was presented the coveted NAACP Spingarn Award in recognition of his history-making movement, he was asked what he would do next if it were in his power to help his people.

He replied: "I would issue a national proclamation against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces . . . Such a proclamation would go a long way in regaining the lost confidence of colored people throughout the world in the avowed war aims of the United Nations."

* * *

In July of 1948, a tall bronze man in a tropical suit and panama hat walked slowly around the Philadelphia Convention Hall as the two major political parties, in turn, met to pick their Presidential candidates. He carried a picket sign which affirmed: "Prison Is Better Than Army Jim Crow."

With a new convention year just around the corner, A. Philip Randolph has July hotel reservations booked for Chicago and Los Angeles.

In 1948, Randolph was accompanied by draft-age Negroes carrying banners demanding a Presidential Order outlawing military segregation. "We Will Not Register Aug. 15," said the banner. It was billed as a non-violent civil disobedience movement "in the Gandhi manner" directed at Army Jim Crow.

This year, at Chicago and Los Angeles, Randolph will also have his followers. The signs will be different; in fact there may be no signs at all. The choreography may be more Jerome Robbins than Gandhi. Otherwise things will be much the same. The president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will be in motion, trying in every way to force the burning issue of civil rights on the consciousness of the bodies politic.

"Politicians don't move unless you move them," he has been saying for 50 years.

The Facts

That summer in Philadelphia, the sign in his hand didn't say anything he hadn't already said directly to the President of the United States or to the Congress.

In March of 1948, Randolph led a delegation of Negro leaders that called on President Truman at the White House. He was there to bargain from a position of strength and he knew it.

(Wartime FEPC—which FDR had begun in order to head off Randolph's 1941 March on Washington—had been subsequently strangled by a Congressional cut-off of funds. The National Council for a Permanent FEPC—successor to the March—had been thwarted at each legislative turn by the filibuster. President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, in its dramatic report of October, 1947, called for drastic action to secure equal rights for Negroes; the Truman civil rights proposals to Congress—less drastic and dramatic—had stirred up a Southern political storm. The Cold War had caused the revival of Universal Military Training. But action to banish Jim Crow in UMT and the armed forces—a prime recommendation of the President's own Civil Rights Commission—had been lost in the shuffle.)

The conference with the President went amiably enough until Randolph declared that extensive travels around the country had convinced him that "Negroes are sick and tired of being asked to shoulder guns in defense of democracy abroad until they get some at home. They are prepared to resort to civil disobedience and refusal to register for the draft if it means serving in a Jim Crow army."

This plain talk provoked the famous Truman temper. "I wish you hadn't said that," the President replied, his face flushed, his head shaking in annoyance. "I [illegible] that [illegible] at you [illegible] feel [illegible] It [illegible] country and all over the world. It is the best beachhead communism ever had."

"I don't like it at all," the President cut in. "I wish you hadn't said that." The late Charles Houston, special NAACP counsel, broke in to explain that Randolph was not presenting a threat but a statement of fact.

"You want to know how Negroes feel, don't you, Mr. President?" Randolph asked. "You don't want to take an ostrich point of view, do you?"

"I don't believe in yes men," the President replied. "I'm interested in the facts."

"I'm giving you the facts," Randolph insisted.

Committee members explored details of the controversy but the President had little more to say. "If you're giving me the facts, I appreciate it," he said finally, grinning for the first time in the session. In the end he thanked Randolph for his frankness. However, Randolph recalls, the delegation had been primed to pose with the President for a campaign year photograph. That little formality was dispensed with.

Later that month, Randolph was told he was not long for the free world; he was headed, in fact, for the federal courts. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee with Grant Reynolds, New York State Commissioner of Corrections and co-chairman of the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Training, Randolph borrowed his phrasing from ancient statutes on sedition that he had become acquainted with as early as 1917.

"I personally pledge myself to openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, in an organized refusal to register and be drafted," Randolph proclaimed.

"It may lead to indictments for treason and very serious repercussions," Sen. Wayne Morse warned him.

"We are willing to pay that price," Randolph replied serenely. "We would be doing our country a great service."

Whereupon Randolph left the Senate Committee Room and repaired to a soapbox—set up for sentiment's sake outside the old headquarters of his wartime March on Washington movement—and pointedly urged draft-age youths on the sidewalk not to register with their draft boards and to refuse induction. "I am prepared to oppose a Jim Crow army until I rot in jail," he insisted.

The Campaign

Meetings were arranged in a Washington church at which Negro and white veterans spoke of the humiliations of Jim Crow [illegible] Jim Crow Army."

Some Negro newspapers sharply disagreed [illegible] Randolph and Reynolds in their editorials. Official Negro organizations avoided outright attack, however. The NAACP took a poll of draft-age Negro students and found 71 per cent of them sympathetic to the Randolph-Reynolds campaign.

Explosive as his words had sounded at the White House and in the Senate Committee Room, Randolph turned out to have been giving the facts.

But when he continued his disturbing efforts at the summer political conventions, some Negroes were visibly embarrassed. Picketing seemed old-hat; Gandhian tactics seemed to belong to the unwashed.

Then, as now, Randolph laughed the objections aside. And, as it turned out, Randolph's 1948 experiment with Gandhian tactics foreshadowed much that was later to happen in the South, from the organized bus boycotts to spontaneous sitdowns by Negro teenagers in Jim Crow candy stores and soda fountains.

* * *

Randolph interprets the historic civil rights floor fight at the 1948 Democratic Convention, led by Hubert Humphrey, as a sensible and practical bid for the Negro vote. The only difference between that year and others, in his view, is that the bidding ran higher. Everything was as it should be, in his view, including the price which he worked for months to inflate.

Within a matter of days, on July 26, President Truman put in what Randolph regards as the final bid, by doing exactly what Randolph and his committee had pressed him for: he issued Executive Order 9981—abolishing Jim Crow in the armed services.

Eventually, Randolph announced he was calling off his passive resistance movement against conscription out of the conviction that "President Truman intends to enforce the end of military segregation."

That fall, as has been so often recorded, Truman won three pivotal states, and the Presidency, with the help of the Negro vote which he ultimately campaigned for and got. Randolph, of course, voted for his old friend Norman Thomas.

* * *

Just because 1960 happens to be an election year, Randolph is not leaving his chores in the labor movement unfinished. There is a large and hopeful upheaval in the works inside the AFL-CIO as well. Many Negro trade unionists gleefully describe AFL-CIO president George Meany's angry attack on Randolph in San Francisco last fall as their greatest break in years. Meany had said, "When you put Jim Crow in the same class with exploitation and communism, that's where [illegible]

[illegible]

tion floor since 1935.

Out of 1,250,000 Negro members in the AFL-CIO represented at San Francisco by a slim 14 delegates, thousands have rallied behind Randolph. Within a matter of months, it is predicted, Meany will face a national caucus of Negro trade unionists on a front page.

A steering committee of the new Negro-American Labor Council held its first meeting Nov. 19 in Cleveland. Randolph came back from the session talking about the outfit with the same awe and zest he displays in telling tales about the young trade union leaders from the young countries in Africa.

The planners had expected a steering committee of about 25. Instead over a hundred angry, vocal Negro labor leaders arrived from both coasts and from as far south as Alabama. They laid plans for a founding convention in Detroit in April for some 2,000 delegates.

Randolph expects the Council, of which he is provisional chairman, to provide leadership, program and funds for coordinated guerrilla war against Jim Crow in the labor movement at every level, from shop steward meetings right on up to national conventions. Once more, like so many of its noble predecessors, the movement is temporarily based in the beachhead headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

In a single week last November, Randolph spent a week-end in Cleveland, returned to New York, doubled back to Chicago for negotiations with the Santa Fe Railroad, returned to New York so he could fly to Brussels for the annual session of the International Confederation of Trade Unions.

He turns down hundreds of speaking engagements a year, and yet he finds himself away from New York too much of the time. He has traveled from one end of the country to the other all his life. But since 1956, when illness confined Mrs. Randolph to their small apartment near Seventh Av. and 150th St., it has been difficult for them to be apart.

They have no children, but a devoted member of the Randolph clan, his cousin Vincie, manages the household.

The Randolphs call each other "Buddy." It is an affectionate habit of such long standing, nobody knows when it began.

They enjoy watching the fights together on television. Every night, he reads her a chapter of the Bible—the way his father did at home so many years ago—before catching the 11 o'clock news.

If you ask Mrs. Randolph what her famous husband has that has taken him so far without changing him in the slightest, she quietly lays her hand over the left side of her chest.

"Heart," she says.

Many years ago, when Randolph first came to national prominence, he was cited as proof of the extent to which this republic has injured itself in the past by excluding from public life and leadership outstanding men of the colored race.

At 70, it is unlikely Randolph could be induced to consider any job except the one he has cherished for so many years—disturber of the peace.

However, one of his friends once imagined a dream scene some years hence in which an inspired President of the United States chose A. Philip Randolph's name for submission to the Senate as the first U. S. Ambassador to Communist China.

"You *know* the kind of hell he could raise over there," said the admirer. "The Communists would be begging the Dixiecrats in the Senate to vote the man down."

Last of Five Articles.

A.F.L.-C.I.O. MEETS IN CITY TOMORROW

Organizing and Bargaining Issues Face Convention

By JOHN D. POMFRET

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations will open its fifth biennial convention here tomorrow at a time when the nation's unions face serious problems.

Chief among these, in the eyes of union leaders, are that unions, taken together, are not growing and, with some exceptions, are not making big gains at the bargaining table.

What is particularly frustrating to union officials is that in both bargaining and organizing there are important aspects of the problem that they can do little directly to solve.

The general economic climate, on which unions have small direct influence, is not good for union bargainers. Unemployment has been above 5 per cent—and most of the time well above—since late 1957.

Big pay and fringe benefit increases are always easier for unions to negotiate when demand is booming, unemployment is low and employers are less concerned about their costs and want to avoid disruptions of production.

When jobs are scarce, workers are anxious not to strike and union power ebbs.

Automation Is a Factor

In some industries, notably oil refining and telephone communications, the degree of automation is so far advanced that even with the majority of their workers on strike, companies can keep operating indefinitely.

Recent Government reports have shown the effect of all of these factors on collective bargaining. They indicate that the rate at which output a man hour is gaining has increased, while earnings in recent years are growing more slowly.

On the organizing front, union men are plagued by the shifting structure of the labor force. The union-conscious manual workers make up an ever-smaller portion of the total.

The clerical, technical and professional groups—an ever-larger percentage of the labor force. The union-conscious man—disinterested or openly hostile to unions. So far, union organizers have not hit on any magic formula to change this.

Even the manual workers who are not signed up are often tough prospects. Workers in the big, easily organized factories in the large cities have been signed up long since. What are left are the small plants, often in small towns where the attitude toward unions is more likely to be unfriendly, and the South, the traditional stronghold of the nonunion employer.

Organizing Drives Gain

The result has been that union membership has been on a plateau since the mid-nineteen fifties. Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations have had a total membership of 12,500,000 since the A.F.L. and C.I.O. merged in 1955.

In the last few months, the federation's Industrial Union Department has had some modest success with coordinated organizing drives concentrating the manpower and money of its affiliates in selected geographic area. Perhaps more significant, the American Federation of Teachers, aided by the department, has scored major organizing and bargaining victories in several cities.

But it still is too early to tell whether these signs portend a resumption of growth, although it is perhaps useful to recognize that historically union growth has not been steady but has gone in surges.

Another problem that will claim the convention's attention is civil rights. The federation has taken a number of steps in the last several months to fight discrimination within unions. Its lobbyists have been pressing in Congress for a strong civil rights bill.

But Negro groups have been dissatisfied at the slow pace at which some unions, particularly some of the building trades, have moved. They were also incensed by the refusal of the federation's executive council to endorse the March on Washington Aug. 28 for jobs and freedom.

George Meany, the federation president, has attempted to contain the civil rights debate at the convention by arranging to have A. Philip Randolph, the federation's only Negro vice president, lead the discussion.

President to Speak

Collective bargaining, and with it the state of the economy, organizing and civil rights all will come in for a considerable measure of discussion at the convention.

The 1,200 delegates will hear speeches by President Kennedy on Friday and Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on Thursday.

A number of internal feuds are likely to be aired, although without much vigor.

But when the convention ends there will be serious problems that will not have been discussed at all. This is principally because the function of the convention is ceremonial rather than deliberative.

Whatever the convention's function in theory, in fact policy is made by Mr. Meany and the executive council and, on great occasions, such as the expulsion of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in 1957, it is ratified by the convention.

Among the difficult problems that will not be discussed is the structure of the labor movement.

A growing number of union leaders feel that the structure is not adequate to the tasks it faces. For one thing, they say, there are too many, too weak unions. Matters would be vastly improved if the number of unions was cut by mergers from 130 to a much smaller number, they say.

Furthermore, they argue there should be a good deal more formal cooperation between unions that negotiate with the same company. Sometimes interunion rivalries make bargaining with the multiunion employer more fractious than it ought to be; sometimes premature settlements by one union weaken the bargaining position of the others.

In any case, the need for coordination is there.

The Industrial Union Department, led by Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers Union, has been experimenting with coordinated multiunion bargaining, but this has been on a small scale.

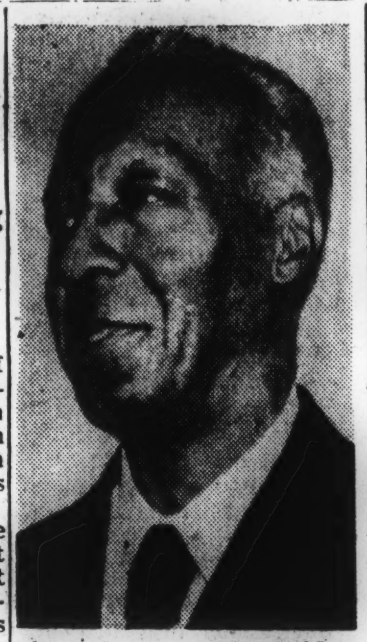
Another central problem with which the convention will not be concerned is the development of leadership within the national unions and the federation itself. The problem is assuming serious dimensions as the current generation of union leaders gets older.

Corporations often go to great lengths to nurture future leaders. Unions do almost nothing to assure that talented men are brought along, preferring in most cases to leave the selection to political processes that are primitive and random.

Another subject that is not likely to come before the convention is any thorough assessment of labor's relationship to the Kennedy Administration.

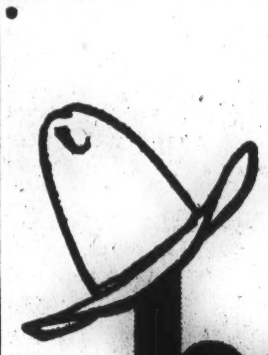
There is a strong undercurrent of criticism of the Administration among union leaders, but for th most part this is expressed privately. Only a year before they intend to support President Kennedy for re-election, unions leaders do not intend to indulge themselves in a full, public airing of their grievances. It might dampen the enthusiasm of the rank and file for the President.

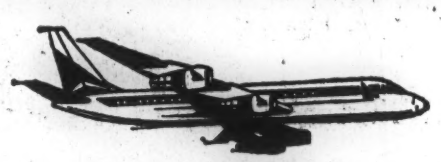
Actually, the political field is the area in which the unions are doing their most effective work.



Associated Press

TO LEAD DISCUSSION: A. Philip Randolph, vice president of A.F.L.-C.I.O. He will guide civil rights debate at biennial meeting of the labor federation.





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WEDNESDAY, Dec. 9.

1964

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBE

Dewey Sq. May Be Named for A. Philip Randolph

Council Passes Bill to Honor Rights Leader in Harlem

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

Dewey Square in Manhattan will become A. Philip Randolph Square under a bill unanimously approved yesterday by the City Council. The measure now goes to Mayor Wagner for his signature.

The square, bounded by St. Nicholas and Seventh Avenues and West 116th and 117th Streets, was named on May 3, 1922, for Adm. George Dewey, hero of the Battle of Manila Bay in the Spanish-American war. Admiral Dewey died in 1917.

If the Mayor signs the bill, the square will be officially named for the civil rights leader who is president of th Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and president of the Negro American Labor Council.

Yesterday's action marked the second time within a year that the City Council has dropped the name of a war hero from a public facility in favor of another name.

Airport Name Changed

Soon after the assassination of President Kennedy, the Council gave his name to the International Airport at Idlewild, Queens. The official name of the airport had been New York International Airport-Anderson Field. The almost forgotten "Anderson" in the name had been in honor of Maj. Gen. Alexander F. Anderson, veteran of World Wars I and II.

The bill for conferring the Randolph name on the Manhattan square was introduced by Harlem Councilman J. Raymond Jones, who recently was elected Manhattan Democratic leader.

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Jones noted that names honoring Admiral Dewey would still appear on the city records, despite the prospective change. He pointed out that there was a Dewey Place in Brooklyn and a Dewey Avenue in the Bronx.

According to Miss Thelma E. Smith, deputy librarian of the Municipal Reference Library, the one-block Dewey Place runs from Atlantic Avenue to Herkimer Street in the East New York-Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

Dewey Avenue Located

She identified Dewey Avenue as extending for 10 blocks from Ferry Point in the Bronx to Shore Drive in Throgs Neck.

A native of Crescent City, Fla., Mr. Randolph organized the 1942 march on Washington to seek elimination of discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. He also served as a director of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington.

James Heslin, director of the New York Historical Society, a privately-endowed institution

Admiral's Name Still Would Mark 2 Streets in City

at 170 Central Park West, said last night that his organization would not comment on the proposed change of the name of Dewey Square.

The Council also passed a bill authorizing the Welfare Commissioner to continue institutional care of boys and girls, if necessary, until their 21st birthday. At present he yields jurisdiction when they reach their 18th birthday.

About 700 young people nearing their 18th birthday will be affected by the proposed law.

Senator Thurmond 'Doing Well'

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 (UPI)—Senator J. Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, was reported "doing very well" today after major surgery at Walter Reed Army Medical Center here. The operation, performed yesterday, was for removal of Senator Thurmond's gall bladder and repair of a hernia. He is expected to remain in the medical center about two weeks. Senator Thurmond is years old.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1966.

PRESIDENT URGES CONGRESS TO BAN ALL HOUSING BIAS

Message Also Asks Stronger Criminal Laws to Protect Civil Rights Workers

CALLS FOR JURY REFORM

Housing Plan Is Expected to Meet Stiff Opposition—Ervin Criticizes It

Text of civil rights message will be found on Page 22.

By JOHN D. POMFRET
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28—President Johnson asked Congress today to enact "the first effective Federal law against discrimination" on racial or religious grounds in the sale and rental of housing.

The request was included in the President's Civil Rights Message. It is expected to arouse more controversy and opposition in Congress than the other provisions proposed by Mr. Johnson in the message.

The other provisions, like most past civil rights legislation, would have their principal impact in the Southern states. Discrimination in housing, however, is widely practiced in all parts of the country and many Congressmen from the North as well as the South will be under pressure from constituents who want Negroes to continue to be excluded from their neighborhoods.

Rights Workers Protection

Mr. Johnson also proposed a far stronger law than anything now on the statute books to protect Negroes and others who work for racial justice from interference in the exercise of their rights.

He sought legislation to insure that Federal and state court juries are selected in nondiscriminatory fashion.

The President also asked Congress to broaden the Attorney General's authority to bring suit for the desegregation of schools and public facilities.

He asked the Senate to approve legislation that cleared the House yesterday to give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the agency established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Lastly, he asked Congress to provide funds for 100 more agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in order to strengthen the bureau's capacity to deal with civil rights crimes.

Agency's Manpower Taxed

The bureau has 6,492 agents. Mr. Johnson said in his message that at times in the recent past as many as a third of them had been assigned to the investigation of civil rights matters.

Shortly before he sent his proposals to Capitol Hill, Mr. Johnson dismissed them with a group of civil rights leaders at the White House.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, who participated in the meeting, described the reaction of the civil rights leaders as "extremely warm."

One of the civil rights proponents said that the group regarded Mr. Johnson's proposals favorably, but probably would try to strengthen them.

He said that the group would

Continued on Page 22, Column 5

Johnson Calls on Congress to Ban All Housing Bias

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

probably try to get Congress to enact legislation to transfer state criminal trials to Federal courts in areas with "segregated systems of justice."

He said that the civil rights advocates might also attempt to secure passage of legislation to pay Federal indemnities to civil rights workers injured while attempting to secure rights for Negroes.

Not Disappointed

He emphasized that the civil rights leaders who met with the President were in no way disappointed with Mr. Johnson's proposals and intended to work for their passage in Congress.

Among those meeting with Mr. Johnson were the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Floyd R. McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Miss Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Joseph L. Rauh, general counsel of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and David Brody, director of the Washington office of the Anti-Defamation League.

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, also attended the meeting.

He said that his committee would begin hearings on the President's proposals on Wednesday with Attorney General Katzenbach as the first witness.

Mr. Katzenbach said that he thought the President's proposals would be passed by Congress, but added: "I'm not going to give long odds on it until I know how the Republican leaders are going to go."

The Attorney General said that the Republican leaders had not indicated that they were going to oppose the proposals, nor have they given their commitment to support them.

He indicated that he had kept in close touch with the Senate minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, during the drafting of the legislation. Mr. Katzenbach said that the Senator had indicated that he liked some of the proposals, but had questions about others.

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Democrat of North Carolina, quickly attacked the housing provisions of Mr. Johnson's message.

"It's unconstitutional according to all decisions handed down by the Supreme Court during the first 150 years of its existence and it's unenforceable," he said. "It is not aimed solely at the South. Its impact may be felt more strongly in other areas of the country. It should be most interesting to watch the politics or the debate now that others' oxen are being gored."

The bill incorporating the intent of the President's message declares it to be the policy of the United States to prevent "discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the nation."

The bill would make it unlawful for anyone engaged in the sale or lease of a dwelling, including real estate agents or brokers to refuse to sell or rent because of race, color, religion or national origin. Nor could they discriminate in the conditions of sale or rental or represent for discriminatory purposes that any dwelling was not available for inspection, sale or rental when that was not so.

Damages Provided

The prohibitions would be enforced by civil actions in Federal or state courts brought by private individuals or, where a pattern of discrimination appeared to exist, by the Justice Department. Courts would be empowered to issue orders banning discrimination and, on a showing that discrimination had been practiced, award damages of up to $500.

At present, only Federally sisted housing is subject to Federal discrimination bans, under executive order.

The bill would leave in operation state and locad fair housing laws.

The new criminal statute proposed by the President is aimed at what he called "a relatively few racial fanatics" who would deny civil rights by violence.

The Federal laws covering this area were passed during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, with maximum prison terms of 10 years. The Justice Department has found them inadequate.

The President proposed that any interference in the exercise of fundamental rights by threats or force by any person, acting individually or in a group, privately or officially, be made a Federal crime.

The rights specifically enumerated are voting, education housing, employment, jury service and travel.

Maximum penalties would be one year in prison and a $1,000 fine in cases where no bodily injury was done, 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine where there was bodily injury and life imprisonment when death resulted.

Randolph Top Guest At Labor Day Mass

There Are Things to Do As the Holidays End

Thousands to Attend Services After Parade

A tall, slim, white-haired Negro son of a circuit riding Florida minister will be honored today by the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh as labor's "Man of the Year."

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, will, in his 78th year, receive the honor from Bishop John J. Wright at the annual Labor Day Mass in the Civic Arena shortly after 10 a. m.

Although thousands of the area's top labor leaders, rank-and-file union men and their families will attend and although Bishop Wright is expected to make a major labor-civil rights declaration, the man of the hour will be Randolph.

His long career has been wrapped up in both organized labor and civil rights activities.

Yesterday, in a round of interviews preceeding a reception at the bishop's residence, Randolph said there has been "great progress" in the civil rights movement since he helped lead the

(Cont'd on Page 18, Column 4)

Randolph Labor Mass' Honor Guest

(Continued from Page 1)

mammoth march on Washington in the summer of 1963.

But, he said, those gains, part of which were the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, must now be implemented.

He said he was not too happy with the "pace of progress, however."

"I think it is too slow," he continued. "Great masses of Negroes know this and the progress I mentioned has not touched these great masses in the slums.

"We must begin to reach these unreached," he said.

He said a few must items on the agenda for progress in civil rights are the abolition of ghettoes, the creation of at least a million new jobs and a million new homes in the nation each year for Negroes and a coalition of labor, religious, business and social leaders to work full time on stamping out racial segregation and discrimination.

Regarding riots, Randolph pointed out that many were carried out, by younger Negroes.

"In order to have a sense of responsibility about a community, they must have a stake in that community," he said.

The Only Daily Paper Published in Eastern South Carolina
FLORENCE, S. C., SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 9, 1967

Rights Leader Puts School Over Riots

By ERIC PEARSON
Morning News Staff Writer

Veteran civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph told Negroes being prepared to fit into a technological society is more important than race rioting.

Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), addressed a gathering in the Wilson Senior High auditorium Friday night. The gathering was to honor two retiring members of the local brotherhood.

The "black power" movement is economically unsound, Randolph told approximately 150 Negroes at the gathering. Referring to the organization which he heads, Randolph said, "In the union we have a concert organization with power."

"Black power" puts Negroes in competition with whites, he said, and therefore fragments the effectiveness of an organization.

"Negroes must solve the unemployment problem," Randolph said. "They must have job opportunities in all phases of American industry. They must have the ability to take their place in an industrial America."

After segregation and discrimination are gone, he said, there will still be unemployment.

Noting that more opportunities for Negroes in America are becoming available, Randolph emphasized that Negroes will have to be prepared through education and training to take advantage of opportunities in a technological society.

Randloph said Rap Brown and Stokely Carrmichael do not cause riots, though they may start them. "Anybody can start a riot by breaking windows or throwing a Molotov cocktail, but America has caused riots through years of oppression."

Randolph said the American civil rights movement is entering a new phase; one of social revolution. The Negroes' fight now is a fight for jobs, he said.

"Negroes want more than jobs," Randolph said. "they want to be first class American citizens. They want to have a life of hope."

B. F. McLaurin, eastern zone supervisor of the BSCP, presented scrolls to W. H. Bates and Joe Green, both of Florence, for 25 years of devoted service in the brotherhood. Mrs. Green accepted the scroll for her husband who was absent due to illiness.

Florence Mayor David McLeod welcomed Randolph to the city.

Randolph began working with the civil rights movement before the New Deal era. He cited how unionism had helped improve the lot of sleeping car porters since its foundation in 1925.

Labor Chronicle 2/69

Labor Salutes A. Philip Randolph On His 80th Year

The AFL-CIO called on trade unionists throughout the country to join in honoring the 80th birthday of AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph with contributions of funds to finance voter education and registration projects in Negro communities.

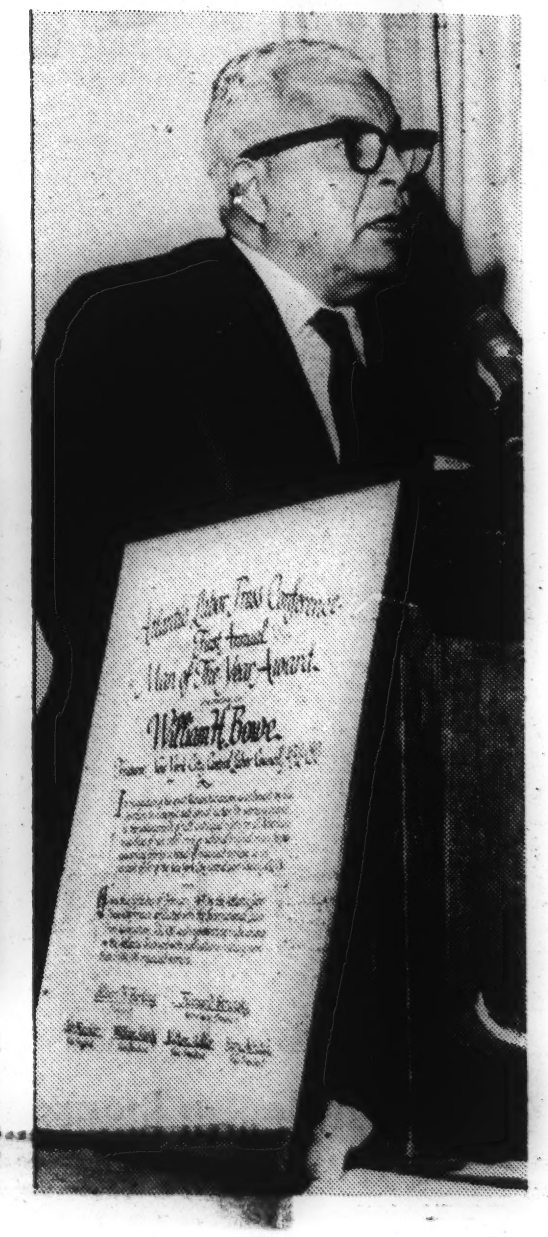
The Executive Council adopted a statement noting the "tremendous contribution" made by Randolph to the trade union movement and his life work of building a Negro-labor alliance.

Vice Pres. Randolph, who retired recently as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will mark his 80th birthday on April 15. A special celebration will be held May 6 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City for the new fund.

Fund objectives, the council noted, will be the "strengthening of the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

A. Philip Randolph, President Emeritus of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and AFL-CIO Vice President, is with William H. Bowe, Secretary-Treasurer of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, at the luncheon of the Atlantic Labor Press Conference in New York City on February 5. In photo at right, Secretary-Treasurer Bowe addresses the session after having received "Man of the Year Award" from the labor press group.

"Man of the Year"



4/19

Randolph at 80

ON APR. 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in The New Leader. Rustin writes in part:

> **I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.**

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

PURSUING HIS CONVICTION that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

> **Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.**

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

LABOR CHRONICLE
MARCH, 1969

To Honor Randolph

AFL-CIO President George Meany will be the main speaker at the testimonial dinner in New York City in honor of A. Philip Randolph on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

The A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and President Meany has been formed to pay tribute to the great labor leader and civil rights crusader. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, announced the program.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Director Rustin hailed Randolph's achievements as "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason."

The Institute

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the Nation—white and black—in concerted efforts to bring equality and justice to all citizens. In working with organized labor, religious groups, liberals and students, the Institute objective is to forge new and dynamic unity among whites and Negroes.

Goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on A. Philip Randolph's lifework through the Institute.

Dinner Reservations

AFL-CIO Vice President Randolph is the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Local union affiliates of the New York City Central Labor Council are invited to make reservations for the dinner on May 6 through the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010, phone 533-8000.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph by Bayard Rustin

It is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his sixty years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people as well as of the means by which it must be achieved. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and everything he has done has sprung from this basic premise.

A. Philip Randolph stands out among Negro leaders of the Twentieth Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism — whether it was advocated in the 1920's by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960's by black nationalists — because of his belief in the principle of integration and also his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people. And again, he has rejected elitism — either in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or as a proposal for black capitalism — because of his com-

mitment to democracy and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority at the expense of the majority. And he has adhered to non-violence as a moral principle *and* as the most effective means of political struggle.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph became the foremost advocate of the full integration of black workers into the American trade union movement. In his struggle to build a Negro-labor alliance, he opposed all efforts by business leaders to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on white workers. In addition, Mr. Randolph became the leader of the campaign to organize the predominantly Negro sleeping car porters — a venture begun in 1925 that was to make possible the first contract ever signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader. For ten years he battled the railroad companies, and finally in 1935, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining rights. Within a few short years porters had quadrupled their income.

In the 1940's Mr. Randolph developed the strategy of mass protest — a political tactic which has since become commonplace in the Negro movement — in order to win two profoundly significant Executive Orders. In 1941, with the advent of World War II, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington to protest the exclusion of black workers from jobs in the defense industries. He agreed to call off the demonstration only *after* President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and established the nation's first Fair Employment Practice Committee. In 1948 Mr. Randolph warned President Truman that if segregation in the armed forces was not abolished, masses of Negroes would refuse induction. Soon Executive Order 9981 was issued to comply with his demands, and it is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has yet to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

It was Mr. Randolph's perception of the economic basis of Negro freedom which enabled him to grasp the unique significance of the 1963 March on Washington. He conceived of the March as the termination of the period of massive protest — during which Negroes had destroyed the Jim Crow institutions in the South — and the inauguration of the period of massive action at the ballot box to bring about a new economic program. He understood that the central problem faced by Negroes was no longer simply one of *civil* rights but of *economic* rights, for the former would lack social substance without the infusion of the latter. He, therefore, called for a March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million Americans to the nation's capitol to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

At the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he persisted in his demand for an economic program. He projected the idea of the Freedom Budget which proposed an annual Federal expenditure of $18.5 billion for ten years to wipe out poverty. His program called for full employment and a guaranteed income, the rebuilding of our cities, and the provision of superior schools for all of our children and free medical care for all of our citizens. He was speaking, very simply and without rhetoric, of achieving social and economic justice in America.

And he was not speaking unrealistically, for he was proposing along with the Freedom Budget a political strategy for achieving it. It is a strategy that calls for the building of a coalition of Negroes, the labor movement, liberals, religious organizations, and students. If united, these groups would form a majority movement which would be capable of democratizing the economic, social and political power of this nation.

In this time of confusion, violence, and racial separatism, A. Philip Randolph — at 80 years of age — remains a source of wisdom and courage. By his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers. That challenge is to build, through means that are democratic and non-violent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

Randolph, 80 Years Old Today, Reflects on His Rig

By RUDY JOHNSON

A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a flame of fire in his eyes, declared: "[illegible] fight for [illegible] agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview yesterday, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and ally to Presidents was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inkling of organizing [illegible] union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Today, [illegible] years old, and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 8 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Goal of the Tribute

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said yesterday that throughout all the years he has had a primary aim — to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them.

Sitting in his four-room [illegible] apartment [illegible] Interna[illegible] Union, 20th Street and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

But the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overdone, and I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I [illegible] successful in putting these forces together."

Editorship Is Recalled

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of The Messenger, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963, when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted, however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, whom he had been married [illegible] years, died only months before the memorable event.

But the President refused the request and [illegible] Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call off the march off. But he was [illegible] yielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an Executive Order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

80 Years Old Today, Reflects on His Fights for Labor

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He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with other Negroes when, in his estimation, they sought to veer from a path of black alliance with labor unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1919.

[illegible] that throughout his career he and his associates had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the [illegible] medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit, because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable."

Voice Remains Strong

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart [illegible] several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been [illegible] tall. But his powerful [illegible] nant voice was still [illegible]

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included organizing a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and the defense plants.

Mr. Randolph and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, at the place where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted, however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to whom he had been married [illegible] years, died only months before the memorable event.

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Elmer Rice Talks

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1969

To A. Philip Randolph at 80

This is the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph and City [illegible] deserved it [illegible] for official [illegible] observance. No doubt such [illegible] nation will be construed by some young militants as proof that Randolph has been absorbed by the Establishment. But in the long run of history the issues and the [illegible] will endure after many headline warriors of the moment are forgotten.

For Randolph the battle for human dignity and equality has not been a matter of Utopian rhetoric. It was the organization, under fire of sleeping car porters into a union that liberated them from [illegible]. It was a courageous confrontation with Franklin D. Roosevelt that led to creation of a Fair Employment Practice Commission, opening a thousand factory gates to [illegible] and breaking the color line in many [illegible]. It was the inspiration of the Freedom March of [illegible]. He has been a dynamic, eloquent proponent of human rights, struggling for tangible goals on many fronts.

In a time of [illegible] generation [illegible] who dismiss him as old-fashioned. They speak contemptuously of his [illegible], his [illegible] and dedication [illegible] given [illegible] hope to many men, and [illegible] many [illegible] that [illegible] of the [illegible] of his [illegible], and he will look [illegible] when the full story is written.

Unfinished Story

Unless they have been able to speed up the [illegible] delicate recovery job, Army demolition experts are still gingerly combing an area near Laramie, Wyo., for thousands of bomb detonators scattered throughout the section after a truck and a freight train collided over the weekend.

The train [illegible] in the [illegible] and the cargo of 55,000 two-pound bombs was hurled over 35 [illegible]. The Army [illegible] [illegible] to clean up [illegible] (DAILY)

[illegible] recently asked the Pentagon to [illegible] emergency measures the [illegible] plans to take in the event of a [illegible] wreck involving a military shipment of poisons gas—which is [illegible] around the country by [illegible] have been prepared a detailed [illegible] Wyoming accident, involving [illegible] authorities [illegible] in the Congress [illegible] in which [illegible] passed.

Victor Riesel

NY DC (1)

SYRACUSE N.Y.
THE POST-STANDARD
Mon., May 12, 1969 7.

Old Fighter Chides Youth

NEW YORK — It was not meant to be but it was widow Coretta Scott King's evening. She came — albeit fashionably and dramatically late — to join with many leaders in honoring the veteran black labor leader, A. Philip Randolph, at 80, still eloquent, still resonant of voice, still fiercely proud of, among other causes, having led the sleeping car porters.

Riesel

Others had come and gone from the thickly jammed Waldorf-Astoria Grand Ballroom on the night of May 6. Nelson Rockefeller had thrown away his manuscript and wound up in a minute or two by saying he hoped "little Nelson," his son, would grow up to be the man Phil Randolph is. John Lindsay, tall in his boots as he fights for his political existence, spoke quickly, tensely and with sophistication before returning to the city streets where that day police had had to protect firemen from college demonstrators, students had fought with bats and clubs, and at least one university president had apologized for police intervention needed to protect firefighters attempting to quench flames in a citadel of higher learning.

There was George Meany, labor's president, uneasy in a dinner jacket. He took his five minutes to say that labor had not always eased the black worker's life but now the unions were trying and would try harder because there is still long journey to the millennium.

Then slowly, gracefully, dazzling in her white long-sleeved, high-necked bead-trimmed gown, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. made her entrance. Her voice reflected her training, her poise, her confidence; her speech showed the awareness that she now, in the public prints, carried her husband's banner.

INSTANTLY SHE turned the honoring of A. Philip Randolph into a mass rally for the 400 Charleston hospital strikers. Instantly it was she, with her advisers offstage, who was assuming leadership of what will be the most clangorous and clamorous unionization drive the South has known since John Lewis hurled his CIO legions against the mills of steel and rubber.

A few minutes later, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins rose. Softly he spoke, as to a father one loves deeply as a friend and companion and not out of the compulsion of flesh and blood. He had in hand a book of messages to "Phil" — from President Nixon and the elusive Lyndon Johnson and hundreds more.

AND THEN HE spoke and it was late. Only one newsman stayed, for this newsman never has left a room in which Phil Randolph was set to speak. He had not asked his lyrical comrade Bayard Rustin to write him a speech. He had made notes on the back of a menu. And, since they are words from an old fighter to the young, they should not be lost.

"Our ceremony of rededication," said the still stalwart Randolph across the generation gap to the young around him, including the widow Coretta Scott King, "is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved.

"In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence. And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to divide within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration.

"We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

"Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundary of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency. And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, at peace with each other and with themselves."

By DAMON STETSON

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Praised at Dinner

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She said that Charleston,
Selma and Memphis, had

The New York Times
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 893,505 SUN. 1,445,507

MAY 8 1969

Randolph Urges Negro Youths To Reject Violence as Policy

By DAMON STETSON

A. Philip Randolph, the 80-year-old labor and civil rights leader, has urged militant Negro youths to reject confrontationism and violence in their struggle for freedom and justice.

"In my life," he said, "I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles. We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom."

Honored at Dinner

Mr. Randolph, the only Negro member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Relations, and recently retired as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, reviewed his long career in supporting the cause of Negro liberation at a testimonial dinner in his honor at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Tuesday night.

He was praised for his role in improving the lot of the working man, both black and white, by an array of speakers that included Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., George Meany, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and Roy Wilkins, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Randolph emphasized, in his response, that he had endeavored through the years to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement.

"The labor movement," he said, "has been the home of the working man, and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed."

Mrs. King, who said Mr. Randolph had been an inspiration to her late husband, called on the 1,300 representatives of labor, the clergy, government and the civil rights movement at the dinner to rally to the cause of hospital workers now on strike in Charleston, S. C., in an effort to gain recognition for their union.

She said that Charleston, like Selma and Memphis, had become a "national test of conscience."

CLEVELAND, OHIO
CALL AND POST
5-STAR EDITION
W. 32,442 (N)

APR 26 1969

Randolph Inst. Makes Government Proposal

NEW YORK---The A. Philip Randolph Institute, named and founded by the 79-year-old retired president of the Brother hood of Sleeping Car Porters recently made a far-reaching proposal to the Government.

The Institute proposes to have the Government plan project Federal revenue increases over the next 10 years towards areas of our economy which need economic boosts for expansion. Under the ideas put forth by the formulators of the program, the Government would invest the money towards the building of classrooms, medical facilities and housing.

A large scale building program would provide millions of jobs with a $2 minimum hourly wage, say the APRI planners.

Civil rights is the area in which the organization operates. Some of the causes in which APRI has AIDED Have been: the United Farm Workers in thier nationwide grape strike; the Poor People's Campaign; Memphis sanitation workers, a strike which Martin Luther King Jr. helped organize before his death; the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi in their challenge of the seating of the usual state delegation at the Democratic convention and the United Federation of Teachers in New York City during the Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

Bayard Rustin, the director of the Institute and coordinator of the march on Washington in 1963, is skeptical about how the Nixon Administration will look on the new proposal.

Rustin feels that if whites "who manipulate billions of dollars" have not been able to handle the problems of their own poor white, he does not see how the Nixon Administration expects to achieve fulfillment in "black capitalism" programs.

From dinners that will be given around the country to celebrate A. Philip Randolph's birthday this year, the organization expects to garner $500,000 for voter registration purposes.

When questioned about trade unions, Rustin voiced his belief in the good that unions have done in economic programs and civil rights. He recognized that there are some discrimination problems occuring predominantly in union appreticeship programs.

He said that his organization is fighting these problems.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 479,644 SUN. 626,111

MAY 7 1969

Around the Nation

Rights March Shifts to Charleston

CHARLSTON, S.C.—The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy said yesterday that a Mother's Day civil rights march, originally scheduled for Washington on Sunday, has been switched to Charleston because "the eyes of the Nation are focused here."

Mr. Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said he had invited Congressmen and labor leaders to join the march and said he is certain that Reps. John Conyers (Mich.), Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.) and Willian L. Clay (Mo.) will do so.

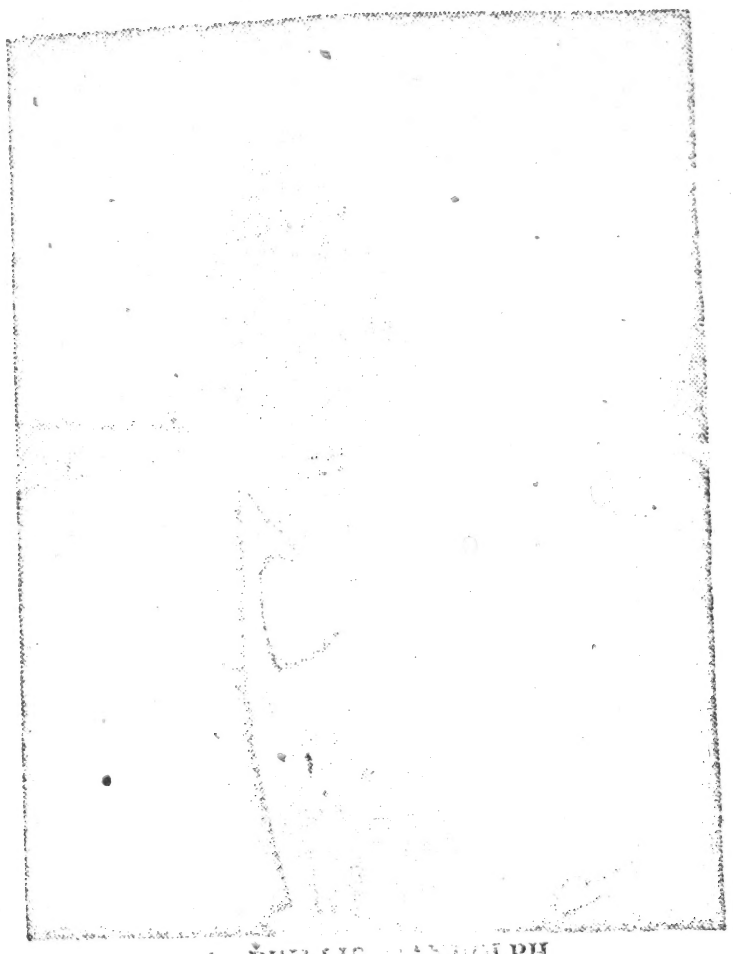
Last night, Coretta King appealed to the leadership of the AFL-CIO for support in the strike of hospital workers. Mrs. King made her appeal at the Waldorf Astoria at a dinner honoring Negro labor pioneer A. Philip Randolph, who was 80 years old April 15.

Mr. Abernathy said the Washington phase of the poor people's campaign will begin next Monday. On Tuesday, he is to confer with President Nixon's Urban Affairs Council "on the problems of the cities and the problems here in Charleston."

Plans for a sympathy demonstration in Greenville—a textile town about 200 miles to the north—were also announced. Mr. Abernathy said the Greenville march will be held to gain support for striking workers.

Meanwhile, State Attorney General Daniel R. McLeod has arranged a meeting Thursday between a committee of strikers and hospital officials in an effort to settle the strike.

The Afro-American
BALTIMORE, MD., MAY 17, 1969



A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
Celebrates 80th Birthday

HAILED 80th BIRTHDAY

A. Philip Randolph roars as 'Old Lion'

BY AL WHITE

NEW YORK — "While some militant young people disagree with our methods, calling them outmoded, we will continue using them in our struggle until white racism, black racism are banished to the limbo of obliteration from which they shall never emerge."

So said A. Philip Randolph, responding to the magnificient tributes from representatives from government, religious, civil rights and labor organzations gathered to honor him on his 80th bithday Tuesday, May 6.

A thousand diners in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel cheered the "Old Lion" as he roared defiance against violence and racism in his sonorous tones.

With some of the labor movement's finest speakers listed, it remained for 13-year-old Arthur Powell of Harlem, to steal the show. This bright youngster, from the heart of Harlem-West 129th St., attending Junior High School 120, located at 118th and Madison Ave., brought down the house.

So short, he had to be lifted to a chair to reach the microphones on the speakers' desk. Arthur's clear, precise tones captured the audience as he read:

"I am proud to be here to honor a great man at his birthday dinner and salute him. I, as a youngster, look up to this man as a giant of civil rights. His fight and his struggle will never be in vain down through the years to come.

"We of the younger generation, today and tomorrow, will always remember him in his fight against bigotry, and his fight for equality for all minority people, black or whte. I have heard the late Dr. Martin Luther King say 'I have been to the top of the mountain' and I have often wondered what it meant, but tonight, I have found that meaning. He was telling us to get our education while we are young, but not by violence.

"And tonight, we honor a great man, the Honorable A. Phillip Randolph a fighter for freedom and justice to all. Mr. Randolph, we hope Congress can see the light by endorsing your freedom budget. Then we can shout out loud by saying "Free at last. Free at last. O God, we ate free at last, North and South."

When the ovation subsided, Governor Nelson Rockefeller was introduced as the next speaker. After saluting the honored guest, Mr. Rockefeller said:

"I had prepared a speech for tonight, but after hearing young Tom Powell (the name was incorrect) all I can say is this. I have a young son. I hope he grows up to be as fine a youngster as Tom".

This was the shortest speech of the night.

Mayor Lindsay's salutation was also brief.

A Lifetime Working for the Workers

Achievement of Black Equality in the American Labor Union Movement Has Been the Goal of A. Philip Randolph Since the 1920s

By GLENN MEDCALF of The Journal Staff

A. PHILIP Randolph, president of the sleeping car porters' union, was 80 years old the other day, and it has been a good thing for the civil rights movement that he has lived so long because some things take longer than an ordinary lifetime to accomplish.

In 1917, a socialist magazine founded by Randolph and a friend argued that since the war was supposedly being waged to save world democracy, the rescue work ought to start at home. Negroes lived in poverty, received poor education, were condemned for life to dirty, backbreaking and low paying jobs, and were discriminated against in the military services.

At the outset of the war, Negroes helped fill the labor needs of industry. Randolph contended that if Negroes were of such critical importance, they ought to take advantage of their position to win equality, even if it meant strikes. Further, he urged resistance to the draft as a means of protesting discrimination both at home and in the service. All Randolph achieved for his efforts was several days in jail for antiwar activities.

It was 24 years and another war later before Randolph won from Franklin Roosevelt, with a threat of a march on Washington, the establishment of the fair employment practices commission. It wasn't until 1948, when Randolph told congress that Negroes had "reached the limit of their endurance when it comes to going into another war for democracy—a democracy they have never gotten," that a presidential order was issued ending segregation of the armed services.

Equality Drive Not a New One

Another of his battles had begun long before he was born — that for racial equality in the labor movement. It started 100 years ago, when the National Colored Labor Convention met in Washington. One of their leaders, Sella Martin of Massachusetts, told the delegates: "The interests of the laboring classes, white and black, on this continent are identical. We should work harmoniously together for the furtherance of the causes of labor." Their pleas to white labor organizations went unanswered.

In 1925, Randolph took up the fight after organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. At that time, unions of the American Federation of Labor not only discriminated against Negroes, some banned them from membership. Others accepted Negroes but would not back them in grievances.

Randolph fought with the AFL leadership for years, seeking not just a statement of rights for Negro union members, but the realization of them. Not until 1955, when the AFL and CIO merged, was he able to get a labor federation to outlaw discrimination.

Some black leaders today say it still is only a paper promise. In some industries, particularly the auto industry, Negroes have organized movements not only against companies but against their unions. But if some blacks feel that much is yet undone, Randolph, looking back to 1925, must take some pride in a UAW official's recent rebuttal to one militant's complaint of discrimination:

"At the Dodge plant (in Hamtramck, Mich.) four out of six of the full time union officials are black, as are 56% of the elected shop stewards. At (Chrysler's) Eldon axle (in Detroit) 65% of the elected stewards and committeemen are black."

—UPI Photo

A. Philip Randolph

Father Gave Him Thirst for Knowledge

Randolph was 14 years old when he found direction for his life. His father, an impoverished Florida minister, instilled in Asa Philip not only the philosophy that one can overcome his environment, but also one of the means for accomplishing it — an eagerness for education.

Randolph read avidly, even though he was restricted to the "colored section" of the Jacksonville library. But in one of the books he read, "Souls of Black Folks," by William E. B. Du Bois, was the idea of the "talented 10th."

Negroes of superior intellect, said Du Bois, should help their fellow Negroes rise as high as they are equipped to. One of every 10 Negroes must be educated to provide that leadership. Randolph decided he would be one of the 10th.

Graduating from a nearby American Missionary association high school for Negroes, staffed by whites from New England, Randolph went to New York and attended City college, studying political science, economics and philosophy.

At the same time, he began working at odd jobs, and his devotion to the cause of racial equality, especially in employment, began. He had been a waiter aboard a ship of the Fall River line only a short time when he was fired for organizing a protest of living quarters.

He Co-Edited Radical Magazine

Besides keeping busy co-editing the socialist monthly, the Messenger, "The Only Radical Negro Magazine in America," and running for New York state offices and congress, he organized a union of elevator operators and attempted to organize shipyard workers, laundry workers, motion picture operators and workers in the building and garment industries.

All this prepared him for his big battle — the organization of the sleeping car porters and his subsequent campaign, from inside labor's ranks, for racial equality.

In 1925, Randolph was picked to lead the porters' campaign because he was not a porter (and never had been one). Being outside the vale of retribution of the Pullman Co., he had a free hand. Some 500 porters were fired in the first 10 years of the brotherhood's organization efforts.

The Pullman Co. also set up the Pullman Porters Benefit association to provide a sort of union. But its only benefits were some meager insurance programs.

Randolph persisted, however, and by 1928 he felt that the brotherhood was ready to strike. Then William Green, head of the AFL, said no. The affiliates would not support the strike. Not only did they not want to spend money or sympathy on a black cause, some of them felt that the porters should have joined the established unions instead of creating their own.

Porters Ignored by Brotherhoods

The situation was so bad that when congress was revising the 1926 railway act in 1934, the leadership of the railroad brotherhoods ignored the porters in the rewriting of its provisions. Randolph himself went before house and senate committees and got the porters included.

At this time, Randolph and the porters' brotherhood — like the rest of the country during the depression — was in bad shape financially. Mayor La Guardia reportedly offered Randolph a good paying city job if he would give up his seemingly futile effort for the porters. But Randolph borrowed carfare to city hall to turn the mayor down.

The next year, Randolph won the porters' battle. Backed by provisions of the revised railway act, his brotherhood won election as bargaining agent at the Pullman Co. The first contract, cutting hours and raising wages, was finally hammered out in 1937.

Meanwhile, Randolph continued his battle with organized labor. In 1934 Green had appointed a special committee to investigate discrimination. It had held hearings and presented a report favoring enforcement of racial equality among the AFL's affiliated unions.

At the 1935 convention, however, Randolph had to verbally force Green into a corner on the suppressed report. All he got in reply was Green's contention that the AFL must give member unions autonomous rights.

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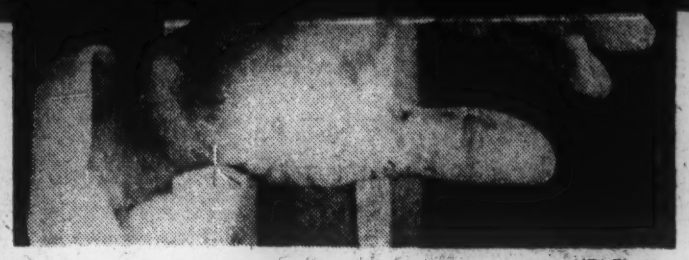

—UPI Photo

A. Philip Randolph

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That same year Negro labor as a whole got its big boost with the forming of the CIO, for the latter organized on an industrywide basis, rather than by trade, and Negro employes were automatically included in all worker benefits.

The next big step was the AFL-CIO ban on discrimination when they merged in 1955. But Randolph in 1960 still was saying: "The entire labor movement bears guilt fo the existence of racial disad vantage to workers of color.'

That was the year also tha the new Negro American La bor Council elected Randolp its president. This appeared t be Negro labor's response t AFL-CIO President Geor Meany, who the year b had shouted at Rand "Who the hell appointe the guardian of all the Ne in America?"

The bitter feuds that dolph, a vice-president o AFL-CIO since 1957, had his white fellow labor le subsided after Randolph massive but orderly mar Washington in 1963 for rights. Meany began calling him "our own Phil Randolph," and the labor convention year adopted what Rand himself called "the stro statement of labor's po on civil rights ever to com before a convention of the CIO."

Randolph, while still ging for antipoverty pro now finds himself shov by black militants, w him an "Uncle Tom." tellectual, he has alv posed a black nation much as capitulat white master. And al has led a number o on Washington, he moderation in dem in fear of civil war.

At the same tim leaders in the blac tionary Union Mov are getting suppor Students for a Dem ciety and the Blac are labeled militant

That was what was called in 1917.

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11/5/73

A Lifetime of Struggle for Civil Rights

By JAMES RING ADAMS

A great deal of praise has been showered on Jervis Anderson's praiseworthy biography of A. Philip Randolph, the venerable former president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the paramount black leaders of the 20th Century. But the most insightful compliment came from Mr. Randolph's protege and spiritual heir, Bayard Rustin. "This book gives the movement a history," he remarked, "and it sorely needs one."

Any sketch of Mr. Randolph's 84 years will cover a lot of history. He was raised in Jacksonville, Florida, in the radical bosom of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, at a time

The Bookshelf

"A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait"
By Jervis Anderson. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 398 Pages $12.50.

when blacks were still resisting the encroaching resegregation of the South. He still remembers his father, an AME minister, joining an armed Negro group which successfully faced down a lynch mob. Like many other talented blacks in the 1910s, he left the South for Harlem, and with his fellow refugees from Jim Crow helped create the flowering of Negro culture known as "the Harlem Renaissance." Converted to socialism in night school, Mr. Randolph became a street corner orator, editor of a small radical magazine and eventually organizer of the Pullman porters, his life's calling.

In a period of black disorganization, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters carried a disproportionate weight, multiplied by Mr. Randolph's impressive bearing. (This was a time when radicals could still be gentlemen.) Mr. Randolph's threat of a march on Washington in 1941 produced President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, forbidding antiblack discrimination in defense employment in World War II. The revival of this pressure in 1948 produced President Truman's Executive Order 9981, ending segregation in the armed forces. When the long-deferred march finally took place, on August 28, 1963, it was the political peak of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and in some respects the culmination of Mr. Randolph's career.

Recounting such a long career raises many more problems of interpretation than would a biography of, say, Stokely Carmichael. Mr. Anderson frankly admits the selectivity of his "biographical portrait," much of which first appeared as a New Yorker series. Individual chapters, written with graceful simplicity, seem more carefully proportioned than the book as a whole. But this work stands head and shoulders above more ambitious biographical writing because Mr. Anderson admires and gives full credit to Mr. Randolph's political thinking.

The history that the black movement sorely needs is above all a memory of its past great debates over strategy and ideology. Many of the last decade's polemics about black power, black capitalism and black nationalism have unconsciously repeated the bitter disputes among black heroes of 50 and 70 years past, such as Booker T. Washington, William E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and A. Philip Randolph.

These disputes, past and present, receive fascinating perspective from Mr. Anderson's unfortunately brief account of the controversy over Marcus Garvey's early 1920s Back to Africa movement. Garvey considered himself an admirer of Booker T. Washington, the Southern black educator who tried to raise Southern Negroes from the bottom up, through an autonomous black economic base achieved through black vocational education. But Garvey, a spell-binding orator from Jamaica, added his own fantastic twist. He surrounded Harlem-based businesses with dreams of an independent African empire, reviving black culture and race pride. This vision, so strikingly revived by today's black separatists, captivated the black lower classes, embittered as they were by the vicious anti-Negro riots of World War I. Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association claimed up to four million members before his downfall in 1923 on mail fraud charges.

This phenomenon, much like its spiritual successor, Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, caused great alarm among more respectable black leaders. In particular, it alarmed William E. B. DuBois, a founder of the NAACP, who argued that the black middle class, the "Talented Tenth," should demand full equality in civil rights. DuBois felt at this time that the achievements of the black intelligentsia would elevate the race, even if they lost touch with the onerous business of organizing the black masses. But Garvey's movement not only pitted the lower class against the intelligentsia, it accepted inferiority to whites, collaborated with the Ku Klux Klan, and threatened altogether to discredit black aspirations. One could wish Mr. Anderson had given a fuller account of DuBois' side of the dispute, since he, and not Randolph, seems to have been the more formidable opponent.

But Mr. Randolph posed an entirely valid, if never fashionable, third alternative, the organization of the black worker in tandem with the American labor movement. Black pride and equal rights were important, he agreed, but economic improvement was absolutely essential. As a democratic Socialist, Mr. Randolph might have loved to rouse the masses as Garvey did, but he could never stomach Garvey's version of black capitalism. Garvey warned against black demands for equal pay with whites, let alone attempts to work with white trade unions.

Mr. Randolph's faith in working class solidarity came out in practice to a strategy of black coalition with liberals and labor. This policy, as defined by Bayard Rustin, was vehemently attacked by black power advocates in the '60s. Critics warned that the Negroes' interests would receive only token regard from their more powerful partners.

Mr. Randolph seems to have realized this, and always insisted on self-reliance for his organizations. Perhaps his most impressive decision in the nearly penniless years of organizing the Sleeping Car Porters, when white unions would gladly have filled his treasury, was to insist that black workers should "pay the price and bear the brunt of their own struggle." This attitude may have inspired the famous compliment from Malcolm X, "All civil rights leaders are confused, but Randolph is less confused than the rest."

But Mr. Randolph's approach has always aroused a certain amount of skepticism from the black community, mainly because of its deep suspicion of white working class racism. This suspicion still persists, notably among white liberals, even though Mr. Randolph's own campaigns within the AFL-CIO have done a great deal to open the unions to blacks. There are certainly grounds for criticizing Mr. Randolph's approach; for instance, it overlooks the special problems of the sub-working class blacks. But the connection between blacks and the unions, unfashionable a subject as it is, does exist to a degree that is seriously underestimated.

The great majority of black Americans belong to the working class. And, as George Meany stated at the 1973 National Conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, "black workers are more likely to be union members —and this is true—than white workers." Black constituents form a significant bloc in two of the fastest growing (and consistently feuding) unions in the country, Jerry Wurf's American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes and Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers. Black unionists have even allowed themselves the luxury of competing coordinating bodies.

At the end of his book, Mr. Anderson wonders whether the 1963 march on Washington left any "enduring political legacy." This pessimistic note seems strangely at odds with the evidence he so impressively presents that the march itself was the legacy of Mr. Randolph's career. This legacy, with its emphasis on the economic betterment and self-assertion of the organized black working class, seems steadily to be coming into its own.

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Books of The Times

Gentleman of Mass Protest

By A. H. RASKIN

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A Biographical Portrait. By Jervis Anderson. 398 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $12.50.

Dignity is in short supply among the mastodons of organized labor. Union presidents occupy block-long suites in marble-and-glass headquarters of regal splendor, exercise stop-and-go power over giant industries, manage billions of dollars in trust funds and are regular attendants at White House banquets for other visiting heads of state. But neither affluence nor authority has brought notable personal grace. Even the new breed in labor's high command tends to be made up of men with rough edges, ill at ease away from the bargaining table or the political auction mart.

For a half century the most conspicuous exception to this dreary rule has been the founder of one of the country's tiniest and poorest unions, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Chesterfieldian in taste and manners, Randolph always wore his dignity as a shining shield even when his trousers had so many patches there was no room for another. That all-pervasive courtliness did not desert him when Woodrow Wilson's Justice Department urged his prosecution as "the most dangerous Negro in America" for his pacifist preachments in World War I. Nor was it absent a quarter century later when, through sheer intensity of moral commitment, he faced down Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman in his successful campaigns for Executive orders banning Jim Crow practices in defense industries and the armed forces.

In the stench of Watergate and the widespread despair about both the worth and adaptiveness of American institutions, there is special timeliness to the publication of Jervis Anderson's admiring and admirable biography of this little-known and less-understood battler for human decency—one whom history may yet credit with having exerted a more profoundly beneficial influence on 20th-century America than any other leader of either labor or civil rights.

One Man's Life Does Count

The Randolph story, told faithfully as well as fondly, is a reminder that not all is dross in the American dream, a restoration of faith that one man's life can count. Armed only with the depth of his conviction that the black masses could become an instrument for their own deliverance from exploitation, Randolph enters his 85th year with the satisfaction of having achieved substantial, if not conclusive, victories over the entrenched forces of bigotry and repression.

As the Anderson book notes with sensitivity, many of these triumphs—even the 1963 March on Washington, which brought 200,000 blacks and whites to the Lincoln Memorial in a moving demonstration for passage of the omnibus Civil Rights Act—have currently been brought into question through the political backlash among fearful whites and the even more pronounced revulsion among many black activists against the Randolph creed of black-white unity for social progress. But Randolph, for all his acknowledgment of the militants' role in deepening American awareness of the racial explosiveness in urban ghettos, remains as dedicated to nonviolent, integrationist solutions as he was when he fought Marcus Garvey's drive for "African Empire" in the early nineteen-twenties. His own union of Pullman porters was all-black, but that was the company's choice, not his. It had recruited its original work force from among former slaves just after the Civil War, and it preferred to maintain its own system of wage slavery by keeping the color line unbroken.

When the New Deal gave Randolph his first chance to combat the Pullman Company's ruthless union-busting, it struck back by large-scale hiring of Japanese and Filipinos to push out the union's black stalwarts. A friendly Senator offered to ram through a bill requiring that all rail employes be American citizens. Desperate as was Randolph's need for a maximum union vote, he told his would-be savior on Capitol Hill that he could not in good conscience go along with any law that excluded people from jobs on the basis of race, religion or nationality. The union won anyway—by a six-to-one margin.

Voyage of Discovery

For Anderson, a staff writer on The New Yorker, the book is something of a joyous voyage of discovery, a circumstance that adds measurably to its qualities of excitement and illumination for the reader. When Anderson came to this country from his native Jamaica 15 years ago, he knew a good deal about Martin Luther King Jr., Paul Robeson, Roy Wilkins and other leaders of the black struggle here, but he had never heard of Randolph.

His affectionate putting together of the pieces will help strangers understand why Randolph, so elegant of diction and aristocratic of mien, surrounded always by a velvety but impenetrable veil of inner privacy, was revered by his members and by countless thousands more as "The Saint." In common with Mohandas K. Gandhi, he regarded money as corrupting, an anomalous attitude for a chieftain in a labor movement built on the Samuel Gompers philosophy of "more." In the great Depression, when he was squaring off against a corporate colossus whose directorates linked it to every national center of financial and business power, his salary as union president was $10 a week, and he rarely collected it. Yet when Fiorello H. La Guardia, newly ensconced as New York's Mayor, offered his old Socialist comrade a $7,000-a-year city job with no requirement that he quit organizing, he said simply: "I already have a job."

Reading this record of moral nobility will lift you several million light-years out of the swamp of today's headlines.

PHIL RANDOLPH: 'Labor's Son Has Done Us Proud'

by George Meany

Here, at last, is a biography of Phil Randolph. And it is a wonderful book. Anyone who cares about the struggle for racial and economic justice must be grateful for its publication; and anyone who has known and worked with Phil Randolph, as I have for over 30 years, must delight in the way his personality and character emerge from these pages true-to-life—and yet, the man being what he is, a little bigger than life.

For Phil Randolph has been a historic figure. His life spans the multiple upheavals through which Americans have passed in the 20th century on the road to justice. Needless to say, we have not gone the whole distance, but we are a lot further along the road because of Phil Randolph's determination, eloquence and towering integrity.

The author, Jervis Anderson, is a talented young writer who was born in Jamaica and is on the staff of The New Yorker magazine, which serialized a portion of the book before publication. He has written a portrait that is absorbing, sensitive, balanced and well-researched. I think it's impressive that one so young and, therefore, removed from the subject, can reach so far back into the past and reconstruct it so movingly.

Anderson takes us back to Randolph's youth in Jacksonville, Florida, where he was born in 1889, the son of a circuit-riding minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and where he lived until 1911, when he arrived in Harlem at the end of the first modern wave of black migration to the North.

He traces Randolph's founding and editorship of the Messenger—the "only radical Negro magazine in America"—which flourished in the late teens and early 1920s; his stand against Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement and against W. E. B. Du Bois' elitist concept of "The Talented Tenth;" his bitter 10-year struggle to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters against the ruthless opposition of the Pullman Company; his fight against communist infiltration of the National Negro Congress in the late 1930s; his 1941 March on Washington Movement, which brought about President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense industries and government; his successful campaign to win President Truman's Executive Order 9981 outlawing segregation in the armed services; his continuing battles against racial discrimination and segregation within the labor movement itself; and his triumphant 1963 March on Washington, which brought nearly a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital in a massive, peaceful demonstration for "jobs and freedom."

What kind of man amasses such a list of achievements, even in 84 years? His manners have been described as Edwardian, his oratory Shakespearean, his language biblical. In short, not the kind of man you're supposed to find in the labor movement, according to the stereotypes.

But as anybody who has been around the labor movement for any length of time knows, underneath Phil's graciousness, courteousness and politeness, there is a stubborn, tough, unrelenting fighter who cannot be put down. You might say he's a gentlemen of elegant impatience. Nobody who reads Anderson's vivid account of Phil's knockdown, dragout struggle with the Pullman Company can mistake his civility for weakness. As this book reveals the complexity of a trade union leader, so it reveals the complexity of the trade union movement.

I am glad that Anderson emphasizes Phil Randolph's role as a union man, because some of those

who profess to admire him do not have much use for the labor movement which was his base. They prefer to see him cut up into little compartments, his role as a labor leader having nothing to do with his role as a freedom fighter. Indeed, Randolph's championing of the organized labor movement is looked on by such people as an aberration or a sidelight, if acknowledged at all.

Take, for example, the former columnist, Murray Kempton, whom Anderson quotes as saying "It is hard to make anyone who has never met him believe that A. Philip Randolph must be the greatest man who has lived in the U.S. in this century. But it is harder yet to make anyone who has ever known him believe anything else."

But on another occasion, here is what Kempton had to say of the movement which was so big a part of Randolph's life: "The AFL-CIO has lived happily in a society which, more lavishly than any in history, has managed the care and feeding of incompetent white people . . . Who better represents that ideal than George Wallace?"

Of course, many columnists have never really been able to understand Randolph's deep commitment to the labor movement because they never really understood—still don't—what the labor movement is all about. They could not understand Randolph's support of the 1968 New York teachers strike in the midst of an intense campaign to discredit the teachers as racists.

Anderson gives a good account of Randolph's firm stand and quotes his reply to a critic: "I could not very well refuse to support the teachers' right to due process and job security since it is not only a basic part of our democratic life, but is indispensable for the ability of workers to hold jobs.

But this stand was rooted in a larger vision. Randolph expressed it at the 1963 AFL-CIO Convention, in words which, says Anderson, "summed up his moral conception of the labor movement and its role in the social life of the country:"

"Social and political freedom cannot be sustained in the midst of economic insecurity and exploitation," Randolph said. "Freedom requires a material foundation. . . . Social justice and economic reform have become inextricably interwined in our time. If we are to speak to the needs of these workers, the labor movement will have to tap its well-springs of social idealism. It will have to renew its crusading spirit. It must move forward toward a new evangelical spirit to reach down and lift up the poor workers, the disinherited, those in poverty and despair."

And, as Randolph told the 200,000 participants in the march on Washington: "But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which 6 million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

In other words, as Anderson brings out, Randolph looked to the labor movement as the force that could best bring about the "material foundation" for freedom and, therefore, as the chief ally of the civil rights movement. He didn't look to big business, or to the journalists, the editorialists or the professors—black or white. In fact, while organizing the Brotherhood, Randolph constantly had to fend off attacks from black newspaper publishers and academics who denounced "Negro unionism," arguing that the best interests of the group would be served by "standing with capital." Anderson's vivid accounts of these attacks should provide a useful lesson for anyone who thinks the issue of justice is simply a black versus white issue.

Phil Randolph and I have had our disagreements over the years. They are discussed in this book. Yet they were, in the last analysis, disagreements on tactics, not principles. I think we have shared a common conviction that the labor movement has an urgent obligation not only to clean its own house of racism but to move all of society away from that disease.

We've come a long way since Phil Randolph rose to speak at his first AFL Convention in 1929—or even since 1941 when, as Anderson recounts, one delegate replied to Randolph, "you can't mix oil with water, even if you want to," and another insisted

that race, after all, was "the most terrific force in the whole of human life."

Today, the American labor movement is far and away the most racially integrated mass institution in American life. In fact, a higher percentage of black workers are unionized than of white workers. Moreover, a Chicago Urban League study showed that a higher proportion of blacks occupy decision-making positions in the labor movement than in any comparable institution.

The building trades, long criticized as "lily-white," made enormous progress. Much of this has been due to the cooperation of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which, along with the Workers Defense League, gave birth to what is now called the Recruitment and Training Program. Thanks to the assistance of the RTP, the Urban League and other Outreach programs, the building trades can now boast a higher percentage of minority youth in their apprenticeship programs than in just about any other industry in the country. Over 13 percent of the building trades apprentices are minority youth today, as compared with 2.5 percent in 1960. Not only that, but of the newly enrolled apprentices, over 20 percent are nonwhite.

In all of this progress, as Anderson shows, Phil Randolph has had a hand and a voice. Indeed, when you look back on his solid and lasting achievements, you can't help but compare them with the flash-in-the-pan gimmicks of the fly-by-night "leaders" who were created by the boob tube in the last decade. Where are the loudmouths and the supermilitants today?

I know where Phil Randolph is today, because he is a man of consistent and incorruptible dedication to principle. Half a century after his first union organizing efforts, he continues to serve with distinction as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. He serves, too, as honorary chairman of Social Democrats, USA, having never abandoned his democratic socialist philosophy and his strong opposition to communist totalitarianism. And, as chairman of the institute that bears his name, he inspires highly successful programs of voter registration and political education in the black community, with the support of the AFL-CIO. The "Negro-Labor Alliance," for which Phil has been the most eloquent spokesman in America, has found a most effective embodiment in the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Phil Randolph has enjoyed a rich career. He has earned the esteem of millions, not only here but throughout the world. Many will claim him for their own. But, firstly and foremostly, as I see it, he is labor's son—and he does us proud. He is a credit to workers everywhere, white and black. I am glad my good friend has had such a good biographer.

—A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait. By Jervis Anderson. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Available from A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010. 1973. 386 pages, illustrated. $10.

A. Philip Randolph Sr. Center Organizing Black Aged

(continued from page 1)

Among the Center's programs is an educational program that eventually leads to a general high school equivalency diploma for those wishing to complete the course. The Center also has a health program that provides examinations and referrals by a physician from Harlem Hospital.

The Center, however, is more than programs designed to meet very specific needs. There are a host of social activities to engage the membership and enrich their lives. Such activities range from oil painting to dancing, from candle making to billiards, and from bingo to discussion groups.

The Telephone Reassurance Service (TRS) is a service offered at the center.

This service offers to isolated aged, disabled and the blind public assistance and medicaid recipients an on-going social contact with someone who is concerned about their well-being and is responsive to their needs. It provides a "safety check" and a channel of communication between the homebound person and outside resources.

Regular telephone calls by our senior volunteers are scheduled at a mutually convenient time. The caller talks to the recipient, checking to see that he is well. If there is an urgent need for help, or an expressed request for any other service, the volunteer brings the situation to the attention of the proper person for resolution.

Any aged, disabled, blind public assistance or medicaid recipient who has a telephone, has limited social contacts, lives alone, and wants a regular telephone call for reassurance and security may receive the service.

The service is a reciprocal one. Both the senior center member volunteers and clients receiving the call benefit from the service. We have had many of the isolated, aged TRS clients venture from their homes to visit the center.

There is a Social Action Committee that has established communication with their Federal, state and city elected officials to protest Medicaid cutbacks and the crippling of social welfare agencies. The Randolph Center's Social Action Committee has become active in the United Senior Centers and the National Congress of Senior Centers.

In their own words, "We have learned that the best way to give serious consideration to the demands of the elderly, is to show them that the senior citizen is well organized. There can be no better way to make the politicians sit up and take notice than to confront them with a powerful united force of determined voters."

The goal of the Social Action Committee is to lobby for legislation that will benefit all senior citizens. Petitions, letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations, and participation in public hearings are just some of the avenues of political action the committee uses.

This committee, recognizing that through organization there is strength, has been active in the following specific areas: submitting petitions against Medicaid cut-backs, submitting petitions against restriction of the half-fare bus pass, and the defeat of test fees for Center members. The committee welcomes speakers from various fields, and has issued a leaflet for its members entitled, "Tips on Protection," describing safety tips for the elderly in the community.

In a society which is becoming increasingly repressive, we have recently witnessed a counter-offensive on the part of the people, especially Black and Puerto Ricans and other oppressed groups. Unfortunately, there has been little activity by our elderly, most of whom are tired from years of unrelieved struggle. However, just as women, youth and others are now in motion, the A. Philip Randolph Social Action Committee may be the tip of an iceberg.

The Committee members, most of whom are also active in their respective communities, recognize the need to involve and organize their fellow senior citizens. The process is underway. The mood is one of "We don't have to take it any more." The scrubbing of floors by elderly women to supplement their meager Social Security checks (about $100 a month) may soon become a thing of the past.

Regardless of the success the Randolph Center has had in its many activities, if success is achieved in organizing the Black aged to fight for what is rightfully theirs, an invaluable contribution will have been made for all the aged and the overall struggle of Black people in this country.

The Black aged in Harlem are more than equal to the task. In the words of the Director of A. Philip Randolph Senior Center, "They are some strong folks . . . strong folks."

"We have learned that the best way to obtain serious consideration of the demands of the elderly, is to show them that the senior citizens are well organized. There can be no better way to make the politicians sit up and take take notice than to confront them with a powerful united force of determined voters."

"They are some strong folks . . . strong folks!"

A. Philip Randolph Senior Center

Organizing Harlem's Black Aged

On May 21, 1971, the Lenox Avenue Senior Citizens Center, under the directorship of Mr. Warren Blackman, officially opened its doors to Harlem's senior citizens. It thus became the first multiservice Senior Citizens Center in Harlem to be established by the city's Department of Social Services.

The Center's name was later changed to the A. Philip Randolph Senior Center by a vote of the membership to pay tribute to that great elder statesman of the "Movement," Asa Philip Randolph.

The Randolph Center is one of 63 senior centers located in the five boroughs operated by the City of New York's Department of Social Services, and is the only center in the Central Harlem area solely operated by the city.

The Center is conveniently located at 108 West 146th Street, and is accessible to public transportation. Within a two-block radius there are five bus stops. Bus numbers 1, 2, 7, 101A, and 30 stop nearby.

The initial response to the Center by the estimated 13,000 plus black senior citizens in the Central Harlem area was slow. The staff, however, went out on the streets with an extensive leafletting campaign that resulted in a membership of more than 3,200.

Membership in the Center is open to any city resident over sixty years of age. The Randolph Center offers a wide range of services to its membership. Possibly the single greatest reason for the Center effectiveness is its ability to provide individual counseling for each of its members.

Also, the creation of an atmosphere conducive to an open "give and take" relationship between client and employee has enabled the members of the Center to not only discuss problems frankly, but also to finally begin using the minimal existing services, and to take advantage of the Center's various programs.

(continued on page 7)

SECOND REQUEST

Who's Who in America

Marquis Who's Who, Inc.
200 East Ohio Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312: 787 2008

1898 - Our Eightieth Year - 1977

Dear Marquis Biographee:

A few months ago, we sent you the original copy of the enclosed biographical sketch which appeared in the Thirty-Ninth Edition of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. We requested that you review the sketch and update it or verify its accuracy for inclusion in the forthcoming Fortieth Edition.

Because we have not yet received your response, I have enclosed a duplicate copy of your sketch. Since only you can verify its accuracy ... or add missing data ... we once again ask that you take just a few moments to check the sketch and return it to us in the envelope provided.

Whether or not changes are needed, please return this copy as quickly as possible. Only in this way can our editors be sure that you have had an opportunity to update the sketch.

I remind you that by returning your sketch, you will incur neither cost nor obligation. In fact, we are indebted to you for your assistance in helping us assure the accuracy of your sketch in WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. For that reason, we offer you an opportunity to reserve copies of the Fortieth Edition at special prepublication discounts available only to biographees. Although the Fortieth Edition will list for $79.50, you may reserve as many copies as you wish for:

$63.60 - Payment with order (20% off list)
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Sincerely,

Elizabeth Cahill

Elizabeth Cahill
Associate Publisher

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WA/CB

Who's Who in America 40th Edition

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America's leading biographical reference publisher.

SECOND REQUEST CE

AMERICA VOL 40

FILE NO. _____

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To assure proper handling, please make all biographical corrections on this form. **Do not add attachments.** See biographee reservation form offering special discount price.

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Here is a proof of your biography as it appears in the Thirty-Ninth Edition of **Who's Who in America**. Please check it carefully to verify that the facts are correct and up-to-date. Please print clearly—in the biography—any important corrections or additions. **Do not abbreviate; avoid rewriting and minor changes.** Whether or not changes are necessary, please return this proof in the enclosed envelope within 15 days.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

21 Founding President, National Negro Congress, 1936

22 Director, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 1963

23 Board Chairman, Protestant Council of the City of New York, 1966

24 Recipient, Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1964

25 Recipient, New York City Bronze Medallion, 1974

26 Author, "Terms of Peace and the Darker Races; "Truth About Lynching."

27 Editor, Messenger Magazine, 1917-1928.

28 Founder and president, Negro American Labor Council, 1960-1968.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION.

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Please sign and date this form to assure the editors that your personal data have been checked at first hand

Signature _____ Date _____

SEAL OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
AUG. 26TH 1818

With Deepest Sympathy

the Council of the City of San Diego

Adjourned its Meeting on May 21, 1979

to Honour the Memory of

A. Philip Randolph

Bill Mitchell COUNCIL MEMBER	Pete Wilson MAYOR	Gene Schaefer COUNCIL MEMBER
Maureen O'Connor COUNCIL MEMBER	Tom Bade DEPUTY MAYOR	Larry Stirling COUNCIL MEMBER
Bill Lowery COUNCIL MEMBER	Leon Williams COUNCIL MEMBER	Lucy Killea COUNCIL MEMBER

State of Maine

In the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-Nine

In Memoriam

Whereas, the Legislature has learned with deep regret of the death of A. Philip Randolph, Grand Old Man of the Civil Rights Movement and Labor Organizer ; and

Whereas, the Senate and House of Representatives are joined in understanding and prayer with all others who share this great loss; and

Whereas, when the Legislature adjourns this date, it will do so in honor and in lasting tribute to the deceased; now, therefore, be it

Resolved: That we, the members of the 109th Legislature of the State of Maine, while duly assembled at the State Capitol under the Constitution and laws of this State, pause in our deliberations to inscribe this expression of sadness and to extend our heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the bereaved family and friends of the deceased; and be it further

Resolved: That a suitable copy of this joint resolution be sent forthwith to the immediate family on behalf of the Legislature and the people of the State of Maine.

House of Representatives

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Read and Adopted

May 24, 1979

In Senate Chamber

President of the Senate

Read and Adopted

May 29, 1979

EDWIN H. PERT
Clerk

MAY M. ROSS
Secretary

Sponsored by:	Rep. Harlan Baker	From:	Portland
Cosponsored by:	Rep. Laurence Connolly, Jr.		Portland
	Rep. Richard Davies		Orono
	Sen. Mary Najarian		Cumberland County

From the desk of **GWEN WHITE**

7/16/79

Hi Norm:

Just to let you know that the Governor didn't forget us. He was out of town for the Ted Watkins thing too I think. Anyway I have enclosed a copy of his "commendation" it arrived today.

Take care

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO 95814

EDMUND G. BROWN JR.
GOVERNOR

916/445-4571

TO: THE LOS ANGELES CHAPTER OF THE
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

Throughout his life, A. Philip Randolph demonstrated an unceasing commitment to ensuring equality and justice for all citizens. His accomplishments in promoting the rights of minorities and the rights of workers greatly contributed to the social progress of our country. I am sure that, in effecting change in our social and economic structures through political means, the A. Philip Randolph Institute will long stand as a fitting memorial to the work of Mr. Randolph.

Sincerely,

EDMUND G. BROWN JR.
Governor

7/16/79

Boston College Alumni Association, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167 Telephone (617) 965-3360

JUL 19 1979

July 13, 1979

The Family of Dr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Randolph Family:

The officers and staff of the Boston College Alumni Office, were suddened to hear of the death of Philip.

I have placed a notice on the bulletin board in the Jesuit Residence, requesting the 117 priests to commend his Soul to God in their Masses.

I well understand the Cross that this sorrow palced upon your shoulders. But you will, I am sure, help yourselves by recalling that Christ, Who alone could ask this sorrow from you, will strengthen you with His consoling graces and with the mercy he will show to Philip.

Let us pray to the Blessed Mother to intercede with Her Divine Son for each other. It will be my privilege to keep you and all his loved ones in my daily Masses.

Francis B. McManus SJ

Francis B. McManus, S.J.
Faculty Advisor to the Alumni

FBM/mch

Randolph Honored

Mayor Beame applauds yesterday during presentation of the city's Bronze Medallion to A. Philip Randolph (left), longtime labor and civil rights leader. Randolph, 88, who began his career as head of the brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, also received the U. S. [illegible] Burnell, [illegible] Photo by Tony C[illegible]

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
INDIANAPOLIS CHAPTER
1422 N. Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

THE INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

Thursday, May 17, 1979

Civil Rights Leader

Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Dies; Led First Major Black Union

© 1979 New York Times

NEW YORK — A. Philip Randolph, the black labor leader who became one of the dominant figures of the modern civil rights movement, died yesterday at his home in Manhattan.

He was 90 years old and had been suffering from a heart condition and high blood pressure for several years.

According to his longtime housekeeper, Fannie Corner, who was with him at the time of his death, Randolph died in bed at about 3 p.m. in the sparsely furnished fifth-floor apartment at 280 Ninth Avenue at 27th Street, where he had lived for several years.

In 1925 he organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was the first black union granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor. In 1957 he became a vice president of the AFL-CIO.

The only sign of extravagance in his apartment were two black and white television sets, tributes, friends said, to Randolph's devotion to baseball.

As news of Randolph's death spread through the civil rights community, many of whose present day leaders were preparing for ceremonies marking the 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision,

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
INDIANAPOLIS CHAPTER
1422 N. Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR

OBITUARIES

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1979

PAGE 49

A.P. Randolph Dies; Labor, Rights Leader

New York (AP) — A. Phillip Randolph, labor leader and grand old man of the modern civil rights movement, died here Wednesday night, civil rights leader Bayard Rustin said.

Randolph, who was 90, suffered from heart problems and high blood pressure. He died Wednesday afternoon at his home in Manhattan, Rustin said. His secretary and housekeeper were with him at the time.

"No other living American has done more to seek justice for all the poor, the working classes and the minorities in our society and around the world than has A. Phillip Randolph," said Rustin.

RUSTIN HEADS the A. Phillip Randolph Institute here. The institute is devoted to increasing voter registration among blacks, union organizing and helping blacks get management posts in business.

Randolph will be cremated, Rustin said, adding a memorial service will be held in Harlem in about a month.

"We believe we should take him home," he said.

Rustin said Randolph had no known living relatives, but "millions of friends."

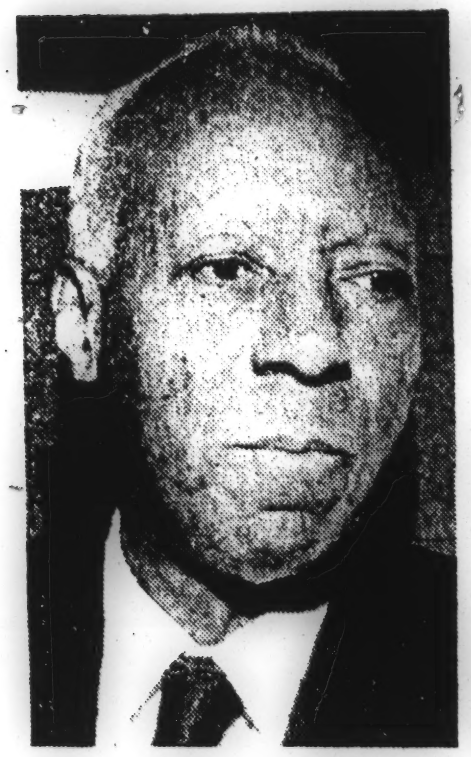
In 1925, Randolph organized a handful of Harlem sleeping car porters into what eventually became the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black union to be granted an international charter by the American Federation of Labor.

For the next 50 years, he retained a prominent place in the labor movement and the civil rights movement.

News/Classified

The Florid
Jackso
Sunday,

Randolph: labor leader a giant



A. Philip Randolph

By HARRIET LUDWIG
Times-Union Staff Writer

A speaker at one of the Black History Week programs here last week credited his success to the fact that "I stood on the shoulders of giants."

He recognized the true meaning of the week: The black race produced giants long before civil rights became a household word in the '60s and at least two of those giants came from Jacksonville.

Most people know at least the name of the noted writer, lawyer, diplomat and civil rights leader James Weldon Johnson — it is inscribed on the seventh grade center building at 1840 W. 9th St. — but no building carries the name of the most famous of all: A. Philip Randolph.

No plaque marks the labor leader's home: the two-story frame house where he grew up on Jessie Street was torn down in the 1940s phase which has become known as Urban Removal.

Nationally and internationally, however, Randolph is remembered as the man who organized the Pullman porters' union in 1925 and parlayed his position as a top labor leader into some of the most significant civil rights victories of the century.

• In 1935, after 10 years of bitter struggle, the federal Mediation Board ordered a secret ballot and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won what a jubilant Randolph hailed as "the first victory of Negro workers over a great industrial corporation."

More struggle followed, but for the first time officials of a major business sat down to negotiate with black workers.

• The same year the American Federation of Labor reversed its previous position and granted an international charter to the Brotherhood. Randolph became known as the conscience of organized labor as he fought against racism within the ranks of the AFL-CIO and spoke for all minorities: blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans and poor whites.

• In 1941 his plans for a national march on Washington convinced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign the order calling for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs — the beginning of fair employment practices laws.

• Seven years later, 1948, Randolph convince President to act aga crimination as Harry Trur the order ending segregat Army, Navy, Air Force a civil service jobs.

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The Florida Times-Union
Jacksonville Journal

Sunday, February 18, 1979

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• In 1941 his plans for a national march on Washington convinced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign the order calling for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs — the beginning of fair employment practices laws.

• Seven years later, in July of 1948, Randolph convinced another President to act against discrimination as Harry Truman signed the order ending segregation in the Army, Navy, Air Force and federal civil service jobs.

• He understood the power of numbers for black citizens and demonstrated that power in the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill and the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration.

The 1963 March on Washington is remembered by most for Martin Luther King's stirring "I Have a Dream" speech.

It was Randolph, however, the black man born in Crescent City and raised in Jacksonville, who organized and directed the massing of 200,000 Americans, black and white, at the Lincoln Memorial.

As the crowds streamed away, biographer Jervis Anderson writes, Randolph stood on the plaform, tears streaming down his cheeks. At age 74 he had seen a lifelong dream come true.

In New York City today the retired dean of the civil rights movement must be cheering affirmative action programs, the spread of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission system and the emphasis on black economic development.

Jobs, money and a fair system for all people were the keys to freedom, he believed.

To Be Equal

By Whitney M. Young Jr.

Executive Director
National Urban League

5/17/69
The Louisville Defender

It's hard to believe, but one of the most revered figures in the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph, will be 80 years old, April 15. Still vigorous, Phil Randolph has become a legend in his own time.

It's easy to be militant today -- everyone is. But Phil Randolph was militant back in the early part of this century, when lynching was still a favorite Southern pastime, and Northern racism was rampant.

In those bitter days, Randolph adited a radical news magazine, The Messenger, and spoke at meetings all over the country. I remember, as a young man in Louisville, Kentucky, listening spellbound to Randolph's rolling tones and splendid oratory.

Eighty years fighting for the full rights of black people and the oppressed everywhere have left many memories, many high points. I recall marching with Phil Randolph in the 1963 March on Washington, and other events in which he took part or in which he was a guiding figure, but I think two of his greatest accomplishments were the organization of his union and his role in getting a fair employment practice proclamation in 1941.

A. Philip Randolph is probably best known as the long-time head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized in 1925. Have you any adea of what it meant to organize any workers, but especially black workers in those days?

It is easy now to forget that unions didn't get full bargaining rights until the 1930's and that people used to work six and even seven day-weeks for a dollar a day. Those were the days when goon squads roughed up and even killed union organizers. And if things were bad for white workers, you can imagine what they must have been for black workers who had the courage to stand up for their rights.

But the Brotherhood defied the opposition of management, and it negotiated wage increases and better working conditions even before it was formally recognized in 1937. The union also helped black workers in other fields, for here was a black-run labor organization that stood up for the rights of the Negro worker. Phil Randolph became the Negro's voice within the labor movement, constantly prodding it to support equality. He formed the American Negro Labor Council to eliminate discrimination from labor's ranks and he continues this fight to

Most people, though, will remember Phil Randolph for calling, In January, 1941, for a March on Washington. The nation was starting to come out of a Great Depression that lasted for a decade. Defense factories were booming, and workers in them were getting high wages. But blacks were left out. Out of 30,000 defense workers in the New York area, less than 200 were black.

Phil Randolph and other leaders tried to get the President to do something about this, but Jim Crow was still riding high in those days. The nation was preparing for a war to preserve democracy, but it denied the most elementary democratic rights to black citizens.

So Phil Randolph [illegible] the days when "B[illegible] Power" had yet to [illegible]tivate the pres[illegible] black citizens, "yo[illegible] power," but "our [illegible]lem is to hitch it [illegible] action on the bro[illegible] most daring, and [illegible] gigantic scale."

Official Wash[illegible] flew into a panic. [illegible] Roosevelt, Cabinet secretaries, and other top people put pressure on Randolph to call off the March. But civil rights agencies like the Urban League and the NAACP closed ranks behind him and the March was scheduled for July 1.

Clipping NY Post 5/10/69

He Also Had a Dream

ROY WILKINS

Forty-five years ago he was overflowing with vigor and with a sharp challenge to the status quo. Last week he celebrated his 80th birthday and heard tributes from those gathered at the famed Waldorf-Astoria and messages from the absent ones.

A. Philip Randolph, the revered leader in the ranks of civil rights and organized labor, regrets the unfinished business of 1969, but feels justifiable satisfaction in the progress he has stimulated.

More than any other one man, this president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO, helped in the 20s to turn the Negro American public to trade unionism. He urged the race to give priority to economic development. He was a practicing Socialist of the Norman Thomas school. He and his partner, Chandler Owen, preached that profit, off any color of man, was the driving force and that men of all colors should organize for protection and progress.

The sleeping car porters, exploited unbelievably by the Pullman Co., asked him to help them. Randolph, son of a minister, a college graduate and a Socialist theorist, agreed to listen and then write articles for his fiery magazine, "The Messenger."

The first meeting, in an effort to thwart the stool pigeons who turned in names to the company, was 100 per cent Randolph. He opened the meeting, delivered the invocation, sang one verse of a hymn, delivered the speech and the benediction. He made the silent men disperse immediately to their homes.

* * *

Only three Negro newspapers supported Randolph because the black public was very anti-union and because, too, the Pullman Co. rewarded the anti-porter viewpoint. But the union was formed and Randolph and his committee finally won a contract. The porters won a raise from $67.50 to $79.50 a month in the first contract. Today the vanishing porters are paid something over $6,000 a year. Fringe benefits are additional.

After witnessing the refusals of factories to hire Negroes in 1939-41, Randolph organized the first march on Washington. President Roosevelt wanted to avoid an outpouring of black protesters in the nation's capital. The U. S. was almost certain to go to war against the Hitler master race theory, yet in our own country we were practicing Hitlerism againt our black citizens!

So, in June, 1941, FDR signed Executive Order 8802 authorizing the wartime Fair Employment Commission. The march was canceled. Randolph has lived to see that shaky, ineffective FEPC blossom into many state and municipal laws and into the unemployment provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The man who pushed this alteration in a nation's policy saw his dream of a real march on Washington come true on Aug. 28, 1963, when 220,000 persons went to Washington and poured out their hearts and hopes in a petition to their government. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., made the march live with his forensic exhortation, "I Have a Dream," but it was A. Philip Randolph, who looked out over that vast throng and saw a dream walking.

The present-day black rough riders and hard talkers could learn a lot about tactics and integrity from the career of this doughty warrior.

THE SUN REPORTER, MAY 17, 1969--PAGE 6

Charleston Hospital Strike

At the 80th Birthday Celebration for A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. Coretta Scott King made an appeal for the striking hospital workers of Charleston, S.C. She called the strike "a national test of conscience, and urged everybody to support it in whatever

Only a little over a year ago, Mrs. King's husband was murdered in the midst of a very similar strike. Like the Memphis sanitation workers, the black hospital workers of Charleston workers are asking for -- and being denied--fundamental human rights. They are being paid [illegible] an hour, $.30 below the national minimum wage which itself is inadequate. "$1.30 is not a wage," Mrs. King said, "it's [illegible]." In the hospital [illegible] pay received by white workers who perform identical services. The strikers are asking for higher wages, but more urgently they are demanding recognition of their union, local 1199B of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees.

Rather than grant them this fundamental right which should be guaranteed to all Americans, Governor Robert E. McNair and the hospital trustees have decided to use repressive force to crush the strike. An unconstitutional court order has limited the number of pickets at the struck hospitals to 10, spaced 20 yards apart. Scabs have been brought in to replace the 50 workers on strike. A state of emergency has been declared and the city has been transformed into an armed camp. Over 600 arrests have been made. There have already been instances of violence.

It is clear that it takes more than the death of a great man to make some people see the need for social justice. Does not Governor McNair see that the obstinacy of Mayor Henry Loeb in Memphis a year ago produced only violence, Dr. King's [illegible] in [illegible]

strike when he passed through Charleston a week ago on his way to the Kentucky Derby, realize that he cannot possibly hope to bring America together if he shuts his eyes to the plight of the poor and the exploited? Must these men see blood in the streets before they are moved to grant human beings what is theirs by right of citizenship?

But there is no need for total despair. On the contrary, the alliance that has been forged in Charleston between the civil rights movement and the labor movement is powerful enough to hold out and win. This alliance has been victorious in the past. In his speech Mrs. King recalled the events of ten years ago when 3,5000 black and Puerto Rican hospital workers, who were earning as little as $32 a week, successfully struck for higher wages and union recognition. Dr. King called that strike "a struggle for union and human rights." The same struggle was carried on last year in Memphis, and it is continuing today in Charleston.

I think it is appropriate that Mrs. King made her appeal for the she noted, was largely responsible for the success of the New York strike a decade ago, and whose entire life has been devoted to the liberation of black people through the establishment of a Negro-labor alliance. Mr. Randolph's remarks at the dinner are a fitting tribute to the hospital workers of Charleston. "Like a mountain stream that grows in size and momentum as it rushes downward," he [illegible] "the struggle of the Negro [illegible] ses for social and econom[illegible] quality has become irrepress[illegible] From Memphis, Tennesse[illegible] Charleston, South Carolina, [illegible] cannot now be satisfied with [illegible] thing less than total liberati[illegible] I think it would be well for [illegible] Governor of South Carolina [illegible] the President of the United St[illegible] to heed the words of Mrs. [illegible]

At 80th Birthday Tribute:

AFL-CIO News 5/10/69

Labor, Civil Rights Coalition Reaffirms Randolph's Goals

By Saul Miller

New York—The labor-civil rights coalition gave A. Philip Randolph an 80th birthday present—a rededication to his goal of "total liberation" of the American Negro.

The leaders of the coalition turned out 1,500 strong in a vivid demonstration of unity and voiced their determination to carry on the work that Randolph had dedicated his life to.

The entire scope of the labor movement was represented, along with the religious faiths, Negro organizations, government leaders and many others. They crowded the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to pay tribute to Randolph and add to the coffers of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund to finance voter education and registration projects in black communities to strengthen the labor, liberal, Negro alliance.

And at the conclusion they heard Randolph eloquently lay down the principles by which the coalition must continue to be guided:

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of non-violence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration."

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, reviewing Randolph's accomplishments and the gains in the trade union movement in the battle against discrimination, declared there is "no room for complacency."

Randolph, he pointed out, in founding the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the face of all-out opposition of the Pullman Co., laid down the basic principle that black workers must be organized and become part of organized labor. Randolph's advice to Negro workers to get into the labor movement and win support for the fight against discrimination was critical to strengthening both the Negro and white worker, Meany said.

The American labor movement has responded to Randolph's leadership, sometimes too slowly, Meany added, but it has come a long way and is determined to wipe out the last vestiges of discrimination with renewed emphasis on job upgrading and training.

Randolph is no longer alone in the struggle as he was in the early

(Continued on Page 3)

Marks 80th Birthday:

Tribute to Randolph Reaffirms His Goals

(Continued from Page 1)

years, Meany said, and the AFL-CIO and all its affiliates are working to reach all workers at the local level to carry the message of equal rights.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, following the AFL-CIO president, noted that Meany has worked closely with Randolph and has worked effectively in the civil rights movement and that the AFL-CIO has been the bulwark of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., told the dinner that she had come from Charleston, S.C., where she has been aiding the striking hospital workers and that Charleston has now become a national test of conscience, that the labor civil rights coaltion is a reality here and the battle must be won.

Randolph, she said, had always been a great inspiration to her late husband and a source of encouragement. Randolph gave him advice and counsel, she said, adding, "thank you for myself and Martin Luther King."

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, served as toastmaster and introduced New York Gov. Nelson H. Rockefeller, New York City Mayor John Lindsay, and C. L. Dellums, president of the Sleeping Car Porters succeeding Randolph who retired from the post last year.

Paying tribute also to Randolph were Msgr. Gregory Mooney, for Terence Cardinal Cooke; Dr. John C. Bennett, present, Union Theological Seminary, and Isaiah Minkoff, executive vice chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

The tributes were touching and emotional in spots as speakers recalled earlier days and difficult battles, stressing Randolph's "prophetic vision," his quiet determination, his courage, his inspiration, and his lack of personal animosity.

It was all underscored when George Shirley of the Metropolitan Opera sang some of the poems of Negro poet Langston Hughes and when "Oh, Freedom" rolled over the great hall.

In his response, Randolph expressed his gratification at the "fine representation" at the dinner from all areas of American life, cited Rustin's genius for organizing protest marches and spoke of his admiration and affection for Meany as a man who "when he commits himself to a program will work at it and carry it through. He doesn't pretend to be for something when he isn't."

In dedicating himself to the liberation of the Negro, Randolph said, his major endeavor was to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement because the Negroes are a working people and the labor movement is the home of the working man and the only haven for the dispossessed.

The struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has "become irrepressible," he observed. But in the continuing struggle "we must have faith that the society, divided by race and class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals."

Harlem Youngster Salutes Randolph

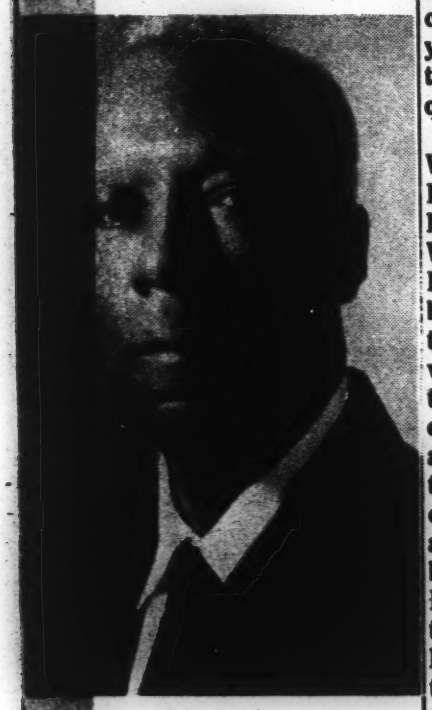
New York—The "generation gap" closed on a prolonged wave of applause here when 13-year-old Tom Powell hopped onto a chair to reach the microphones to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph.

Tom, a member of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow, a Harlem-based group of youngsters dedicated to carrying on the civil rights struggle, said simply that Randolph was a great man and his group would make sure that his work was carried on.

n last Sunday.

the fourth Sunday in May .m. the Willing Workers of Hill Baptist Church will t "The Chancel Choir" Washington, D. C., in the h.

third Sunday is regular p service in Zion Hill t Church at 12 noon. Rev. Johnson is pastor and a welcome is extended to



Profiles of Courage

By Lou LuTour

PHILLIP RANDOLPH, ent of A. Phillip Randolph ute, International President Brotherhood of Sleep Car s, and the only Black Vice ent of AFL-CIO, is one of most respected Black ant, but a non-violent nt-civil rights leaders. At time he was described as most dangerous Negro in ica" when he spoke out in nd, Ohio against American ipation in World War II.

has courageously fought t racism, violence and segregation for over half a century. In 1917, he founded a magazine, The Messenger, the lone voice that spoke to 20,000 readers in its demands for social change. In 1925, he became the leader of the campaign to organize predominantly Negro sleeping car porters; and for 10 years battled the railroad companies before The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining. In a few years under his superb leadership, the sleeping car porters quadrupled their income.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED as the first Negro to plan a massive march on Washington, when in 1941 the Defense factories were booming, but Negroes were not among those receiving the high wages workers were being paid. His plan threw Government Officials and even Mrs. Roosevelt into a panic, and pressure was brought for him to call off the march. But with civil rights agencies as the NAACP and the National Urban League behind him, A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH agreed to call off the demonstration only after President Roosevelt established the first Fair Employment Committee. Then 22 years later when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was pending before Cong PHILLIP RANDOLPH young age of 75 issued a Negroes, liberals and unio march on the nation's And on August 28th, 2 civil rights partisans - Bl white - made a "Ma Washington" in a quiet, d manner which moved the as well as Congress - and t Civil Rights Act was passed.

The latest venture of th man was the establishment A. Phillip Randolph Insti 1966, for the purpose of civil rights activists. Apri 1969 A. PHILLIP RAN celebrated his 80th birthd New York's Governor Roc declaring that day "A. P RANDOLPH DAY," with nation-wide Testimonials honor, and by enjoy world-wide Tributes received by him. He is known as the "DEAN OF CIVIL RIGHTS" and we will ever respect A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH as a militant, but non-violent, civil rights leader.

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Still Has Deep Faith In The Little People

NEW YORK (NANA)-- A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example.

By virtue of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He attended Cookman Institute(later named Bethune-Cookman College) and then moved North where he continued his studies at the City College of New York.

In 1914, Mr. Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher. During these early years he read exensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration, and economic equality, which he has adhered to throughout his life.

'MESSENGER'

These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in "The Messenger," a magazine that Mr. Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920s, he argued for integration against the Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

MET OPPOSITION

His efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice-President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters(BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To correct this injustice, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local March on Washington committees had sprung up across the country, and as the March began to assume larger and larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Excutive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands.

It is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

CONCEIVED '63 MARCH

Mr. Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great March on Washington of 1963 which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

Mr. Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication.

The Saga Of An Incorruptible Negro Activist

BY ERNEST CALLOWAY

The real human essence of this saga begins on a warm August evening in New York's Harlem during the summer of 1925. On that evening Seventh Avenue was crowded with strollers and the night had much [illegible]. The bright lights of the famous old Lafayette theater at 131st street were drawing large crowds while several Negro "greats" and "[illegible]ats" in show business were [illegible] around the traditional good luck [illegible]m — the "Tree of Hope" [illegible] corner.

It was the "Roaring Twenties" of [illegible]es, Calvin Coolidge, bath-[illegible] bobbed hair, the Charleston and good-time Mayor Jimmie Walker [illegible]-town it was the glittering, [illegible] excitement-packed Har-[illegible]cer Bill Robinson, the in-[illegible]e Florence Mills, Ethel [illegible]ues-singer Bessie Smith, [illegible]r, Noble Sissle, Fletcher [illegible] young Duke Ellington, [illegible]g refugee trumpet player [illegible] Oliver's band in Chicago [illegible]mstrong.

[illegible] literary new renaissance [illegible] Countee Cullen, James [illegible]nson, Claude McKay, [illegible]ughes, Rudolph Fisher [illegible]ocke. It was the black [illegible] Back to Africa" Harlem [illegible]arvey, and the *"we can't [illegible] Dempsey"* Harlem of the [illegible] supporters of heavy-weight [illegible]

[illegible] Saga of Hope

[illegible]a is not of these things [illegible] August 25th evening in [illegible]25. Far from the excite-[illegible]nth and Lenox avenues [illegible]oup of men were meeting in a [illegible] recreation hall, and they [illegible] with the serious busi-[illegible]nizing a union in the [illegible] decent living. They [illegible]he Pullman Company, [illegible]nployer of Negro labor [illegible]hey were Pullman porters and had been suffering under a system of company paternalism and ill-treatment for many years. They were determined in their desire to fight back, and out of this need the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was born in that Harlem recreation hall on a warm August evening in 1925.

The powerful Pullman Company, which had served as the rallying point of "open-shoppism" down through the years, at first ignored this effort on the part of a handful of Negro porters. As an employer of Negro labor they felt that it would be easy to divide and conquer the effort. However, when the porters refused to fight among themselves, the Company decided to move in and break up the Union. Their strategy was simple and direct: they used the power of money to buy Negro "leaders" in every major community, every Negro newspaper willing to sell its editorial soul, and every Negro minister willing to put a price tag on the gospel of the "Big Lie." The company compounded these acts of out-right purchase of Negro "spokesmanship" and community subversion by firing every porter suspected of being a leader of the emerging Union.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A. Philip Randolph

The porters countered the Company's reign of terror and subversion by moving outside their ranks to induce a 35-year old radical, socialist and crusading journalist to assume the leadership of the fledgling Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was felt that they must have leadership that could not be reached by the Company either through economic terror or financial subversion.

That measure of supreme confidence was placed in Asa Philip Randolph, socialist, crusader, agitator, union organizer, war resister, and co-editor with Chandler Owen of (according to the Lusk Committee) "the most dangerous of all Negro publications," the Messenger Magazine.

And so began the monumental struggle on the part of a group of depressed black workers to achieve a new measure of dignity against one of the most powerful corporate bodies in the United States at the time. And also began the fruitful human journey of the most socially aware and incorruptible black leader in American life.

The Formative Years

A. Philip Randolph was born April 15, 1889 at Crescent City, Florida, the son of a minister. As a youth he worked as a grocery clerk, railroad section hand and other odd jobs. When he finished high school in Jacksonville, he wandered northward to New York where he took courses at City College and held a variety of jobs. He was a studious and searching young man, and early he began concerning himself with the plight of the black American. He rejected the extremes of the cringing Uncle Tomism so prevalent among Negro leaders as well as the hollow chest-beating of the early black nationalists. He moved towards socialism a a means of eliminating exploitation and other abuses of capitalism, and early began demanding unconditional social, political and economic equality for the great mass of dispossessed Negroes. In those early days — some 50 years ago — he wrote:

"We do not accept the doctrine of old reactionary Negroes that the Negro is satisfied to be himself. We desire as much contact and intercourse — social, economic and political — as is possible between the races. This is not because of our belief in the inferiority or superiority of either race, but because of our recognition that the principle of social equality is the only sure guarantee of social progress."

The Militant Editor

Randolph married in 1915, and in 1917 when America entered World War I, he and Chandler Owen launched the Messenger Magazine. It was a socialist magazine that militantly agitated against Jim Crowism, war and racial inequality. In 1918 he was arrested in Cleveland by the same federal agent who had arrested socialist leader Eugene Victor Debs, and on the same charge of obstructing the draft. Debs, the prime target of the Department of Justice received ten years in federal prison. Randolph was released after a few days in Cleveland's city jail, and he continued his attack upon the war.

When Randolph assumed leadership of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters it was the beginning of a long, tedious 12-year economic struggle to achieve recognition of the union and the right to bargain collectively with the Company. Nothing came easy to the porters and they had to fight against great odds every single inch of the way. In 1928 the porters' union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and Randolph enlarged the crusade for racial justice in the house of labor.

Conquest of Pullman Power

Randolph and the Pullman Porters gave American labor an object lesson in social tenacity, and it was only the integrity and spiritual idealism of the man that carried them through the obstacle courses, set-backs, defeats, rumor-mongering in the black community and every "legalism" available to the Pullman Company. But in August of 1937 — after 12 full years of struggle — the great Pullman Company finally capitulated and signed its first union agreement

ering as the black voice of challenge against the old worn-out discriminatory policies of American industry, and in doing so he introduced a new social concept in American industrial life — fair employment. It began in 1941 when defense industries were booming and Negroes remained on the side-lines of low-wage, marginal American industries. At a Madison Square Garden meeting in New York, Randolph proposed a massive *"March on Washington"* to call national attention to the rampant discrimination against Negro workers in fashioning the sinews of war against Hitlerism. The MOW movement gained momentum across America with devastating affect upon official Washington and the White House. Randolph's account of the discussions with White House emmissaries (Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia) and the final White House agreement with President Roosevelt, who wanted the March called off is one of the more interesting foot-notes on race relations during the War years.

Roosevelt agreed upon the stubborn insistence of Randolph that as a price for calling of the March the President would issue Executive Order 8802 barring racial discrimination in all employment in defense industries. The Proclamation was the fore-runner of a new national and state legislative vehicle — fair employment practices.

Jim Crow in Army

In 1947 a new issue and a new U.S. President. The issue was racial discrimination in the armed forces and the President was Harry S. Truman. Unlike Roosevelt, the master of charm, Truman could not conceal his anger with Randolph, but [illegible]

civil disobedience against [illegible] in the armed forces, got [illegible] the President. He finally [illegible] executive order prohibiting [illegible] in the military forces.

In the mid Fifties [illegible] voices began to emerge i[illegible] dom movement, and the [illegible] ble of these were out of [illegible] and the challenging voic[illegible] Luther King. Randolph [illegible] were kindred souls but ou[illegible] ent time periods in the b[illegible] for freedom. Both were [illegible] exerting mass social pres[illegible] points of high resistance [illegible] had the social boldness t[illegible] larger problems of a d[illegible] race.

300,000 March On W[illegible]

In 1963 Randolph fin[illegible] living, breathing March O[illegible] ton. The old warrior, no[illegible] again moved out to do b[illegible] the forces of racism and [illegible] And on August 28, 1963 s[illegible] Americans — black and [illegible] gathered at Washington [illegible] to march to the Lincoln [illegible] support of new civil righ[illegible] slogan of "Jobs And Fr[illegible] many ways this greatest [illegible] onstrations of unity wa[illegible] living tribute to the ind[illegible] incorruptible Phil Rando[illegible] a hope for the future. [illegible] both were one and the sa[illegible]

Phil Randolph is now [illegible] light years of a fruitful [illegible] life. As a consistent fig[illegible] dom and dignity for t[illegible] spised in the American [illegible] there are many lessons to learn from the life of this magnificent human being. Integrity, awareness, understanding, selflessness, moral stamina are only few of the whole lesson [illegible] Philip

Randolph and the Pullman Porters gave American labor an object lesson in social tenacity, and it was only the integrity and spiritual idealism of the man that carried them through the obstacle courses, set-backs, defeats, rumor-mongering in the black community and every "legalism" available to the Pullman Company. But in August of 1937 — after 12 full years of struggle — the great Pullman Company finally capitulated and signed its first union agreement with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was a victory of faith and a victory for self-respect.

But Randolph did not stop with the Sleeping Car Porters. He had emerged as the lonely voice in the House of Labor against racial discrimination in U.S. unions. AFL conventions were rare without the deep, articulate voice of Randolph castigating member unions for their Jim Crow practices.

New Industrial Concept

But it took World War II to bring Phil Randolph to full national flow-

Randolph Paid Tribute By New England Labor

Boston—The labor movement of Massachusetts and Rhode Island pledged continued support of the cause of A. Philip Randolph—"the cause of freedom," as AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Matthew Guinan put it.

Speaking at a dinner marking the 80th birthday of the long-time leader of the Sleeping Car Porters, Guinan noted Randolph's efforts to build an alliance between labor and the Negroes.

"He has had the political wisdom to understand that black people will be poor until all people in this country — black and white — are lifted out of poverty," Guinan said.

Randolph has seen, Guinan observed, that organized labor has been the home of the working man and the dispossessed and that there would be no substantial progress for Negroes "if the labor movement were not a strong ally of their struggle."

Guinan, who heads the Transport Workers, further suggested that Randolph's Freedom Budget for All Americans "is the best answer to the racial and urban problems of this country."

He said "It is a call to rebuild our cities, to provide full and dignified employment for all of our citizens and quality education for all of our children, and to insure that each person will have adequate medical care, a decent home and enough to eat."

Pres. Salvatore Camelio of the Massachusetts State Labor Council and Pres. Thomas Poliscastro of the Rhode Island AFL-CIO reaffirmed their backing of the All Boston Labor Committee which sponsored the dinner and which works with the Randolph Institute.

Among the committee's objectives are:

- To rally community backing
- To help black youths obtain jobs and training through Apprenticeship Outreach programs.
- To support legislation affecting the Negro-labor alliance through lobbies and petitions.

Bayard Rustin, director of the Randolph Institute, represented Randolph at the dinner. He urged the labor movement to get more deeply involved in the struggle for justice, noting that platonic support achieves little.

Fire Fighters Hail Bargaining Ruling

Fire Fighters Pres. William H. McClennan has hailed as a "tremendous victory for New Jersey's fire fighters" a court decision upholding the constitutionality of the state's Public Employment Relations Commission.

Superior Court Judge Robert A. Matthews, in upholding the law, also certified the election of IAFF Local 1066 as bargaining agent for fire fighters in Jersey City. The union won a PERC-ordered election by 399-17 vote.

The law setting up PERC, Matthews said, was in accord with a state constitutional provision giving public employes the right to choose their representatives in making known grievances. The provision was meant to protect the workers from "company unions," he added.

McClennan said the decision "clearly sets forth the principle that

AFL-CIO News 6/21/69

THE DEFENDER
MAY, 1969

CLIMAX OF 80TH BIRTHDAY dinner for A. Philip Randolph came when NAACP Exec. Dir. Roy Wilkins paid tribute to Randolph and presented him with a book of letters from American and world leaders. Randolph, noting the numerous tributes and citing his long and close relationship with AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, responded with an eloquent plea that the labor-civil rights coalition carry on to win "total liberation" for the American Negro.

The Long Way Around . . .

The tribute to A. Philip Randolph expressed in a letter on this page today from Joseph L. Rauh Jr. is a richly deserved one; we take pleasure in seconding its sentiments and in adding our own congratulations on the birthday of an octogenarian whose ideas seem as youthful, as relevant and as contemporary today as when he was challenging the old order or the "establishment" or whatever you want to call it close to half a century ago.

Mr. Randolph sought for American Negroes not withdrawal from the community but full participation in its educational and economic opportunities. He believed strongly in black power, not to burn or to destroy but to achieve strength through union and to exercise political leverage in tested democratic ways. He believed in the hope and promise of American life and in the capacity of his countrymen to respond to reason and to justice.

If A. Philip Randolph's ideals have not been fully attained, it is nevertheless undeniable that there has been a good deal of real progress toward them. His democratic techniques and his strategy of nonviolence have been far more fruitful than wild boasts of revolution and non-negotiable "demands" for instant black autonomy. It is incontrovertibly true that every form of discrimination against human beings based upon race is utterly indefensible; but it is, perhaps, equally true that the evil consequences of discrimination can be extirpated and overcome better by patient effort than by violent upheaval, better by tolerance than by hatred. Social sickness can be healed; it cannot be exorcised. A. Philip Randolph believed that it is better to mend than to destroy.

NMU camera

Many happy returns. President Joseph Curran, right, offers his and NMU's best wishes to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of the 80th birthday of the retired President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which hosted the birthday tribute, is in the center.

WASHINGTON POST

Mr. Randolph at 80

The eightieth birthday this month of one of America's greatest men ought not to go unnoticed in the Nation's Capital. I write, of course, of A. Philip Randolph.

Mr. Randolph, to an almost unparalleled degree, has built his own monuments in his lifetime. The antidiscrimination clause in Government contracts is such a monument; Mr. Randolph extracted the first executive order on this subject from President Roosevelt back in June, 1941, by his threatened march on Washington. The executive order against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces is another such monument; Mr. Randolph obtained this order from President Truman by his public campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces. The 1964 Civil Rights Act is still another; Mr. Randolph's leadership of the 1963 March on Washington was a significant milestone in the enactment of that historic law. And there are other monuments too: the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, integration of railway labor, the Freedom Budget and still more here and to come.

One cannot help wondering in this time of turmoil just what it was that made this one man accomplish so incredibly much. He himself at his birthday party earlier this month appeared to believe that it was because he had always "tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence, and integration." And indeed these principles had and have few if any more eloquent spokesmen. But it may be fair to suggest that Mr. Randolph's accomplishments flowed no more from the correctness of these strongly held principles than from the integrity with which he held them. Mr. Randolph eschewed demagoguery; he said what he believed and lived up to every word he spoke. Often a victim of discrimination himself, his dynamic integrity brought him, in Mr. Justice Holmes's words, "near to an ideal" and one all the more significant in troublous times.

JOSEPH L. RAUH JR.

Washington.

See today's editorial: "The Long Way Around . . ."

The Post 5/17/67

Happy 80th Birthday A. Philip Randolph!

By Bayard Rustin, Exec. Dir.
of A. Philip Randolph Institute

A. Philip Randolph, who celebrated his 80th birthday on Tuesday, Apr. 15, is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice and equality in America.

He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice. He has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the customed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) and then moved north where he studied at City College of New York. In 1914, Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration and economic equality.

THE "MESSENGER"

The principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in the "Messenger," a magazine Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism.

Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the confusing and confusing of times. In the twenties, he fought integration against Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," today guides his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. He has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

MET OPPOSITION

Randolph's efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders, who tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers striking for just demands.

Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves. He embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Randolph is an AFL-CIO vice president and there are [illegible] million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not [illegible] this crusade. In 1925, he began the campaign to [illegible] the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Despite [illegible]sistance from railway companies and the hardships [illegible]epression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of Randolph's victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with sophistication achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and dedication. It is not surprising that E.D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood. His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his [illegible] concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Randolph became increasingly distressed about exclusion of Negroes from jobs in defense industries. To correct this, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. Before long, local "March on Washington" committees sprang up across the country.

As the March began to assume larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 25, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Randolph traveled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands. It is a testament to his achievement that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

CONCEIVED 1863 MARCH

Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great 1963 March on Washington, which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

And today, at the age of 80, he is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for black Americans.

Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

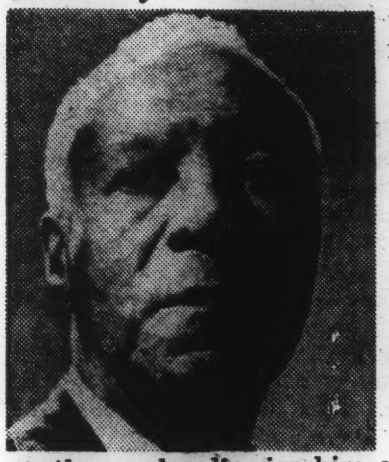
He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his eightieth year, A. Philip Randolph continues to point the way to justice, freedom and equality for black Americans.

(Reprinted courtesy of [illegible])

To A. Philip Randolph at 80

This is the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph and Gov. Rockefeller has declared it an occasion for official state observance. No doubt such ceremonial recognition will be construed by some young "militants" as proof that Randolph has been absorbed by the Establishment. But in the long run of history his name and his deeds will endure after many headline warriors of the moment are forgotten.



For Randolph the battle for human dignity and equality has not been a matter of Utopian rhetoric. It was the organization under fire of sleeping car porters into a union that liberated them from ignoble serfdom. It was a wartime confrontation with Franklin D. Roosevelt that led to creation of a Fair Employment Practice Committee, opening a thousand factory gates to excluded Negroes and breaking the color line in many lily-white unions. It was the initiation of the Freedom March of 1963. It has been a dramatic, eloquent presence in innumerable struggles for tangible goals on many fronts.

In a time of resurgent, dead-end separatism, there are those who dismiss him as old-fashioned. They speak nonsense. His grace, wisdom, eloquence and dedication have given inspiration and hope to many men, and changed many things. He has been one of the tallest men of his time, and he will loom even larger when the full story is written.

N.Y. Post 5/15/69

The Negro In Our History

April 13, 1758—Francis Williams, one of the first U.S. Negro college graduates, published a poem in Latin.

April 14, 1775—First abolition society in U.S. was founded.

April 15, 1787—The African Methodist Episcopal church began functioning under the leadership of its founder, Richard Allen.

April 15, 1843—Richard Henry Boyd, pioneer Baptist leader-publisher, born in Noxubee county, Mississippi.

April 15, 1889—A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and AFL-CIO vice president, was born in Crescent City, Fla.

April 16, 1862—Colonization plan rejected by Negroes.

April 17, 1918—Needham Roberts and Henry Johnson destroyed more than 20 Germans while on sentry duty during World War I.

April 17, 1919—Birth of the late Nat "King" Cole, popular singer, in Montgomery, Ala.

April 18, 1723—Gov. Drummer of Massachusetts accused Negro fugitive slaves of arson in Boston.

April 18, 1921—Robert R. Church, Sr., former slave who became one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Tennessee, died at age 74.

April 19, 1723—An ordinance was passed in Boston which prohibited Negroes, mulattoes and Indians from congregating in the streets.

April 19, 1912—Birth of Mahalia Jackson, one of the nation's leading Gospel singers.

Sac. Observer 5/8

RANDOLPH: LEADER

A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) and then moved North where he continued his studies at the City College of New York.

In 1914, Mr. Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration, and economic equality, which he has adhered to throughout his life.

These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in THE MESSENGER, a magazine that Mr. Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920's, he argued for integration against the Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

His efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today, Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Today, Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

Randolph at 80 Inspires Blacks . . . of all Ages

Rustin is execu- [illegible] tor of the A. Philip [illegible] Institute and vet- [illegible] rights spokes-

[illegible] Bayard Rustin

[illegible] can Newspaper Alliance

[illegible] YORK (NANA) — A. [illegible] Randolph is perhaps [illegible] test leader of the [illegible] struggle for dignity, [illegible] and equality in Am- [illegible] has devoted more [illegible] ears of his long and [illegible] us life to writing, [illegible] and organizing against racial injustice, and [illegible] spired three gener- [illegible] activists to follow [illegible] ple. By virtue of [illegible] rts he has [illegible] title of "Dean of [illegible] nts."

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[illegible] 4, Randolph married [illegible] E. Green, a former [illegible] school teacher. [illegible] these early [illegible] extensively in [illegible] losophy, economics, and [illegible] litical science and devel- [illegible] a commitment to the [illegible] ciples of democracy, [illegible] violence, integration, [illegible] economic equality, which [illegible] has adhered to throug[illegible] his life.

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In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

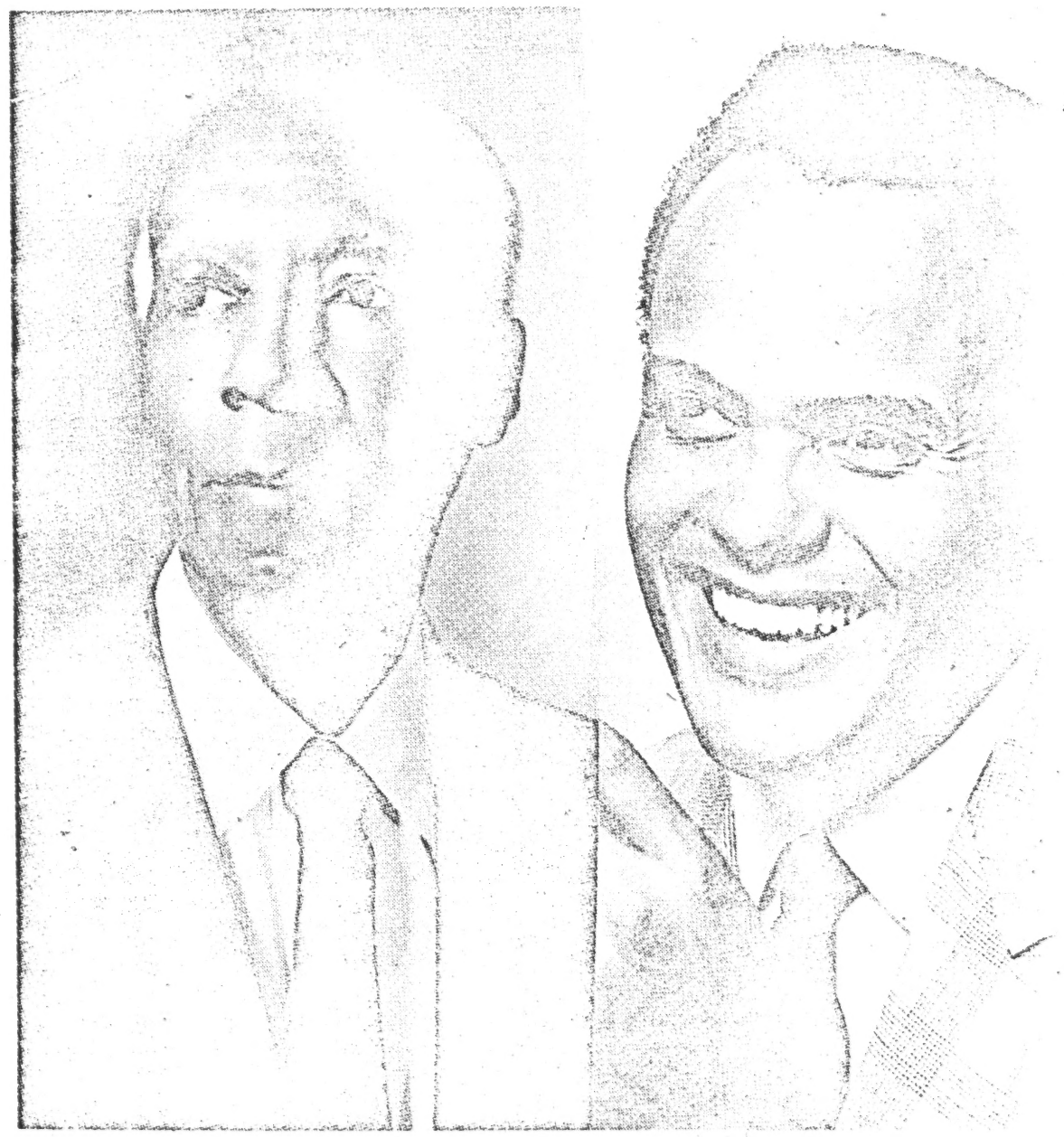
Craham Crackers

BY GLADYS P. GRAHAM
International Editor

FLORIDA'S MAN OF LABOR HONORED WITH DOCTORATE FOR ACHIEVEMENT SPAN

Florida born and globally known leader A. Philip Randolph humanitarian and many of vision along with Harry Belafonte gifted entertainer civil rights advocate were both awarded honorary degrees (honoris causa) by the New School of Social Research in New York City in pomp and splendor at a special Half-Century Convocation at the Plaza Hotel which Chronicle's International Editor witnessed among the1000 ghests attending the event which formally opened the New School's golden anniversary celebration.

Also receiving honorary degrees with Mr. Randolph and Harry Belafonte was William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve System's Board of Governors. Orin Lehman, chairman of the Board of Trustees, presided with President John R. Everett presenting the degrees.



Floridian Randolph campaign to end segregation in the Armed Forces his direction of the civil rights March on Washington among contributions has gained him the nation highest citizen award- the Presidential Medal of Freedom among other awards from near and afar where his pro gentleman scholar and f fighter are without precedent

Amsterdam News
3/29/69

meet the qualifications.

To Pay Tribute To Randolph

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, will head a committee to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on his 80th birthday on May 6.

A fund of $250,000 will be sought as a birthday tribute to Randolph, who is also a vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to carry on his lifework through the A. Philip Randolph Institute, whose offices are at 260 Park Ave. South.

Former President Johnson, former Vice President Humphrey, Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay are joining national leaders, industrialists, educators, political leaders and clergymen of all faiths to sponsor the tribute to Randolph, said Bayard Rustin, executive director of the Randolph Institute.

The institute was founded in 1964 "to mobilize the nation's resources, white and black, in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens."

Fort Pierce, Fla.
Chronicle
3/13/69

pg. 1

Great Tribute Being Planned For Civil Rights Leader On 80th Birth Anniversary

BY GLADYS P. GRAHAM
International Editor

An A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader, it was announced by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Highlighting the tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. Other events are planned as well. Goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Mr. Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.

Sponsors of the birthday tribute, for which Justice Marshall and Mr. Meany are Chairmen, include national labor leaders, industrialists, educators, clergy of all faiths, and political leaders including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Birthday Committee are Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; C. E. Dellums, President, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP: Whitney Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League. Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Emeritus, Morehouse College, will serve as Treasurer.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Mr. Rustin recounted Mr. Randolph's achievements as the "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change," Mr. Rustin stated, "and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the nation's resources --white and black-- in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens. In working with those white forces which represent social progress--organized labor, religious groups, liberals and students--the Institute's objective is to forge a new and dynamic unity between whites and Negroes.

DAILY NEWS, MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1969

Little Old NEW YORK

By ED SULLIVAN

undergo eye surgery. . . . Rose Marie and fiance, Mogens Hilborg, at H'wood Beecheombers. A table away, Sacha Distel with Michele Mantau.

Gov. Rockefeller, Archbishop Terence Cooke, Mayor Lindsay, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, Arthur Goldberg, Roy Wilkins and George Meany at May 6 dinner for 80-year-old A. Philip Randolph, at Waldorf. He deserves it! . . . Son for the Peter (CBS) Hyamses. Peter is Sol Hurok's grandson. . . . Walt Disney exec Jim Stewart and Sally Sturday honeymooning. . . . Heavyweight Jerry Quarry, at Joe's Pier 52, said he'll become a September dad. . . . "Dear World," "Mame," "Cabaret" and "George M" on twofers. . . . The Alan Kings, Pat Henry, Robert Alda at El Morocco. . . . Sam (Times) Zolotow retires May 1?

Bob Doyle reminds me that 33d annual CYO golf

Amsterdam News
4/12/69

Birthday Tribute To Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, for more than half a century the outstanding black figure among America's labor leaders, will be tendered an 80th birthday celebration on Sunday, April 20, at the Salem Methodist Church, Seventh Ave. at 129th St.

More than 4,000 persons including City, State and federal government officials, are expected to turn out in honor of Randolph who has been called the "dean of black labor," according to James E. Smith who is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow committee which is sponsoring the tribute.

"An A. Philip Randolph comes along once in a lifetime," said L. Joseph Overton, business agent of Local 338 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes Union, who is one of the leaders in planning the Randolph tribute.

"In my books," Overton said, "he stands as one of the great Americans of our time. It's only fitting that everyone in New York City, particularly our black brothers, turn out for this occasion."

Randolph was a main force, morally and strategically, in both the planned 1943 March on Washington and the executed 1963 March on Washington, both of which culminated in substantial civil rights advances.

A marching unit of the Youth Development Agency is scheduled to escort Randolph from his home in the Dunbar Apartments at 150th St. and Seventh Ave. to Salem Church.

TIMES UNION
ALBANY, N. Y.
D. 71,675 SUN. 145,169

MAY 8 1969

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER'S BIRTHDAY MARKED—Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, shakes the hand of civil rights crusader A. Philip Randolph as New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller applauds during party honoring Randolph on his 80th birthday at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City Tuesday night. (AP Wirephoto)

The Herald
HACKENSACK, N. J.
D. 147,484
MAY 14 1969

A Strength Beyond Power

A. Philip Randolph At Age 80 Calls Again For Struggle In The Name And Form Of Decency

By A. Philip Randolph
North American Newspaper Alliance

I HAVE COME a long way these past eighty years, and am deeply grateful and humbled for the honors I have received along the way. But, as I pass this milestone, I feel an urgent need for a rededication to a cause to which I have contributed my energies and to principles to which I have dedicated my life.

The cause has been the liberation of the Negro in America.

I have seen fit in this endeavor to try to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement. I have been guided by the belief that Negroes are a working people and that because of their history on American soil—a history of suffering and tragedy but also of struggle, endurance, dignity, and ultimately a history of human triumph—that because of this history they have been a dispossessed people who have often had to migrate thousands of miles in search of the means of subsistence.

I HAVE NOT been alone in my efforts. In 1925, almost a half a century ago, I and my colleagues founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In our struggle to build the union we faced destitution and continual harassment, but we did build it, and our struggle conferred upon us collectively a certain dignity. With this victory, not only did my brothers and I in the union improve the conditions under which we lived and worked, but we were enabled to reach beyond ourselves to our brothers and sisters on the plantations and in the ghettos.

The Negro masses awakened in 1941. They challenged the President of the United States to integrate the defense industries and all other places of public employment.

And they were victorious.

The Negro masses were in motion. They were removing the mark of oppression from their brow and the burden of economic misery from their body. They cannot now be satisfied with anything less than total liberation.

Our rededication in these trying days is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved.

In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence, and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our ongoing struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

We must reject confrontationism and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence. And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration.

WE CANNOT reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within.

Freedom is never granted; it is won.

Justice is never given; it is exacted.

But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundaries of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity toward one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency.

And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, at peace with each other and with themselves.

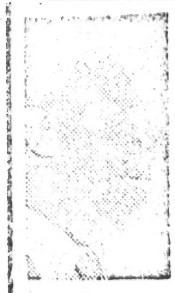
CONWAY STUDIOS

A. Philip Randolph

'The human potential for kindness and decency.'

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 82,123

MAY 10 1969



Billy Rowe's Note Book

By BILLY ROWE

Look Who Came To Dine

This seems to be the dine-out-for-a-cause season both at home and afar. If you can afford from twenty-five to a hundred bucks, you can rub knees with the almost rich and the favorite guests of the power structure. In most cases the cause is legit enough to be tax deducted so by and large the tab is on "Uncle Sam." A column or so ago the ICBO and the Catholic Interracial Council ran head-on with their dinner affair. The Catholic charity bash was honoring Whitney Young Jr. at $100 per plate while the ICBO was doing its feeding at $25 per. Both suffered, but more people coughed-up the twenty five.

I felt that it was too bad that both affairs should fall on the same night because everybody should have heard what Whitney had to say when he was honored by the interracial group with its Brotherhood Award. On Tuesday, A. Phillip Randolph, the grand gentleman of the fight for right, was honored by a house-full of friends and some foes on his 80th. b'day. The next issue around I will report some of the things a roster of 14 speakers had to say about him.

Getting back to the N'York Urban League's annual Frederick Douglass feed, it wasn't so much who came to dine, but who added a century note to that organization's bid for equality. The bash at the Americana Hotel brought out a bulging crowd. Its souvenir-journal was as fat as a politican's and the huge ballroom was so jammed, close understanding friends of the League and the also-ran had to be seated in the wings. Just about everybody was there as the middle of the roaders and the militants mixed happily during a one-nite feast of peace. Executive director Livingston Wingate attempted to bring this out in his talk, but the real impact got lost in his desire to embrace too many points of view. The program itself played second fiddle to the impact of the grand audience as too many little things were done on the biggest nite in the history of the local league. Notwithstanding the committees responsible for the event deserves a big ovation for it isn't important what those who are with the League have to say, but what they do.

Schenectady Gazette
SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
D. 55,934

MAY 12 1969

An Appeal

A testimonial dinner was held in New York for A. Philip Randolph, the 80-year-old labor and civil rights leader. He said, in part, in an address:

"In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our ongoing struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles. We must reject confrontationism and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest. We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and, together with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom..."

Mr. Randolph's plea for the use of democratic means of petition is as applicable to whites as to black youths. It is a growing tragedy that confrontation is being resorted to in so many instances. Confrontation implies the use or the threat of force.

Violence or the threat of violence replaces the democratic procedures. It cannot result in justice, whether it is resorted to by blacks or by whites, by youths or by elders, by those on campus or off campus, by those in high position or low, by the minority or the majority.

Mr. Randolph's plea is an appeal for reason.

MT. CLEMENTS, MICH.
MACOMB DAILY
— D. 41,686 —
DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA

APR 17 1989

Rudolph
80th Bir

In Our Opinion

Civil Rights Struggle Began With Randolph

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

In 1941, Randolph's plan for a massive Negro march on Washington convinced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

In 1948, his influence and authority were behind another executive order by another president, Harry Truman, initiating integration in the armed forces.

In 1963, he conceived and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph was 80 on April 15 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

POMEROY-MIDDLEPORT, OHIO
SENTINEL
D. 5,123

APR 18 1969

Towering Black Leader

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LOGAN, W. VA.
BANNER
D. 8,992

APR 18 1969

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NEW YORK, N.Y.
MANHATTAN TRIBUNE
W.-CIRC.N.AVAIL.

APR 19 1969

HAPPY BIRTHDAY.

CELEBRATES. A. Philip Randolph, veteran civil rights leader and past president and founder of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, celebrated his 80th birthday Monday. Gov. Rockefeller proclaimed the day A. Philip Randolph Day in his honor.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
COURIER
NATIONAL EDITION (N)
W.130,000 COMB.CIRC.OF ALL
EDITIONS

APR 12 1969

NATIONAL HOTLINE

By Diggs Dalrooth

Distributed by Sengstacke Publications

SIDE LIGHTS OF HIGH LIGHTS: Although the pundits and the militants have long contended that civil rights as an issue is dead, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights last week upset HEW with its sharply worded statement seeking a clarification of that agency's school desegregation guidelines. The statement came over Robert Mardian's alleged suggestion that HEW Secretary Bob Finch "go easy" on Federal guidelines. Mardian is the general counsel of HEW, HEW "spokesmen" attempted to alibi that Mardian's urging was "not official." . . . One should chortle too loudly over George Wallace's defeat in Tennessee's congressional election last week. Wallace's man went down to defeat desipte the Alabaman's personal stumping the countryside. The rivals brought in help, too. The Republican had Rep. Gerald Ford; the black candidate had Dick Gregory, and Democrat winner, Ed Jones, had only the issue of "outsiders." This became the watchword and all side issues paled before it.

TRIBUTE: A. Philip Randolph, the grand old man of human rights, will have his eightieth birthday honored by a Nation of grateful people. Randolph who has been on the firing line longer than many, is being honored by a national committee composed of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and AFL-CIO's George Meany, who once asked him "Who in the hell said you speak for Negroes?" When hordes of telegrams and editorials in the black press assured Meany that Randolph did indeed speak for Negroes, the labor union chief took a new look at the head of the Sleeping Car Porters Union. The gilt edged committee includes women, labor industrialists and freedom fighters. . . . Nathan Hare, who sparked the Howard U. strife here and went on to be booted from San Francisco State, has vowed that acting president S. I. Hayakawa "must go." Dr. Hare intends to be on campus as a professor in exile . . . The poor of Applachia shouldn't be too concerned. The Fairfax County Board of Supervisors has asked the U.S. to relax "overly stringent" rules on outhouses.

THE TIMES RECORD
TROY, N. Y.
D. 42,181

APR 19 1969

A Man Of 80

As the black people of this country quest for the leadership that can lead them to a life of equality, there could be no better one at this point than A. Philip Randolph, who, now celebrating his 80th birthday, becomes the subject of a proclamation by Governor Rockefeller and who will be the subject of public acclaim in New York on May 6.

This man who, among the black militants, is considered passe, fifty years ago was labeled "the most dangerous Negro in America." Today his beliefs and his goals are deemed progressive and the epitome of justice.

He was the leader in the move to break Jim Crow practices in organized labor. He strove for years and only now, while in retirement, he is beginning to see the fruits of his labor. In general, he favored and promoted the forward progress of blacks and whites together. He sees the need for black identity but says that, with some present leadership, it can be overcome.

This is a man who has done so much for the black people that there never can be repayment. It was done quietly but forcefully and often in such way that the credit went elsewhere. At 80, A. Philip Randolph may well be the model for the prophet spoken of as going unhonored among his own.

Trenton Evening Times
TRENTON, N. J.
D. 81,855

APR 16 1969

Randolph At 80

A. Philip Randolph, 80 yesterday, is rounding out a courageous and constructive life.

Mr. Randolph, who retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was the chief founder of that organization in 1925. A Negro, he organized the Negro labor union at a time when the organization of a union even by white men was a dangereous and desperate business.

A civil rights activist whose primary aim was to unite all the scattered segments of the working class — the Negro included — he made tremendous contributions to the rights cause. For one thing, he organized Negroes for a March on Washington in the early days of World War II to protest discrimination in government and in the defense plants; the march was called off after the threat of it had literally forced President Roosevelt to sign an executive order banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

A socialist and gadfly, Mr. Randolph produced radical writings and made soapbox speeches in an earlier era that prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

Neither the Justice Department nor anyone else would call him that today. Most will join, at least in spirit, in the tribute planned for him on May 6, at which, it is hoped, $250,000 will be raised to carry out his life's work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Baltimore Afro-American
P. 2800

APR 16 1969

To Be Equal

Legendary Black Militant Turns 80

By WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR.

It's hard to believe, but one of the most revered figures in the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph, was 80 years old yesterday. Still vigorous, Phil Randolph has become a legend in his own time.

It's easy to be militant today—everyone is. But Phil Randolph was militant back in the early part of this century when lynching was still a favorite Southern pastime and Northern racism was rampant.

In those bitter days, Randolph edited a radical news magazine, The Messenger, and spoke at meetings all over the country. I remember, as a young man in Louisville, Ky., listening spellbound to Randolph's rolling tones and splendid oratory.

EIGHTY YEARS fighting for the full rights of black people and the oppressed everywhere have left many memories, many high points. I recall marching with Phil Randolph in the 1963 March on Washington, and other events in which he took part or in which he was a guiding figure, but I think two of his greatest accomplishments were the organization of his union and his role in getting a fair employment practice proclamation in 1941.

A. Philip Randolph is probably best known as the longtime head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized in 1925. Have you any idea of what it meant to organize any workers, but especially black workers in those days?

It is easy now to forget that unions didn't get full bargaining rights until the 1930s and that people used to work six and even seven day-weeks for a dollar a day. Those were the days when goon squads roughed up and even killed union organizers. And if things were bad for white workers, you can imagine what they must have been for black workers who had the courage to stand up for their rights.

BUT THE brotherhood defied the opposition of management and it negotiated wage increases and better working conditions even before it was formally recognized in 1937. The union also helped black workers in other fields, for here was a black-run labor organization that stood up for the rights of the Negro worker. Phil Randolph became the Negro's voice within the labor movement, constantly prodding it to support equality. He formed the American Negro Labor Council to eliminate discrimination from labor's ranks and he continues this fight to the present day.

Most people, though, will remember Phil Randolph for calling, in January, 1941, for a march on Washington. The nation was starting to come out of a great depression that lasted for a decade. Defense factories were booming and workers in them were getting high wages. But blacks were left out. Out of 30,000 defense workers in the New York area, less than 200 were black.

Phil Randolph and other leaders tried to get the president to do something about this, but Jim Crow was still riding high in those days. The nation was preparing for a war to preserve democracy, but it denied the most elementary democratic rights to black citizens.

SO PHIL RANDOLPH, in the days when "black power" had yet to captivate the press told black citizens, "you have power," but "our problem is to hitch it up for action on the broadest, most daring, and most gigantic scale."

Official Washington flew into a panic. Mrs. Roosevelt, Cabinet secretaries and other top people put pressure on Randolph to call off the march. But civil rights agencies like the Urban League and the NAACP closed ranks behind him and the March was scheduled for July 1.

On June 25, President Roosevelt gave in and signed an executive order prohibiting discrimination in defense industries and setting up a fair employment practices commission that became the model for later federal job action.

IT IS ALL too easy to become swept up by the latest fashions and the latest angry voices, and to forget the accomplishments of brave men like A. Philip Randolph. It is fitting the whole nation should say: "Thank you and happy birthday, Phil Randolph."

OLEAN, N. Y.
TIMES HERALD
D. 21,000

APR 17 1969

A. Philip Randolph

Editorial Comment

Towering Black Leader

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

In the 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which met fierce resistance from the railway companies and became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Thanks largely to Randolph, who among other things is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, there are today two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity and job security.

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In 1963, he conceived and directed the famous March on Washington, one of the landmarks in the civil rights struggle.

A. Philip Randolph became 80 on April 15 and remains passionately committed to the principles of democracy, nonviolence, integration and economic equality.

Those who demand more teaching about black heroes in the nation's schools could do far worse than begin with the study of this man's life.

The Observer-Dispatch
UTICA, N. Y.
D. 45,005 SUN. 58,143

APR 19 1969

Outstanding Black Leader

In an active and useful life that spans eight decades, A. Philip Randolph was a leader in the field of civil rights before the fathers of some of today's self-appointed black spokesmen were born.

* * *

IN THE 1920s, he fought for integration against the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes the movement for black separatism.

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NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
W. 28,576 (M)

APR 19 1969

Happy Birthday, Mr. Randolph

THIS WEEK one of America's truly great men — A. PHILIP RANDOLPH — celebrated his 80th birthday.

MR. RANDOLPH'S extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. PHILIP RANDOLPH has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled—often against incredible odds—to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress — organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few causes for freedom with which A. PHILIP RANDOLPH has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. PHILIP RANDOLPH on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee was formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

The Flint Journal
FLINT, MICH.
D. 111,376 SUN. 110,756

APR 14 1969

New York to Honor Randolph at 80 Years

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.

Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 82,123

APR 19 1969

Randolph at Salem

A. Philip Randolph, one of Harlem's outstanding figures and layman of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, will be honored at 2 p.m. Sunday on the eve of his 80th birthday by Metropolitan Opera star Leontyne Price, actor Ossie Davis and the Minisink Tapawingo Choir at Salem Methodist Church, Seventh Ave. and 129th St.

Randolph, who is president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, is a member of Bethel AME Church at 52 W. 132nd St. By the way, Roy Wilkins happens to be a member of Bethel Church, too.

CHICAGO
Daily Defender
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
D. 37,506

APR 17 1969

Randolph-Great Leader

A. Philip Randolph, the grand old champion of labor and of human rights, celebrated his 80th birthday Tuesday. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no other American, black or white, has consecrated so much energy and devoted so many years to the cause of justice and equality as has Randolph.

The history of the epic struggle he waged on behalf of black labor and hunmanity at large spans nearly three quarters of a century. He has inspired three generations of civil rights activists to follow his example.

But Randolph is not only a fearless crusader for social justice, he is also a profound student of contemporary economics and his scholarly views have caused many captains of industry to reconsider their narrow judgment on the relation of labor to production and investment capital.

It was his threat to organize tens of thousands of black men and women to march on the nation's capital in the early stages of the Second World War that forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 outlawing racial discrimination in defense plants. The Fair Employment Practices Commission grew out of his commitment.

Again, Randolph was the moving spirit in the old National Negro Congress which sought to mobilize the nation's democratic forces to redress wrongs and translate the democratic process into actuality.

It was Randolph's insistence and influence that brought an end to the Pullman Porters strike, forcing the Pullman Company to bargain with them for wages and preorgatives that were never before contemplated.

It is difficult to measure in exact term the full extent of the influence radiated by Randolph in the varying endeavors into which he poured his intellectual and/kinetic energy. His grasp of the complexities of social and political dilemmas and the impact of his personality on the outcome of many relevant issues are incomputable.

One this 80th anniversary of A. Philip Randolph—one of the greatest figures in contemporary American history — we proudly doff our hats.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR
KANSAS CITY, MO.
D. 327,623 SUN. 396,260

APR 14 1969

New York Labor Leader Has Own Day

New York (AP)—Tomorrow will be A. Philip Randolph day in New York state, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old tomorrow, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the executive committee of the AFL-CIO.

Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

Randolph

EVENING JOURNAL
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
D. 89,134

APR 14 1969

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SPARTANBURG, S. C.
JOURNAL
D. 11,500

APR 14 1969

In His Honor

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Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

GREENVILLE, N. C.
REFLECTOR
D. 10,500

APR 14 1969

State To Honor Philip Randolph

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights and campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.

The New Haven Register
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
D. 106,570 SUN. 121,792

APR 14 1969

New York Proclaims Philip Randolph Day

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

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Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

LANCASTER, PA.
NEW ERA
D. 55,000

APR 14 1969

New York 'Day'

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LOS ANGELES, CAL.
SOUTHEAST WAVE-STAR
W 29 000

APR 3 1969

Group honors labor leader

Testimonial dinner to honor A. Philip Randolph, Negro labor leader, on his eightieth birthday April 15, was given last week by the United Negro Labor Community council at Rodger Young auditorium.

Keynote speaker was Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph institute of New York. Randolph has dedicated his life to the integration of the Negro in the economic, social, and political life of America.

Ledger-Star
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
D. 104,580

APR 14 1969

Civil Rights Pioneer Honored In New York

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the Executive Committee of

Rockefeller cited Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."
the AFL-CIO.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
SOUTHWEST TOPICS-WAVE
TW. 30,265

APR 3 1969

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THE BLADE
TOLEDO, OHIO
D. 172,008 SUN. 183,093

APR 14 1969

Rockefeller Sets Randolph Day

NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Mr. Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the executive committee of the AFL-CIO.

Mr. Rockefeller cited Mr. Randolph's "pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public weal."

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL
AKRON, OHIO
D. 175,179 SUN. 199,950

APR 14 1969

Tuesday Is Randolph Day

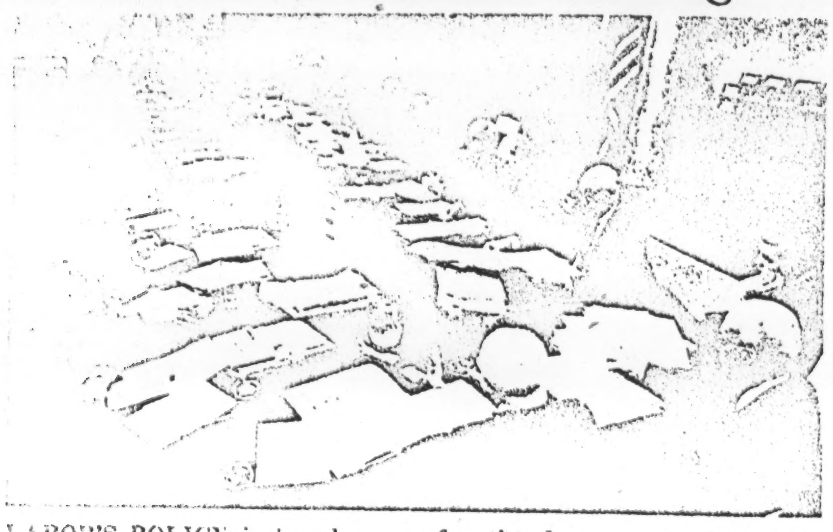
NEW YORK (AP) — Tuesday will be A. Philip Randolph Day in New York State, by proclamation of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Randolph, 80 years old Tuesday, has been active in civil rights campaigns for many years and founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He serves on the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
TRADES UNIONIST
W.29,000

MAR 8 1969

AFL-CIO Council Meeting



LABOR'S POLICY in broad areas of national concern is shaped by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its mid-winter meeting. Council actions dealt with problems of labor, the nation and the world.

Council Action

AFL-CIO federation president George Meany said he was "delighted," for example, that the President had ordered a study on coverage of farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act. The outlook on this matter ond others requiring legislation, he said, will depend on the attitude of the Administration and leadership from the White House.

The council gave preference as an early order of business to the fine imposed on the New York local of the Teachers, voting to contribute $100,000 toward payment of the fine and naming a two-man committee to raise the rest of the $220,000 imposed by the court.

The council saluted the United Federation of Teachers and its president, Albert Shanker, and assured him and members of the local "of the firm, continuing, pratical support of the entire trade union movement in the campaign to give teachers the rights and benefits to which they are entitled."

In other actions the council:

- Strongly reaffirmed support for the farm workers strike and boycott of California table grapes, declaring "we are determined that they succeed and we intend to help them every inch of the way." It added that labor awaits with "great interest" the Administration report on coverage of farm workers under the national labor law.
- Called for rejection of the proposed Uniform Consumer Credit Code by the individual states on an "as is" basis and urged amendments to get rid of the worst features of the code designed as a "model" law on consumer credit.
- Urged a single coordinating unit for day care centers at the federal level to meet the increasing need for such programs as well as changes in existing federal law to permit employer contributions to trust funds established by collective bargaining to provide for such programs.
- Called for updating the Hill-Burton Act to provide grants-in-aid for the development of complete health services and not just health facilities, along with comprehensive health systems.
- Called on Congress to restore budget cuts and provide all necessary funds to make the 1968 vocational education law operative, expressing its grave concern at the cutbacks.

(See page 3)

Council Action

(From page 1)

- Rallied all unionist to support the 80th birthday celebration of A. Philip Randolph in New York May 6 and to contribute to the fund to be established in Randolph's name to finance voter education and registration projects in Negro communities.
- Voted support for the Oil Workers strike against companies that have still not signed the agreement reached with other companies and called for all possible assistance from affiliates and state and local central bodies.
- Urged affiliates to lend whatever support they can to the Upholsterers union in its dispute with Economy Furniture of Austin, Tex.
- Reaffirmed its support of the U.S. Savings Bonds payroll savings plan but urged that the interest rates on the bonds be increased to the average interest rate on U.S. notes issued during the previous year.

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
W. 28,576 (N)

APR 19 1969 Byfieller

To Be EQUAL

By

WHITNEY M. YOUNG

To Phil Randolph

IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE, but one of the most revered of figures in the civil rights movement, A. Philip Randolph, will be 80 years old, April 15. Still vigorous, Phil Randolph has become a legend in his own time.

It's easy to be militant today — everyone is. But Phil Randolph was militant back in the early part of this century, when lynching was still a favorite Southern pastime, and Northern racism was rampant.

In those bitter days, Randolph edited a radical news magazine, THE MESSENGER, and spoke at meetings all over the country. I remember, as a young man in Louisville, Kentucky, listening spellbound to Randolph's rolling tones and splendid oratory.

Eighty years fighting for the full rights of black people and the oppressed everywhere have left many memories, many high points. I recall marching with Phil Randolph in the 1963 March on Washington, and other events in which he took part or in which he was a guiding figure, but I think two of his greatest accomplishments were the organization of his union and his role in getting a fair employment practice proclamation in 1941.

Pioneer Organizer Of Workers

A. Philip Randolph is probably best known as the long-time head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized in 1925. Have you any idea of what it meant to organize any workers, but especially black workers in those days?

It is easy now to forget that unions didn't get full bargaining rights until the 1930's and that people used to work six and even seven day-weeks for a dollar a day. Those were the days when goon squads roughed up and even killed union organizers. And if things were bad for white workers, you can imagine what they must have been for black workers who had the courage to stand up for their rights.

But the Brotherhood defied the opposition of management, and it negotiated wage increases and better working conditions even before it was formally recognized in 1937. The union also helped black workers in other fields, for here was a black-run labor organization that stood up for the rights of the Negro worker. Phil Randolph became the Negro's voice within the labor movement, constantly prodding it to support equality. He formed the American Negro Labor Council to eliminate discrimination from labor's ranks and he continues this fight to the present day.

Most people, though, will remember Phil Randolph for calling, in January, 1941, for a March on Washington. The nation was starting to come out of a Great Depression that lasted for a decade. Defense factories were booming, and workers in them were getting high wages. But blacks were left out. Out of 30,000 defense workers in the New York area, less than 200 were black.

Phil Randolph and other leaders tried to get the President to do something about this, but Jim Crow was still riding high in those days. The nation was preparing for a war to preserve democracy, but it denied the most elementary democratic rights to black citizens.

He Told of 'Power' Years Ago

So Phil Randolph, in the days when "Black Power" had yet to captivate the press told black citizens, "you have power," but "our problem is to hitch it up for action on the

(Continued on next page)

To Phil Randolph

(Continued from preceding page)

broadest, most daring, and most gigantic scale."

Official Washington flew into a panic. Mrs. Roosevelt, Cabinet secretaries, and other top people put pressure on Randolph to call off the March. But civil rights agencies like the Urban League and the NAACP closed ranks behind him and the March was scheduled for July 1.

On June 25, President Roosevelt gave in and signed an executive order prohibiting discrimination in defense industries and setting up a fair employment practices commission that became the model for later federal job action.

It is all too easy to become swept up by the latest fashions and the latest angry voices, and to forget the accomplishments of brave men like A. Philip Randolph. It is fitting that the whole nation should say "Thank you and Happy Birthday, Phil Randolph."

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LAMAZOO GAZETTE
KALAMAZOO, MICH.
D. 57,224 SUN. 59,028

R 13 1969

uality Fighter In His 80th Year

. Philip Randolph Called Dean Of

By BAYARD RUSTIN
North American Newspaper Alliance

W YORK — A. Philip Randolph is ps the greatest leader of the Negro gle for dignity, justice, and equal- n America. He has devoted more 60 years of his long and courageous o writing, speaking and organizing nst racial injustice, and he has red three generations of activists to v his example. By virtue of these s he has won the esteemed title of n of civil rights."

Philip Randolph was born in Cres- City, Fla., April 15, 1889. His father an itinerant minister of the African odist Episcopal Church.

attended Cookman Institute (later d Bethune-Cookman College) and moved north where he continued his es at the City College of New k.

1914, Randolph married Lucille E. n, a former Virginia school teach-

ing these early years he read sively in philosophy, economics, political science and developed a itment to the principles of democ- non-violence, integration, and eco- equality, which he has adhered to out his life.

These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in "The Messenger," a magazine that Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920s, he argued for integration against the Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

His efforts met strong opposition from southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH
Never Abandoned His Ideals

to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Today, Randolph is an AFL-CIO vice-president and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today, Randolph is international president emeritus

His tremendous struggle for the has been guided for their economic

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Before long, loo ington" committe across the countr began to assume portions, the pr Franklin Roosevel 20, 1941, less than scheduled date of dent issued Execu ning discrimination and setting up Practices Committ jobs were opened u

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Today, Randolph is international president emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To correct this injustice, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro march on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local "March on Washington" committees had sprung up across the country, and as the march began to assume larger and larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Randolph travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Ran
influence and authority were suc
another executive order was soon
to comply with his demands.

Randolph's dedicated and i
leadership has continued throug
period of the modern civil rights
ment.

He conceived and directed the
march on Washington of 1963
brought a quarter of a million bla
white Americans to the nation's
to demand "jobs and freedom
Negroes.

And today, on the eve of his 80th
day, he is the president of the A.
Randolph Institute which is carry
the struggle to achieve economic
and political freedom for Negro
icns.

Randolph stands out among his
Americans as a great and distin
leader who has maintained a de
in the little man and in the capa
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In his eightieth year, A. Phil
dolph continues to point the way
tice, freedom and equality for
Americans.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
RWDSU RECORD
E. O. WEEK 160,000

APR 13 1969

Organizational campaigns and collective bargaining settlements in various parts of the United States and Canada were reported by Sec.-Treas. Alvin E. Heaps, whose report was supplemented by George Barlow, Frank Parker, Gerry Hughes, John Capell and Hank Anderson.

In other actions, the Executive Board:

- Approved a contribution of $1,700 to the family of the late Thomas Felix Jr., a striker who was killed last summer in Jacksonville, Fla. The RWDSU contribution, added to the $3,300 raised by RWDSU locals, will be used to help pay for the education of the seven Felix children.

- Contributed $500 to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the central coordinating agency in Washington which lobbies for civil rights legislation on behalf of all the organizations it represents.

- Approved participation in the A. Philip Randolph 80th birthday celebration in May which will raise funds for causes identified with Randolph.

The New York Times
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 895,505 SUN. 1,445,507

MAY 11 1969

Quotations

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *80-year-old Negro union and civil rights leader:* "In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles."

J. EDGAR HOOVER, *74-year-old director of the F.B.I.:* "I have my plans and aspirations for the future. None of them includes retirement."

JACQUES BARZUN, *Columbia University professor testifying before a Congressional education subcommittee:* "If a student is, in fact, capable of framing curricula he should be given a diploma, not a voice, because he will know everything necessary for earning that diploma."

PROFESSOR HENRY MILLER, *physician and Vice-Chancellor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne University on the issue of medicated survival:* "George Bernard Shaw was full of fun at 90. He would have been worth resuscitating. Some people would not be worth resuscitating at 56."

CLIFTON FADIMAN, *essayist and critic:* "I myself think we're heading into another dark age, but one that won't last long—perhaps 50 to 100 years if the bomb doesn't come. The human race has always gone through this kind of cycle. I see no reason to be melancholy."

CATHY ENGH, *1969 Sweetheart of Sigma Chi at the University of North Dakota:* "What's happening at Cornell and Columbia and places like that—they could be in another country. We don't talk about those places too much here."

Long Island Press
JAMAICA, N. Y.
D. 441,961 SUN. 423,790

MAY 4 1969

TRIBUTE: Anybody who is anybody in labor circles—and others, as well—will pay tribute Tuesday night at the Waldorf Astoria to A. Philip Randolph, "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history."

Commemorating the 80th birthday of the famed leader and civil rights crusader, the testimonial dinner will seek to raise $250,000 to carry on the work of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

AFL-CIO President George Meany will be the principal speaker. Others who will attend the affair include Gov. Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, Terrence Cardinal Cooke, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. and the entire executive council of the AFL-CIO.

Thurgood Marshall and Meany are chairman of the event and the honorary chairmen are Ralph D. Abernathy, C. L. Dellums, Jack Greenberg, Dorothy I. Height, Mrs. King, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins and Whitney M. Young Jr.

* * *

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 82,123

MAY 3 1969

We're Sorry Arthur, We Goofed

ARTHUR POWELL AND MR. RANDOLPH

In last week's Amsterdam News, we had a picture of a group of people presenting our elder labor statesman and civil rights champion A. Philip Randolph with a huge scroll at the birthday celebration given by various organizations at Salem United Methodist Church.

Unfortunately, we inadvertently got the names mixed up of the young people posing with Mr. Randolph: James Smith, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow Scholarship Fund, and Ossie Davis, emcee of the affair. On the honoree's right, standing next to him, was one of tomorrow's spokesmen, a young man named Arthur Powell, who was very surprised to see that we identified him as David Amit, who was the other boy in the group.

Thirteen-year-old Arthur, son of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Powell Sr., made a speech at the program, in tribute to the president-emeritus of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on behalf of the St. Nicholas Project residents and the St. Nicholas Youth Patrol.

Neighbors, friends and relatives thrilled by the young orator's remarks, rushed to get extra copies of the Amsterdam News. In fact, young Mr. Powell, a student at James Fenimore Cooper, JHS 120, admitted, "I even bought the paper before I went to school, Thursday."

What a disapoointment! We had the right picture but the wrong name. Sorry, Arthur, we apologize to you and David Amit for the confusion. We will try to keep those mix-up gremlins out of our paper next time.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
EASTSIDE SUN
TW. 10,154

APR 3 1969

Testimonial Dinner Honors Randolph

A testimonial dinner honoring A. Philip Randolph, the foremost Negro labor leader in the nation, on his 80th birthday April 15th, was held Mar. 29th. Sponsored by the United Negro Labor Community Council, the dinner will take place at 8 p.m. in Rodger Young Auditorium, 936 West Washington Blvd., Los Angeles.

The keynote speaker was Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute of New York. Rustin is a long-time associate of Randolph, and has worked with him to develop the trade union movement in the United States. Randolph has dedicated his life to the integration of the Negro in the economic, social and political life of the United States.

A partial list of the dinner's co-sponsors include Assemblywoman Yvonne Braithwaite, Representatives Augustus Hawkins, Thomas Rees, Geo. E. Brown, Jr., Gleen Anderson, James Corman, State Senator Mervyn Dymally, Assemblyman Leo Ralph Jr., AFL-CIO, District ouncil of Carpenters, Los Angeles Building and Trades Council, L.A. Cloak Joint Board, IUE District Council No. 12, Los Angeles Dress and Sportswear Joint Board, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America Local 713.

For further information call 232-8164.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
MEXICAN-AMERICAN SUN
TW. 10,100

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For further information call 232-8164.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
TRADES UNIONIST
W.29,000

APR 1 9 1969

Birthday Tribute Slated For A. Philip Randolph, 80

New York—AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph celebrated his 80th birthday on Apr. 15 and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller proclaimed the day in his name throughout New York. But the most meaningful tribute is yet to come.

Friends and associates of Randolph, president-emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, will gather at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 6, to pay tribute to his life-long effort to advance civil rights and eliminate poverty.

The goal of the tribute, being organized by the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, is to raise a fund of $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall are co-chairmen of the committee, whose 87 members read like a "who's who" in labor, management, government, religion, civil rights groups, education and entertainment.

DALLAS, TEXAS
EXPRESS
W. 4,935

APR 12 1969

As A Philip Randolph Observes 80th Birthday

NEW YORK -- This spring one of America's truly great men -- A. Philip Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well - know But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled often against incredible odds -- to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new, and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progess - organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten - year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few caused for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TWIN CITY OBSERVER
W. 8,535 (N)

APR 17 1969

EDITORIAL

A. Philip Randolph, thought by many to be the foremost Negro leader in American history, celebrated his 80th birthday this week, and we want to salute this grand old man for a lifetime devoted to the struggle for the black man's freedom.

Perhaps his most noteworthy achievements lie in the long, long battle, often fighting almost single handed, to win dignity for the black worker who had for generations been grievously exploited. His vehicle for this struggle was the creation of an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

Fifty years ago it was standard practice for employers confronted with a strike, or a threat of organization, to send into the countryside recruiting agents to hire black men to replace white men demanding justice on the job through union contracts.

Randolph understood that the only beneficiaries of that practice were the exploiting employers, so he launched a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes. Instead, he advocated the full integration of black workers into the trade union movement.

It wasn't an easy course. He met opposition among blacks desperate for work, and among white union leaders who had little but lip service for the cause of integrating the work force on a basis of equality.

Today, largely because of that crusade against discouraging odds, there are upwards of two million black men and women in trade unions where they share economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
COURIER
W. -CIRC.N.AVAIL. (N)

APR 5 1969

Randolph

This spring one of America's truly great men--A. Philip Randolph--celebrates his 80th birthday.

Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of equality with mankind. He has struggled-often against incredible odds-to achieve freedom for Black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge new and dynamic unity between Black Americans and those other groups which advocate social progress-organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Anericans, a ten year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the very provison of adequate education and medical care for every American.

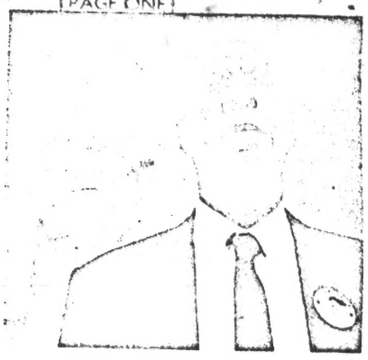
There are few causes for freedom which A. Philip Randdolph has not been associated with in the past 60 years.

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.
PHOTO NEWS
W. 2,370 (N)

APR 1 0 1969

Celebrates 80th Birthday

PAGE ONE



A. Phillip Randolph

NEW YORK, March 25-- This spring one of America's truly great ,em-- A. Phillip Randolph--celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraorinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Phillip Randolph was never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled--often against incredible odds--to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

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(continued on page 16)

A. Phillip Randolph

(continued from page 1)

those other groups which advocate social progress-- organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Institute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few causes for freedom with which A. Phillip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Phillip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Phillip on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
COURIER
NEW YORK EDITION (N)
W. 130,000 COMB. CIRC OF
ALL EDITIONS

APR 5 1969

Leaders Of Tomorrow Plan A. Philip Randolph Fete

PAGE ONE

The A. Philip Randolph "Leaders of Tomorrow"—organized three years ago by the late Mrs. Corrinne Folsom Smith — will draw hundreds of friends of the beloved 80-year-old Mr. Randolph to Salem Methodist Church on Sunday, April 20th, at 2 P.M., to pay deserved tribute to him on his birthday.

A highly interesting Testimonial Program is planned with noted stage, TV and film star Ossie Davis participating.

William Smith, Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow, will serve as testimonial chairman.

BATTLE CREEK, MICH.
ENQUIRER AND NEWS
D. 39,000

APR 14 1969

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH will be 80 Tuesday, and by proclamation of Gov. Rockefeller, that day will honor the man, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the AFL-CIO executive committee.

FLUSHING, N. Y.
QUEENS VOICE
W. 14,000

APR 11 1969

...A. PHILIP RANDOLPH will be honored at May 6th Dinner at The Waldorf...Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay will be among the topnotchers on the diaz .... Quite a few Broadway shows having to resort to "two-fers" to keep going, among which are "Mame", "Cabaret", "Dear World" and "George M" ..."Come Summer" a $400,000 bust
MORGANA KING sensational at Mister Kelly's in Chicago...Peggy Lee and Grady Tate, the drummer, won the plaudits of the Chicago night life reporters for their stint at the Sherman House in Chicago
SARAH VAUGHAN magnificent at Caesars Palace in Las Vegas
...SADLER AND YOUNG at the Cocoanut Grove in Los Angeles..
TIMMIE ROGERS scored at the Skyline Room, Ottawa, Canada, and the management has already inked him for a return date in September. Timmie's recent appearance on the Jackie Gleason TV Show helped a great deal and the night club crowd responded in rounds and rounds of applauding the dapper comic ...BRENDA LEE was a smash hit at the Holiday House in Pittsburgh and had to beg off after an hour on the stage. This was her first appearance in Pittsburgh in five years and the crowd of firstnighters gave her a ten minute ovation when she came on stage. BRAVO !!

The Saginaw News
SAGINAW, MICH.
D. 61,356

APR 19 1969

Trailblazer at 80

From The New York Times

The unionist who was once described by the Department of Justice as "the most dangerous Negro in America" celebrates his eightieth birthday . . . as the recipient of an official proclamation from Governor Rockefeller setting aside the day in his honor. That man is A. Philip Randolph, whose natural dignity has always remained unbruised and ultimately triumphant in a lifetime filled with attempts at petty humiliation by those determined to hold down the black man in labor and in every other aspect of American life.

If anyone had reason to embrace the militant preachments of black nationalism, it was the leader of the sleeping car porters' union in his decades of frustrating effort to smash the Jim Crow practices of a labor movement dominated by the lily-white building trades. But his unswerving dedication to the concept that black workers and white workers had to move forward together finally prevailed as national policy and made him a vice president of the merged labor movement.

The flaws in that unity and the betrayals of principle that still hold back the Negro remain as challenges but not discouragements for this man of eloquence, dedication and hope.

CINCINNATI, OHIO
HERALD
W. CIRC. N. AVAIL (N)

APR 19 1969

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH CONTINUED LEADERSHIP

This spring one of America's truly great men — A. Philip Randolph — celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled — often against incredible odds — to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

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To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 82,123

APR 26 1969

Interfaith Honorees Named

A. Philip Randolph, who just marked his 80th birthday, and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are among 44 persons who will be honored April 24 by the Ministerial Interfaith Association for promoting harmony between the faiths and races.

The MIA also plans to honor Roman Catholic Cardinal-designate Terence J. Cooke and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall at a dinner Thursday evening at the New York Hilton Hotel, Sixth Ave. and 53rd St. The MIA claims more than 125 Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen, white and black, as members, representing churches throughout Harlem.

KENOSHA, WIS.
LABOR
W. 18,537

APR 24 1969

Philip Randolph Birthday Honored

AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Randolph celebrated his eightieth birthday on April 15 and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller proclaimed the day in his name throughout New York. But the most meaningful tribute is yet to come.

Friends and associates of Randolph, president-emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, will gather at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, May 6, to pay tribute to his life long effort to advance civil rights and eliminate poverty.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
TRIBUNE
TW. 39,657

APR 29 1969

Set Tribute To Randolph

NEW YORK (NPI) — Hundreds of prominent Americans will pay tribute to labor leader A. Philip Randolph May 6 in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in honor of his 80th birthday.

Goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise $250,000 to carry on Randolph's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

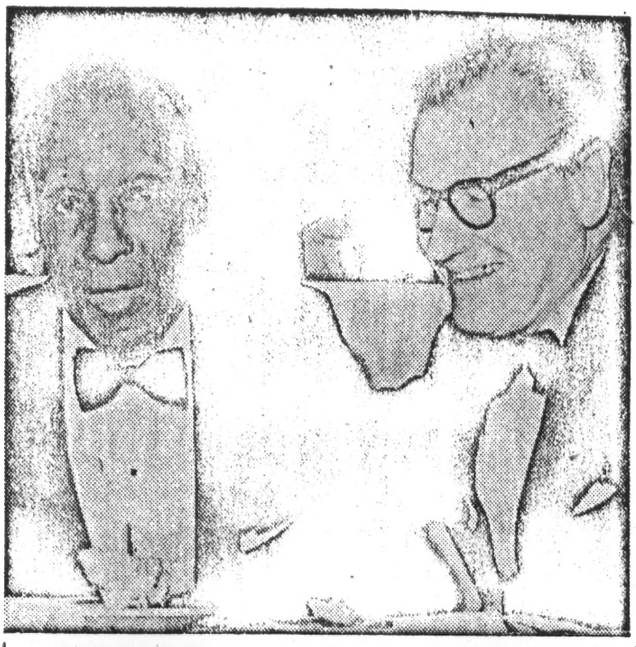
Randolph retired last year as president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was chief founder in 1925.

The labor leader has been a powerful force against racial injustice for more than a half century.

As a result of his attacks on Jim Crow in the U.S. armed forces during World War I, Randolph was labeled "the most dangerous Negro in America" by the U.S. Justice Department.

— "85th A[illegible]"

The Cleveland Press
D. 393,191
MAY 7 1969



80TH BIRTHDAY—Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (right) of New York was one of the guests at the 80th birthday party for A. Philip Randolph night in New York City's Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Randolph is a veteran leader in labor and civil rights movements. (UPI)

DENVER, COLO.
BLADE (N)
W- 10,500

APR 25 1969

During the Black man's quest for a life of freedom and equality in this country, many have led the way in the struggle to show this country and the world that the black man needed only an equal chance to compete, and only wanted that, a chance. Last April 15 marked the 80th birthday of one Black man who stood out among the many black leaders. Mr. A. Phillip Randolpf. Mr. Randolph for 60 years pursued his conviction that the Black man can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure. He worked a lifetime to bridge the gap between black America and the trade unions. A strong believer in the democratic form of government, Mr. Randolph believed that social change does not depend on the decisions of a few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of the masses which he believed was necessary for all individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, a great pathfinder of this century.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
NEW YORK COURIER
W. 11,000

MAY 3 1969

Labor leader L. Joseph Overton spearheaded that once-in-a-lifetime, gala 80th birthday celebration of the man the world loves, A. Philip Randolph . . . a Sunday or so ago with the big parade down Seventh Avenue, ending at Salem Methodist Church . . . where hundreds and hundreds of folks paid tribute to A. Philip Randolph for his more than 55 years of civic, worldwide, duty to mankind.

Which was the same Sunday that beloved Rev. Vilma Szantho Harrington, wonderful wife of Dr. Donald Harrington, delivered the main address for the Women's Association of the Community Church of New York . . . marking the Association's Sixth Annual Women's Day. Rev. Vilma Harrington's theme was: "This Time To Remember." And 'tis a time to remember . . . for it is Dr. Donald Harrington's beginning of his 25th year at the Community Church of New York!

THE EVENING SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
D. 209,655

MAY 6 1969

Tale-enders . . .

Big Hop: One week after San Francisco sent Baltimore a Mayor, Baltimore wants to send San Francisco a frog. There's no connection, however, between Mayor Joseph Alioto's visit here for a speaking engagement and the frog business. It's simply that San Francisco is the scene of the International Frog Hop and our Bureau of Recreation is scouting for an entry to represent Mayor D'Alesandro in one of the events, the Special Mayor's Frog Hop . . .

Braileyburger: Among the bills signed into law last week by Gov. Mandel was one fondly known here as the Braileyburger bill. Sponsored by Delegate Troy Brailey, (D., 4th), it outlaws the sale of hamburger with more than 30 per cent fat and sets a fine of up to $100 for each violation. That may not change the world a whole lot, but it's bound to make it a slightly better place for all of us lovers of hamburger. Now, if Delegate Brailey would just sponsor a bill prohibiting watered-down ketchup.

Missing: Friends say there's a special reason for the absence of Ossie Davis from tonight's premiere of "Slaves" at the Hippodrome. He'll be in New York for the celebration of the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph.

JOURNAL HERALD
DAYTON, OHIO
D. 111,867

MAY 3 1969

Randolph Testimonial

Editor:

Leaders from many walks of life are uniting in New York City on May 6 to honor A. Philip Randolph, president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

This will be an 80th birthday testimonial dinner at the Waldorf Astoria to raise $250,000 to carry on Randolph's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Justice Thurgood Marshall of the U.S. Supreme Court and AFL-CIO President George Meany are cochairmen. Among the sponsors are Governor Rockefeller of New York, former President Lyndon B. Johnson, former Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Mayor John Lindsay of New York City.

As Lyndon B. Johnson said, "Few men had a more profound effect upon the social consciousness of Americans than A. Philip Randolph. His courage, his wisdom and his eloquent voice have been instruments of progress and justice for black people throughout our land. Where there was wrong, he sought to right it. Where there was bitterness, he sought to soothe it. Where there was hatred, he sought to end it."

OSCAR K. EDELMAN

Dayton

EVERETT, WASH.
LABOR JOURNAL
W. 3,350

APR 25 1969

Randolph at 80

ON APR. 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in The New Leader. Rustin writes in part:

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

PURSUING HIS CONVICTION that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

(6)

The Harlem Community Pays Tribute

To

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

On His 80th Birthday

(Over 55 Years of Dedicated Public Service)

At

SALEM METHODIST CHURCH

129TH STREET AND SEVENTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

REV. F. HERBERT SKEETE, *Minister*

Sunday, April 20, 1969 - 2:00 P.M.

Sponsored by

"A. PHILIP RANDOLPH LEADERS OF TOMORROW"

Program

America (1st verse) . . . . . AUDIENCE

Invocation . . . . . REV. F. HERBERT SKEETE
Minister, SALEM METHODIST CHURCH

Welcome . . . . . MR. JAMES SMITH
Chairman, A. P. R. LEADERS OF TOMORROW

Master of Ceremonies . . . . . DR. J. OSCAR LEE
Director of Education of the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING (Negro National Hymn) 1st verse
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

MINISINK TAPAWINGO CHOIR, DELORES C. DIXON, *Dir.*

The A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow . . . . MR. C. C. GALES
Treasurer, A. P. R. LEADERS OF TOMORROW

Tributes to A. Philip Randolph

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F.L. - C.I.O. . WILLIAM H. BOWE
International Secretary-Treasurer

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters - Local Div. . MR. JAMES MCCANTS
Chairman

Auxiliary to the Brotherhood . . . . . MRS. CLAUDIA GOODSON
President

The Trade Union Movement . . . . . MR. L. JOSEPH OVERTON
Executive Director, NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE

The Ministry of the City of New York . . . . . REV. M. L. WILSON
President, COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF NEW YORK CITY

Program

The Freedom Medley (Billy Taylor - Shelly - Bacharach)

MINISINK TAPAWINGO CHOIR

Arranged by D. DIXON

A Special Tribute . . . . . MR. OSSIE DAVIS

Actor - Producer

Messages - Appeal

Tribute In Song . . . . . MISS LEONTYNE PRICE

(Selected) *Leading Soprano,* METROPOLITAN OPERA ASSOCIATION

DAVID GARVEY, *Accompanist*

A Message From The Community . . . . DR. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN

Consultant On Urban Affairs

Presentation to Mr. Randolph

Response

Lift Every Voice and Sing - (3rd Verse) . . . JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

MINISINK TAPAWINGO CHOIR AND AUDIENCE

Benediction . . . . . REV. CLIFTON E. GATEWOOD

Minister, EPWORTH METHODIST CHURCH

Officers - A.P.R.L. of T.S.F.

James E. Smith ..... *Chairman*
Waven O. Webb ..... *Vice-Chairman*
C. C. Gales ..... *Treasurer*
Laura Moore ..... *Financial Secretary*
Alberta V. Pringle ..... *Recording Secretary*
Mildred Mitchell ... *Corresponding Secretary*
Virginia Barnes ..... *Entertainment*
Lossie Taylor ..... *Membership*
Bill Carter and Lucille Pearson ..... *Public Relations*

Awards

Dr. B. F. McLaurin, *Chairman*

C. C. Gales, *Member*
Mr. Woodrow Morgan, *Member*
Miss Nellie Arzelia Strong, *Member*
Mr. Waven O. Webb, *Member*

Sponsors

Mr. William H. Bowe
Miss Evelyn Cunningham
Mr. Frederick O'Neal
Mr. Jackie Robinson
Mr. Archie Palmer
Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman
Mr. Morris Pizer
Dr. C. B. Powell
Mr. Bayard Rustin
Mr. Charles Cogen
Rev. Roy Nicholas
Mr. George O. Primm
Mr. Frank Schiffman
Mrs. Isabel Edwin
Miss Vivian Brown
Dr. B. F. McLaurin
Mrs Thelma L. Williams
Rev. Edler G. Hawkins

Advisory Board

Miss Alberta V. Pringle
Mrs. Elizabeth McIntosh
Mr. Dudley A. West
Mr. Woodrow Morgan
Miss Marie Henry
Mr. David R. Green
Mr. E. H. Paris
Mr. Leroy Pearson
Mrs. Dorothy Green
Mrs. Francis West
Mr. George Triggs
Mrs. Vanzolia Pearson

"The A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow" are deeply grateful to Salem Methodist Church and to all those who gave freely of their time and talent in tribute to Mr. Randolph.

A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow
Scholarship Fund, Inc.

Headquarters: 103 East 125th Street - Suite 710

New York, N. Y.

Telephone: 427-3376

477

A Tribute to

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

From the

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

"The world of tomorrow on the shoulders of the youth of today..."

By

David Amit

***A Harlem** community youth who is a board member of Y.D.A.*

"... YOU HAVE INSPIRED BLACK YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO TAKE THEIR STAND FOR FREEDOM AND EQUALITY."

Presented at Salem Methodist Church

on Sunday, April 20, 1969

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY: Organized to develop the creative instincts of Harlem's youth and to prepare them for community participation as responsible residents. Composed of three units: the Arts and Culture, Cadet Corps, and Harlem Youth Unlimited departments. Y.D.A. mobilizes youth of all ages, religious beliefs, social economic and academic achievements into a unit working together to bring about change for a better community.

Mr. L. Joseph Overton,
Chairman

Mr. Ralph Rogers,
President

Mr. James N. Mitchell,
Executive Director

A. Phil[illegible] Randolph, labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to three Presidents, is 89 today.

Randolph [illegible] Fights for Labor

By RUDY JOHNSON

A. Philip Randolph leaned forward on the sofa to stress his point and, with a trace of fire in his eyes, declared:

"You've got to fight for what you get. I've been on one side of many a conference table negotiating agreements, and I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side."

The statement, made in an interview yesterday, was typical of the man whose long and fruitful career as a labor leader, civil rights activist, militant editor and gadfly to Presidents was marked with the struggles that presaged recent gains by Negroes and other members of minority groups.

Mr. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, of which he was the chief founder in 1925. It had been a long, arduous fight that lasted almost three decades from the first inkling of organizing such a Negro union to signing the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937.

Today Mr. Randolph is 80 years old, and Governor Rockefeller has proclaimed the day in his name in New York.

On May 6 hundreds of prominent Americans, many of them his associates in the long civil rights fight, will pay him tribute at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Goal of the Tribute

The goal of the birthday tribute will be to raise $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Although Mr. Randolph's life work has been full and varied, he said yesterday that throughout all the years he has had a primary [illegible] —to unite all the scattered segments of the working classes, the Negro among them.

Sitting in his four-room apartment in the cooperatives owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, he commented:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . the unity of these forces would bring about the power to really achieve basic social change."

But the recent emphasis has been on "race itself," he said. Referring to today's black nationalist movement, he asserted:

"[illegible] continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overdone. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

Editorship Is Recalled

He went on to describe the days when his editorship of The Messenger, a magazine he and one of his closest associates, the late Chandler Owen, founded in 1917. At that time, his radical writings and soapbox speeches had prompted the Justice Department to call him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He lashed out at Jim Crowism during the Wilson Administration in his articulate writings and rousing speeches. But he also took issue with [illegible] Negroes when, in his [illegible] they

sought to veer from a path of black alliance with trade unionism. This included the late Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, started in 1915.

Mr. Randolph said that throughout his career he and his associates had always striven to develop the "principle of coalition," after which the united workers would begin to make changes in the capitalistic structure of society. An avowed socialist, he said:

"A larger part of our economy ought to be subject to socialization. Take railroads, airplanes, the buses, medical care. These are areas that should not be subject to exploitation for profit because the people will suffer as a result of that. Great corporate powers are becoming almost unmanageable.

Voice Remains Strong

As Mr. Randolph talked, he looked much leaner than he had been before he was stricken with a heart ailment several years ago. Most of his life, he had weighed 200 pounds and had been 6 feet tall. But his powerful, resonant voice was still strong.

He recalled some of the highlights of his career, which included origination of a March on Washington Movement in the early years of World War II.

The plan was to assemble thousands of Negroes who would converge on Washington in a demonstration that would protest discrimination in government and the defense plants.

Mr. Randolph and the late Walter White, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had met with President Roosevelt to try to urge him to correct the problem.

But the President resisted the urgings and even sent Mrs. Roosevelt to persuade Mr. Randolph to call the march off. But he was unyielding, and less than two weeks before the scheduled march, on June 20, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

About seven years later, Mr. Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training convinced President Truman to issue an Executive order banning discrimination in the armed forces.

But one of Mr. Randolph's most glorious moments came in 1963 when he conceived a March on Washington that was carried out by more than a quarter-million people, black and white, and where the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Mr. Randolph regretted, however, that his late wife, the former Lucille E. Green, to whom he had been married 50 years, died only months before the memorable event.

Sacramento Observer 2/27/69

'CIVIL RIGHTS DEAN'

TRIBUTE PLANNED FOR RANDOLPH

NEW YORK -- An A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed leader and civil rights crusader, it was announced by Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Highlighting the tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. Other events are planned as well. Goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Mr. Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.

Sponsors of the birthday tribute, for which Justice Marshall and Mr. Meany are Chairmen, include national labor leaders, industrialists, educators, clergy of all faiths, and political leaders including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Birthday Committee are [illegible] Ralph D. Abernathy, President, [illegible] Conference, [illegible] Bolling Community, C.L. Dellums, President, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP; Whitney Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League. Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Emeritus, Morehouse College, will serve as Treasurer.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Mr. Rustin recounted Randolph's achievements as "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change," Mr. Rustin stated, "and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the nation's resources -- white and black -- in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens.

Clipper

AFL-CIO NEWS, WA[illegible], D. C., APRIL 19, 1969

Birthday Tribute Stated For A. Philip Randolph, 80

New York—AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph celebrated his 80th birthday on Apr. 15 and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller proclaimed the day in his name throughout New York. But the most meaningful tribute is yet to come.

Friends and associates of Randolph, president-emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, will gather at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 6, to pay tribute to his life-long effort to advance civil rights and eliminate poverty.

The goal of the tribute, being organized by the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, is to raise a fund of $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall are co-chairmen of the committee, whose 87 members read like a "who's who" in labor, management, government, religion, civil rights groups, education and entertainment.

80th Birthday Tribute For A. Philip Randolph Planned

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Louisville Defender 3/6/69

EAST BAY LABOR JOURNAL

MAY 9, 1969

...ute to Randolph May 28 ... aid union urban program

...rea unionists will join a ...ide salute to labor and ...hts leader A. Philip Ran- ...at an Oakland dinner ...day, May 28 to raise ...or a three-county attack ...cal city problems.

... speaker will be Bayard ... director of the A. Philip ...ph Institute in New York ...leading civil rights figure ...own right. Rustin was an ...te of the late Dr. Martin ... King Jr.

...ND DINNER

... dinner is set for Good- ... Hall in Jack London ... as part of the 80th birth- ...bute to Randolph, founder ...rst president of the Broth- ... of Sleeping Car Porters. ...dolph retired last year aft- ...nearly half-century career ... fighter for unionism and ...st discrimination.

...sor of the dinner is a un- ...mmittee representing Ala- ... Contra Costa and San ...isco Counties. Proceeds will ... the Randolph Institute and ...parate urban activities in ...hree counties.

... Alameda ... of the ... union pen-

BAYARD RUSTIN

...ters for urban affairs are planned in the three areas.

The plan here, he said, is to establish a clearing house for information, speakers and ...ance for union action ... on city problems, including ... more on page 1

Dinner May 28 to honor Randolph

Continued from page 1

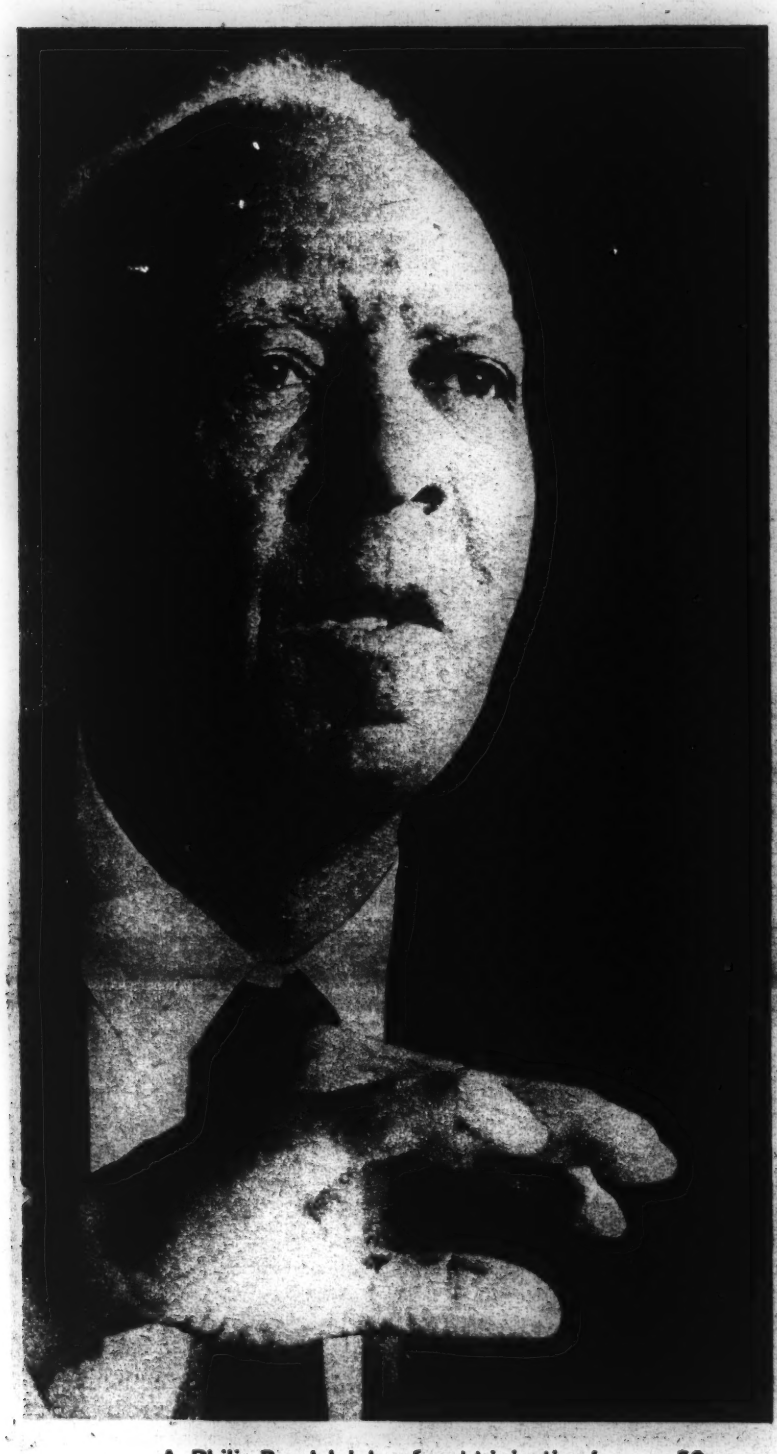
... and education, voter regist... or other city-related matte...

Dinner reservations at ... per person are available ... Central Labor Council at ... Valdez Street, Oakland, ... 444-6510 and at Alameda C... COPE, 595 Sixteenth Street, O... land, 451-3215.

Lee, of Oakland Federa... Teachers 771 and Gover... Employees 1533, is East Ba... resentative of the AFLCIO ... man Resources Developme... stitute, a labor liaison ... with federally funded c... nity action programs.

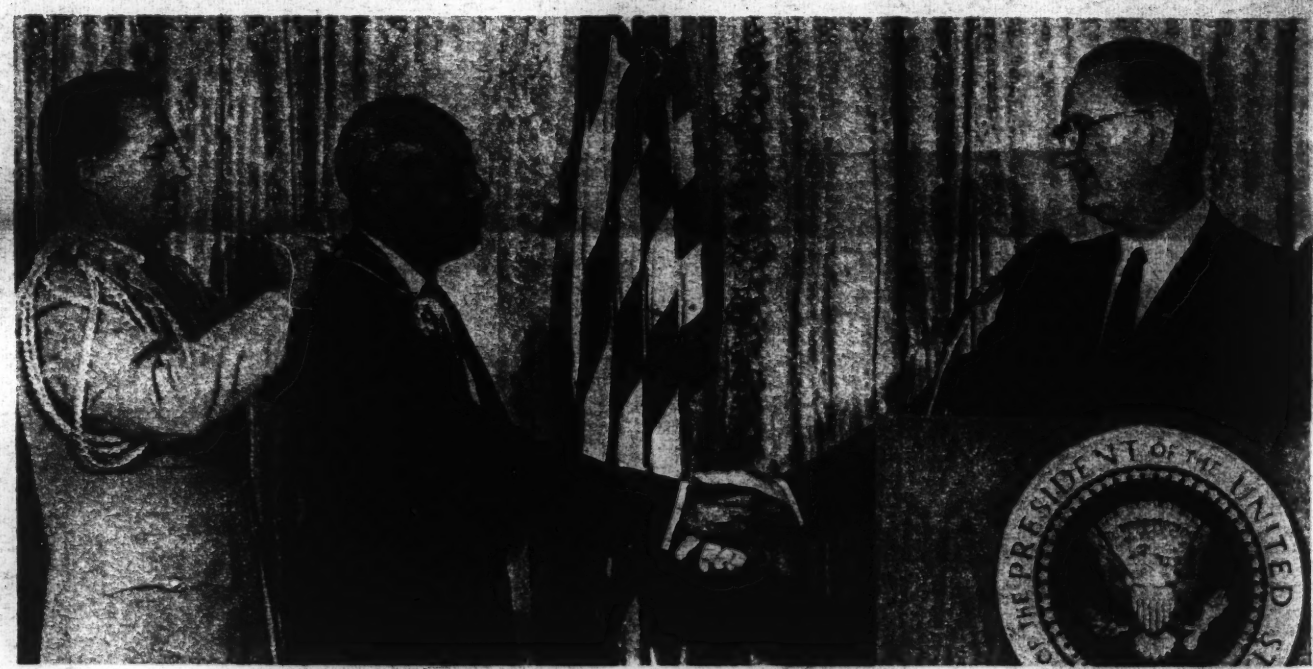
Treasurer of the dinner com... mittee is C. D. Parker of Indu... trial Metal Processors 10... Other East Bay members ... Sam Golden, Fire Figh... Lonnie Thompson, Loc... Jesse Cooksey, Cleaners ... era 3009; Robert Luster, ... Workers 2, and Bill Bu... pital Workers 250.

A fighting man



A. Philip Randolph has fought injustice for over 50 years.

In 1946, activist joined Eleanor Roosevelt and Mayor LaGuardia in New York's Madison Square Garden to battle for rights.



UPI PHOTOS

For efforts on behalf of civil rights, Randolph is awarded Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Johnson in 1964.

LONG BEFORE Black Power became a slogan, A. Philip Randolph was in the forefront of the civil rights struggle. Just turned 80 years of age, Randolph is still battling for freedom and justice for his people.

The son of an itinerant preacher, Randolph was born in 1889 in a rural town near Jacksonville, Fla. He joined the Socialist Party in 1910 because he saw it as the most progressive political organization in America. As a party member, the young student learned one tenet that has guided him in his work: the poor of all races are united by their economic deprivation.

In 1917, Randolph founded The Messenger, a magazine published by and for Negroes. It advocated minimum wage laws, universal suffrage, the eradication of racial discrimination, the right of unions to bargain collectively and other pioneering programs of that time.

In 1925, Randolph led the campaign to organize the predominantly Negro sleeping car porters. After an arduous battle lasting three decades, he signed the first contract with the nation's railroads in 1937. Randolph retired last year as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

On two separate occasions, he planned to press demands for racial justice with massive marches on Washington. In 1941, he called off a demonstration only after President Roosevelt established the nation's first Fair Employment Practices Committee. For the first time, Negroes had won a victory through the concerted power of their own numbers. An actual march on Washington did take place 22 years later, in 1963, and 200,000 civil rights partisans—black and white—came from every corner of the country to march on the nation's capital. (Randolph's wife of 50 years, Ruth, died a month before the historic march.)

Reflecting on his battles over the years, the black activist commented: "I don't know of a single instance where anything was given without exacting it from the other side. You have to fight for what you get." His philosophy, said Randolph, is the result of "our concept of effective liberation of the Negro through the liberation of the working people. We never separated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man. But I believe that the cult of blackness," he added, referring to the black nationalist movement, "has been overdone. It hasn't been successful in putting these forces together."

Randolph—on the 80th anniversary of his entrance to the world. Good luck, Phil Randolph, and happy birthday.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article about Phil Randolph which appeared in the April 19 edition of the AFL–CIO News:

RANDOLPH AT 80

On April 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in The New Leader. Rustin writes in part:

"I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his susequent actions have sprung from this basic premise."

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Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIGGS), for taking this time to give Members of Congress the opportunity to pay testimonial tribute to one of our great Americans who is celebrating his 80th birthday on May 6.

A. Philip Randolph has devoted his life's work in furthering the cause of justice and humanity for all our people. He has been a pioneer, not only in the civil rights movement, but also in sponsoring legislation to extent to all the American people full recognition and consideration under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the various States.

The name of A. Philip Randolph will go down in American history as one of our great humanitarian leaders and patriots. During my service in Congress I have followed Mr. Randolph's career and he has, without exception, used his great influence with the working men and women of our country to support legislation that would improve the status of all segments of our economy. Through other leaders of the labor movement he has contributed more than his share in placing on the statute books legislation which gave us medicare, housing, education expansion, civil rights, social security, and many other long-delayed programs which are now in full operation.

I do hope that his good work can extend many years beyond this, his 80th, birthday. I join all Americans in congratulating him.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to join in this special order arranged by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DIGGS) to honor a great American and a great figure of the American labor movement—Asa Philip Randolph. A. Philip Randolph's life might well be an example to young people of today—black and white—who all too often feel that they cannot cope with the overwhelming complexity of modern social problems and that they cannot make a contribution in the face of such obstacles. A. Philip Randolph faced obstacles far more difficult to overcome: he faced poverty, he faced racial bigotry, and he faced the traditional American antipathy toward the labor movement which existed in years before the Wagner Act.

Mr. Randolph believed that the Pullman car porters represented a large segment of Negro labor which had long been exploited because it was not organized. Speaking to a handful of Negro porters at a meeting in Harlem in 1925, he presented a plan to organize the sleeping car porters. He was not, and never had been, a porter himself, but he was elected president and general organizer of the proposed union. There was a difficult struggle ahead: The Pullman Co. opposed the union, and many porters lost their jobs for their union activity. Others, fearing repercussions, refused to join the union.

It was not until 1934, when the Railroad Labor Act was amended, that porters were brought under the law and the union met success. In 1936, Randolph announced the signing of a contract with the Pullman Co. giving the employees shorter working hours and pay increases totaling $2 million.

His threat to bring 100,000 Negroes to Washington to protest discrimination in hiring during World War II brought about the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee by President Roosevelt. In 1948, Randolph was instrumental in influencing President Truman's Executive order which banned discrimination in the Armed Forces. He led, and masterminded, the 1963 March on Washington for Civil Rights, that awesome effective display of conscience in support of the great Civil Rights Act which was passed later that year.

Mr. Randolph has been reelected since 1925 to the presidency of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He served as vice president of the AFL, and has been a vice president of the AFL–CIO since 1957, serving on its executive committee. When the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in 1955, he was responsible for inserting an antidiscrimination plank in the new constitution.

The essential drive of A. Philip Randolph was his determination to make the labor movement relevant to and meaningful for black peoples' problems. He did this by cajoling, pushing, shaking—but above all participating in—the labor movement. No one could taunt this aggressive civil rights leader about his commitment to the goal of equality. On the other hand, it was very clear that A. Philip Randolph sought results rather than rhetoric, and action rather than accusations. In short, he had the dedication of someone who believed so passionately in a cause that he desired to win it rather than to go down in noble defeat. All who seek to move this country and its institutions could take a page from A. Philip Randolph's book and could use as an example his life in and contributions to the American labor movement.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for arranging this time today to speak in honor of Asa Philip Randolph. I am glad to have this opportunity to join with his other friends and well-wishers in expressing our highest commendation and best wishes on his having attained his 80th year.

Asa Philip Randolph has become one of the most honored names in the history of the American labor movement. He is a leader whose tireless efforts and accomplishments have helped to make America a better place in which to live. All his life he has been a busy man, but never too busy to take on new tasks when he could assist his fellow man. Through the years he has distinguished himself on the many occasions when called upon by our Government to undertake special assignments. We are indebted to him for organizing the movement which led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to start the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

A man of the caliber of Asa Philip Randolph is a priceless asset in any age and in any country. We are especially fortunate that he was born in our time and in our country. We always need men like him and the more of them we can have, the better off our country will be.

Chicago Defender 4/19

Randolph At 80 Still Has Deep Faith

BY BAYARD RUSTIN

NEW YORK, (NANA) -- A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activities to follow his example. By virture of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune—Cookman College) and then moved North where he continued his studies at the City College of New York.

In 1914, Mr. Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration, and economic equality, which he has adhered to throughout his life.

--'MESSENGER'--

These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in "The Messenger," a magazine that Mr. Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920s, he argued for integration against the Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W.E.B. Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

—MET OPPOSITION--

His efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice-President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

--EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE--

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not suprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

--VICTORY--

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To dramatize this injustice, he conceived the idea of a massive March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic idea in the Negro press and campaigned for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local groups on Washington committees had sprung up across the country, and as the idea began to assume larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands.

It is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

--CONCEIVED '63 MARCH--

Mr. Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

CLIMAX OF 80TH BIRTHDAY dinner for A. Philip Randolph came when NAACP Exec. Sec. Roy Wilkins paid tribute to Randolph and presented him with a book of letters from America and [illegible]. Randolph, noting the numerous tributes and citing his long and close relations [illegible] AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, responded with an eloquent plea that the labor-civil rights coalition carry on to win "total liberation" for the American Negro.

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abor, Civil Rights Coalition eaffirms Randolph's Goal

By Saul Miller

York—The labor-civil rights coalition gave A. Philip Randolph an 80th birthday presen cation to his goal of "total liberation" of the American Negro.

leaders of the coalition turned out 1,500 strong in a vivid demonstration of unity and vo determination to carry on the work that Randolph had dedicated his life to.

entire scope of the labor movement was represented, along with the religious faiths, N zations, government leaders any others. They crowded nd ballroom of the Waldorf- Hotel to pay tribute to ph and add to the coffers of Philip Randolph Educational finance voter education and tion projects in black com- s to strengthen the labor, Negro alliance.

d at the conclusion they Randolph eloquently lay down the principles by which the coalition must continue to be guided:

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic m political protest.

"We must reject violence gether reaffirm the power wisdom of non-violence.

"And we must reject rac aratism and together, with the viction that one day our nation cease to be divided within reaffirm our abiding faith in gration."

AFL-CIO Pres. George M ewing Randolph's accomp nts and the gains in the ion movement in the ainst discrimination, dec is "no room for complace

Randolph, he pointed out, ding the Brotherhood of S Car Porters in the face of all sition of the Pullman Co., n the basic principle that kers must be organized and e part of organized labor. h's advice to Negro worke into the labor movement support for the fight ag rimination was critica gthening both the Negro worker, Meany said.

The American labor movem responded to Randolp ership, sometimes too slow any added, but it has come a way and is determined to e out the last vestiges of crimination with renewed phasis on job upgrading and ning.

ndolph is no longer alone in truggle as he was in the early

(Continued on Page 3)

Tribute to Randolph Reaffirms His Goals

(Continued from Page 1)

years, Meany said, and the AFL-CIO and all its affiliates are working to reach all workers at the local level to carry the message of equal rights.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, following the AFL-CIO president, noted that Meany has worked closely with Randolph and has worked effectively in the civil rights movement and that the AFL-CIO has been the bulwark of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., told the dinner that she had come from Charleston, S.C., where she has been aiding the striking hospital workers and that Charleston has now become a national test of conscience, that the labor civil rights coalition is a reality here and the battle must be won.

Randolph, she said, had always been a great inspiration to her late husband and a source of encouragement. Randolph gave him advice and counsel, she said, adding, "thank you for myself and Martin Luther King."

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, served as toastmaster and introduced New York Gov. Nelson H. Rockefeller, New York City Mayor John Lindsay, and C. L. Dellums, president of the Sleeping Car Porters succeeding Randolph, who retired from the post last year.

Paying tribute also to Randolph were Msgr. Gregory Mooney, for Terence Cardinal Cooke; Dr. John C. Bennett, present, Union Theological Seminary, and Isaiah Minkoff, executive vice chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

The tributes were touching and emotional in spots as speakers recalled earlier days and difficult battles, stressing Randolph's "prophetic vision," his quiet determination, his courage, his inspiration and his lack of personal animosity.

It was all underscored when George Shirley of the Metropolitan Opera sang some of the poems of Negro poet Langston Hughes and when "Oh, Freedom" rolled out over the great hall.

In his response, Randolph expressed his gratification at the "fine representation" at the dinner from all areas of American life, cited Rustin's genius for organizing protest marches and spoke of his admiration and affection for Rustin as a man who "when he commits himself to a program will work at it and carry it through. He doesn't pretend to be for something when he isn't."

In dedicating himself to the liberation of the Negro, Randolph said, his major endeavor was to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement because the Negroes are a working people and the labor movement is the home of the working man and the only haven for the dispossessed.

The struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has "become irrepressible," he observed. But in the continuing struggle "we must have faith that

Harlem Youngster Salutes Randolph

New York—The "generation gap" closed on a prolonged wave of applause here when 13-year-old Tom Powell hopped onto a chair to reach the microphones to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph.

Tom, a member of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow, a Harlem-based group of youngsters dedicated to carrying on the civil rights

The New York Times
NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1979

A. Philip Randolph Is Dead; Pioneer in Rights and Labor

By [illegible]

A. Philip Randolph, the [illegible] and other [illegible]

[illegible] was 90 years old and had been [illegible] heart [illegible] and high blood pressure for several years.

According to his [illegible] [illegible] at the time of his death. Mr. [illegible] at about 3 P.M. in the [illegible] apartment at 200 [illegible] Avenue, at 70th Street, where he had lived for several years.

The only signs of luxury in the apartment were two black-and-white television sets, a collection, friends said, of Mr. Randolph's devotion to baseball.

Mr. [illegible] of Mr. Randolph's death spanned the [illegible] movement. [illegible] Mr. [illegible] [illegible] Mr. [illegible] [illegible] Mr. [illegible]

point in Mr. Randolph's long career as a labor and civil rights leader.

Mr. Randolph was a veteran of confrontations, a graduate of Harlem soapbox oratory who rose from a radical socialist and pacifist background to become a labor leader at a time when labor unions openly espoused antiblack policies and a civil rights movement was virtually unheard of.

There were many who thought that in the twilight of his career, his body pained by illness, Mr. Randolph must have felt frustrated to see what little progress his long fight to change organized labor had produced. But he never publicly said so.

And he must have smiled quietly to himself in later life as he was called conservative by some younger, more militant blacks who came on the scene with different tactics and beliefs — violence and separatism — that he could not accept and who chastised him without knowing his radical past — that of a man who urged blacks not to fight in World War I, who criticized W. E. B. DuBois for taking the opposite position and whom President Woodrow Wilson called the most dangerous man in America.

Maintained Composure

But the tall, dignified Mr. Randolph always maintained his composure somehow, with no overt hostility to anyone.

His frustrations did cause him to make a fiery speech in San Francisco at the 1959 convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. On the podium later, an angry George Meany turned to the calm Mr. Randolph and asked, "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

It was his characteristic quiet dignity that enabled Mr. Randolph to lead confrontations with three Presidents, threatening massive marches on Washington and civil disobedience if those Presidents, who were all extremely popular among blacks, did not take action on behalf of black people.

The first of those chalenges came in

United Press International

In 1948, Mr. Randolph led demonstration in Philadelphia shortly before the start there of the National Democratic Convention.

1941. Black leaders were seriously concerned about being barred from defense plants at the beginning of World War II. They had little success in moving the defense industry or the Federal Government with speeches, conferences, meetings and verbal protests.

Eventually, Mr. Randolph felt that only President Franklin D. Roosevelt could force the necessary changes through an executive order and that only a massive march by blacks could make the President act.

Date for March Set

Thus, a march on Washington was scheduled for July 1, 1941. The announcement horrified official Washington; the thought of thousands of blacks marching in what was still a Southern city caused near panic. Mr. Roosevelt set about to prevent the march.

The President called on white labor leaders to try to talk Mr. Randolph and other black leaders out of marching. He enlisted Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York, a friend of Mr. Randolph. Even the President's wife, Eleanor, was asked to help. But the effort did not work. The black leadership insisted on a meeting with the President himself.

Besides Mr. Randolph, the leaders of the planned march included Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Lester Granger of the National Urban League; Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee; J. Finley Wilson of the Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World, and the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York.

When the efforts of Mrs. Roosevelt and others failed to get the blacks to call off the march, President Roosevelt agreed to a meeting, which was held on June 18.

In that meeting, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Roosevelt that at least 100,000 blacks were expected to march. The President at first turned on his charm. He noticed Mr. Randolph's pronunciation of the broad "a" and inquired, "Phil, when did you graduate from Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President," Mr. Randolph answered.

Executive Order Issued

When the President failed to dissuade the black leaders, he agreed to their demands. On June 25, 1941, six days before the march, he signed Executive Order 8802 and named a Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

Mr. Randolph called off the march but was denounced for doing so by his more militant followers in the coalition, who accused him of selling out. One of those objecting vigorously was Bayard Rustin, later a faithful follower.

Although the executive order was not observed uniformly, thousands of defense jobs were opened to blacks, and the order set a precedent that some state governments followed.

After the war, black leaders turned their attention to segregation in the armed forces, an issue that they had decided not to press in their confrontation with President Roosevelt. With the nation facing mandatory conscription in peacetime, Mr. Randolph and the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation informed President Harry S. Truman that they wanted him to ban military segregation.

On March 22, 1948, the President met at the White House with black leaders, including Mr. Randolph, Mr. White, Mr. Granger, Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the National Council of Negro Women, and Charles Houston, N.A.A.C.P. legal counsel. The meeting produced nothing.

Civil Disobedience Campaign

This sent Mr. Randolph on a civil disobedience campaign against the draft for segregated armed forces. He pursued his task with the same fervor as his opposition to World War I, when he had urged blacks not to sign up for the draft.

On July 26, 1948, President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, a vaguely worded document that never mentioned segregation but indeed banned it in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph called off his civil disobedience campaign, again prompting a bitter complaint from Bayard Rustin and other radical pacifists.

The final confrontation with a President was in 1963, when the ailing Mr. Randolph, who by then was more a symbol than an active participant in the fast-growing civil rights movement, helped organize the biggest demonstration ever by blacks, the March on Washington. His aide, Mr. Rustin, was chief strategist for the coalition that sponsored the march of nearly a quarter-million people.

Once again, a President, this time John F. Kennedy, attempted to dissuade the blacks, but to no avail. The main goal of the march was to push for passage of a civil rights bill. A bill was finally passed the next year, but not before the assassination of President Kennedy and the almost evangelical commitment of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Son of a Minister

A. Philip Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Fla., a hamlet outside Jacksonville. It was one of three communities his father served as minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Two years later the family moved to Jacksonville.

Philip and his older brother, James William Jr., grew up in a relatively intellectual atmosphere, exposed not only to Shakespeare, Scott and Dickens but also to such black heroes as L'Ouverture, Attucks, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Douglass. Both boys attended the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, a Methodist missionary school.

After graduation in 1907, Philip Randolph worked at various jobs before heading to Harlem with a friend in 1911. He took a job as a hall porter at $4 a month and later recalled writing on a wall: "Philip Randoph swept here."

Working at menial jobs, he also enrolled in night courses in English literature and sociology at City College. From the first sprang his lifelong interest in Shakespeare; from the second, his commitment to socialism.

Set Up Employment Agency

During those years he met Chandler Owen, a law student at Columbia University. The two men founded an employment agency in Harlem called the Brotherhood of Labor and made their first efforts to unionize black workers.

In the same building was a beauty parlor managed by Lucille Green, a graduate of Howard University and a former schoolteacher. The dynamic and witty Miss Green and the solemn Mr. Randolph were drawn to each other immediately — they called each other Buddy — and in 1913 they were married.

"For our honeymoon," Mrs. Randolph recalled years later, "we took an open streetcar to South Ferry and back."

In those years the South was wiping out all traces of Reconstruction, using violence, the white primary and the poll tax against blacks to complete their disenfranchisement. Poverty and ignorance ruled in back-country shanties and big-city slums, and the number of lynchings and beatings of blacks increased yearly.

President Wilson's Administration was reducing the number of Federal jobs allotted by custom to blacks, and was imposing segregation in government building in Washington. An extensive migration began from the South. There was pervasive discrimination, and race riots were frequent in the North.

Appealed Wilson

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen had founded a magazine, The Messenger, in 1915, with Mr. Randolph as editor. They lashed out at President Wilson. A gifted orator, Mr. Randolph also took his message to the street, his resonant baritone booming from soapboxes from Harlem to black hamlets across the nation.

Once during the street-corner rallies, Mr. Randolph was arrested by the Justice Department on charges of treason for urging blacks not to fight in World War I. The charges were later dropped.

The Pullman porters, listening from the crowds to the tall, forceful speaker, tapped him to organize the union. Since he was not an employee of the company, he could not be fired or harrassed.

The years that followed were made particularly arduous by the rocklike resistance of the Pullman Company and even the labor movement, which was then virtually all white.

But in the signing of the first contract with Pullman in 1937, blacks made the first inroads into the trade union movement. The impact was especially important in the black community. It was greatly encourgaing that a small black union had broken the resistance of a corporate giant.

The Chief, as the porters called Mr. Randolph, had succeeded against overwhelming odds. In return they gave him unwavering loyalty.

Instrument of Protest

Mr. Randolph, along with Mr Owen, had shaped The Messenger into an effective instrument of protest. After the porters were organized, the magazine was renamed Black Worker and centered on making the union recognized in the labor movement and on ending discrimination.

Mr. Randolph, in convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor, spoke out persistently against racial injustice — and futilely. White unionists seemed to think him a nuisance.

When one of his few white allies in the movement, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union, walked out of the A.F.L. and formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Randolph went with him.

After the two labor organizations merged in 1955, Mr. Randolph became the only black representative on the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council. But in a further effort to end employment discrimination, he formed the Negro American Labor Council in 1960. Two years later, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council censured him as being "largely responsible" for driving a wedge between blacks and the unions.

Mr. Randolph was undaunted. In an 80th birthday interview, he said:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the working people. We never seperated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . The unity of these forces would bring about the power rally to achieve basic social change."

Increasing Demonstrations

In the 1950's a new generation of black leaders organized a rising tide of demonstrations, North and South. At first they followed Mr. Randolph's precepts of pacifism and nonviolence, and he frequently acted as a counselor on tactics and as a mediator of quarrels.

The next decade saw the growth of black militant nationalism. Young activists challenged the concept of nonviolence, as well as the integrationist ideals of such moderate leaders as Mr. Randolph.

He criticized the neo-black nationalist trend, as he had Marcus Garvey's "back to Afica" movement five decades before. Some nationalists branded him "Uncle Tom," but he answered:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overcome. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

Institute Established

In 1965, Mr. Randolph announced the establishment of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute with a grant of $25,000 from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and $30,000 from other sources. Under the leadership of Bayard Rustin, the institute was given the task of enlisting community leaders in a broad study of conditions that create perpetual poverty.

In 1968, Mr. Randolph stepped down as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and became its first president emeritus. By then the union, with the decline of rail travel, had only the memory of past glory. And as better jobs opened for blacks, the Pullman porters lost the status they had once enjoyed in the black community. Eventually his union disappeared in a merger into the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

Also in 1968, Mr. Randolph moved from the Harlem apartment where he had lived so long to a downtown cooperative apartment owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He busied himself writing an autobiography and a history of his own union, although his health forced him to curtail his activities.

In the last few years, Mr. Randolph lived very quietly in his Chelsea home, making very few public appearances.

Over the years, a porter's union salary, which never exceeded $13,000 annually, had been his main support, with additional money earned from speeches and writings. In the early years, when the union was struggling, he often had to rely on his wife's earnings.

Mrs. Randolph died in 1963, shortly before the March on Washington, with Mr. Randolph in the lead column. He had wanted her to see it. For others, the memory of that event, on Aug. 28, 1963, became one of Mr. Randolph's greatest legacies.

Speech at Memorial

To the 250,000 people at the Lincoln Memorial, and to millions of others watching on television and listening on radio, the speech of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the most memorable of the day. But when the erect, austere, dignified Mr. Randolph went to the podium, he spoke from experience and emotion that the younger man could little know.

"We are not a pressure group; we are not an organization or a group of organizations; we are not a mob," he declared in a booming but controlled voice.

"We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom. This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited."

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THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Randolph's Call

JAMES A. WECHSLER

If one man deserves to be called both the founding father and patriarch of the modern Freedom movement, he is A. Philip Randolph. He has long been beyond the temptations of private power and exhibitionist glory; in recent years he has readily relinquished the headlines to younger men.

Now, despite the physical fatigue of his 77th year, he is aroused and dismayed by the internal conflicts haunting a struggle that has so deeply touched the instinctive idealism of a new generation.

So this week he is quietly sending letters to the leaders of all the civil rights groups and some of their stalwart associates calling for a private "State of the Race" conference to discuss what he grimly views as a fateful crisis in the civil rights revolution.

* * *

In the present circumstances, probably no other man could dare to invite the feuding forces into the same room. But it would be a melancholy surprise if anyone of stature or relevance rebuffed his invitation. Randolph himself harbors no illusion that the tensions and hostilities flaring among the activists can be swiftly banished. He is convinced, however, that there can be only heartbreak and horror if rival positions become increasingly frozen.

He was reluctant to elaborate on his plans for the conference yesterday because he does not want to seem to be laying down the law to anyone.

"What I'm interested in, and what we must have," he said, "is a frank, hard, analytical discussion of our differences."

The projected meeting will be held behind closed doors.

"I want everyone to say what's really on their minds, and see where we are after everyone has spoken," he said.

He is wise enough to know that a public spectacle could produce more rhetoric than reason. He remains visionary enough to believe there is still time to recapture the grandeur of earlier hours when those enlisted in the new emancipation effort—Negro and white—fought common racist enemies rather than each other.

* * *

Whatever tactical disagreements may exist, no one will be reckless enough to call Phil Randolph an "Uncle Tom." Even the youngest militant must know it was he who conceived the idea of a March on Washington in the year 1940 to demand federal action against discrimination in employment.

The threat of a march achieved its goal, without any mass footwork. He and other Negro leaders were summoned to the White House by President Roosevelt. FDR, preoccupied with the Nazi advance, employed all his political artistry in an effort to disarm Randolph; but this man of immense dignity and conviction, whose life has been wedded to a proud, small enclave known as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, refused to be diverted from the mission at hand.

Mr. Roosevelt knew when he had been defeated by an equal; on June 22 of that year he issued an historic document known as executive order 8802 creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission empowered to challenge discrimination at the factory-gates. Less than a decade later Randolph was to wrest a comparable victory in direct combat with President Truman over Jim Crow in the armed services.

* * *

There will be those who, in retrospect, disparage Randolph's achievements. Yet in fact these were the first momentous breakthroughs of our century, and countless thousands of Negroes were the beneficiaries. They were the great beginnings.

Then, 23 years later, Randolph's initial vision of a March on Washington was carried out and he was a leader of its columns. On that day of fervor and fraternity few could have anticipated the discords that shadow the Freedom forces today, and that must be Randolph's sadness and torment as he recalls the great moments.

* * *

Now the controversial cry is not "Freedom Now" but "Black Power." One dreads the prospect that much of the dedication and sacrifice and tears of recent years will be squandered, even betrayed, in a fanatic semantic argument in which slogans suddenly become larger than life.

And so it has fallen once again to Asa Philip Randolph, who has never left his Harlem home and headquarters, to strive to reunite the leaders of the warring groups apparently headed for deadly collision over the issue of separatism and other ideological quarrels.

"I consider all of them my friends," he said yesterday, "and I will be deeply disappointed if they will not at least come together for candid discussion to consider thoughtfully all the questions that seem to divide us."

It may be too late. But the effort is one of the finest hours of a memorable man who seems to grow larger in each new trial.

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A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH
Celebrates 80th Birthday

HAILED 80th BIRTHDAY

A. Philip Randolph roars as 'Old Lion'

BY AL WHITE

NEW YORK — "While some militant young people disagree with our methods, calling them outmoded, we will continue using them in our struggle until white racism, black racism are banished to the limbo of obliteration from which they shall never emerge."

So said A. Philip Randolph, responding to the magnificient tributes from representatives from government, religious, civil rights and labor organzations gathered to honor him on his 80th bithday Tuesday, May 6.

A thousand diners in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel cheered the "Old Lion" as he roared defiance against violence and racism in his sonorous tones.

He spoke following NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins' presentation of a volume containing messages from distinguished persons all over the world, led by expressions from President Richard M. Nixon and former President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mr. Wilkins regaled the audience with an incident indicating Mr. Randolph's integrity as leader of the drive to organize Pullman Porters. At the time, these workers were putting in 60 hours a week at 19 cents an hour!

So telling were Mr. Randolph's efforts, it is said the wealthy Pullman Company tried to buy him off, sending him a check for $100,000! Randolph returned the check. The following years, as Randolph's drive began to be even more effective, the Pullman Company tried once more this

ing young Tom Powell (the name was incorrect) all I can say is this. I have a young son. I hope he grows up to be as fine a youngster as Tom".

This was the shortest speech of the night.

Mayor Lindsay's salutation was also brief.

The three major religious denominations were represented. Mons. Gregory Mooney, long time worker in Harlem spoke for Cardinal Cooke who was out of the city; Dr. John C. Bennett, president of the Union Theological Seminary spoke for the Protestants, and Rabbi Jacob Philip Rabin for the Jewish faith.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, recipient of a prolonged ovation as principal speaker, related her part in the hospital workers' struggle in Charleston, South Carolina, emphasizing that this was of utmost importance to the trade unionism movement.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College in Atlanta, opened the evening with a prayer.

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, took over. Frederick O'Neal, president of the Actors Equity, presented the guests on the triple dais which included many powerful union officials, in-

instead, Randolph tore this check in two pieces then returned it to the baffled Pullman Company.

With some of the labor movement's finest speakers listed, it remained for 13-year-old Arthur Powell of Harlem, to steal the show. This bright youngster, from the heart of Harlem-West 129th St., attending Junior High School 120, located at 118th and Madison Ave., brought down the house.

So short, he had to be lifted to a chair to reach the microphones on the speakers' desk. Arthur's clear, precise tones captured the audience as he read:

"I am proud to be here to honor a great man at his birthday dinner and salute him. I, as a youngster, look up to this man as a giant of civil rights. His fight and his struggle will never be in vain down through the years to come.

"We of the younger generation, today and tomorrow, will always remember him in his fight against bigotry, and his fight for equality for all minority people, black or whte. I have heard the late Dr. Martin Luther King say 'I have been to the top of the mountain' and I have often wondered what it meant, but tonight, I have found that meaning. He was telling us to get our education while we are young, but not by violence.

"And tonight, we honor a great man, the Honorable A. Phillip Randolph a fighter for freedom and justice to all. Mr. Randolph, we hope Congress can see the light by endorsing your freedom budget. Then we can shout out loud by saying "Free at last. Free at last. O God, we ate free at last, North and South."

When the ovation subsided, Governor Nelson Rockefeller was introduced as the next speaker. After saluting the honored guest, Mr. Rockefeller said:

"I had prepared a speech for tonight, but after hear-

Mr. Meany told of the progress unions have made in eliminating segregation and discrimination. Admtting these evls still exsted, Mr. Meany declared the unons were pledged to continue their efforts to abolish them, but he warned there was still a long way to go.

C. L. Dellums, who succeeds Mr. Randolph as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Pirters related some of the struggles of the early days. A long time associate of Mr. Randolph, he pledged to continue Randolph's policies and programs.

* * *

In his preiminary remarks, Mr. Rustin dwelled on his relationship with Randolph through the years, emphasizing the Randolph policies rejecting violence, rejecting racial separatism and firmly reaffirming his stand on total integration.

George Shirley, brilliant young tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, was forced to do an encore after singing "How Beautiful I Am" by Langston Hughes, with music by Margaret Bonds, and "Let My People Go." His encore was 'Oh FreFedom, with the audience joining the chorus.

Noble Sissle, veteran theatrical man and musician, led the "Happy Birthday" song.

At the crowded press table, Victor Reisel, labor writer blinded by acid tossed into his eyes by a racketeer during Reisel's exposure of gangster activities against unionism-took copious notes and applauded loud and long when Randolph spoke.

Proceeds from the dinner go to the A. Philip Randolph Institute founded in 1964 for the purpose of serving civil rights groups, strengthening political alliances to assure democratic social change and developing social and economic programs to improve the lives of all Americans.

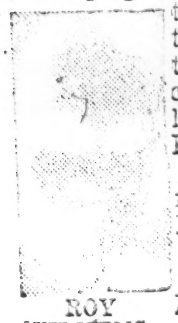
The festvities which began at 7 and ended four hours later.

Randolph: Gentle, Tough

Forty-five years ago he was overflowing with vigor and with a sharp challenge to the status quo. Last week he celebrated his 80th birthday and heard tributes from those gathered at the famed Waldorf-Astoria and messages from the absent ones.

A. Philip Randolph, the revered leader in the ranks of civil rights and organized labor, regrets the unfinished business of 1969, but feels justifiable satisfaction in the progress he has stimulated.

More than any other one man, this president emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and one of the vice-presidents of the AFL-CIO, helped in the twenties to turn the colored American public to trade unionism. He urged the race to give priority to economic development. He was a practicing socialist of the Norman Thomas school. He and his partner, Chandler Owen, preached that profit, off any color of man, was the driving force and that men of all colors should organize for protection and progress.



ROY WILKENS

The sleeping car porters, exploited unbelievably by the Pullman company, asked him to help them. Randolph, son of a minister, a college graduate and a Socialist theorist, agreed to listen and then wrote articles for his fiery magazine, "The Messenger."

The first meeting, in an effort to thwart the stool pigeons who turned in names to the company, was 100 per cent Randolph. He opened the meeting, delivered the invocation, sang one verse of a hymn, delivered the speech and the benediction. He made the silent men disperse immediately to their homes.

Once hooted down

Only three colored newspapers supported Randolph because the black public was very anti-union and because, too, the Pullman company rewarded the anti-porter viewpoint. But the union was formed and Randolph and his committee finally won a contract. The porters won a raise from $37.50 to $79.50 a month in the first contract. Today the vanishing porters are paid something over $6,000 a year. Fringe benefits are additional.

After witnessing the refusals of factories to hire colored persons in 1939-41, Randolph organized the first march on Washington. President Roosevelt wanted to avoid an outpouring of black protesters in the nation's capital. The United States was almost certain to go to war against the Hitler master race theory, yet in our own country we were practicing Hitlerism against our black citizens!

So, in June, 1941, FDR signed Executive Order 8802 authorizing the wartime Fair Employment Commission. The march was cancelled. Randolph has lived to see that shaky, ineffective FEPC blossom into many state and municipal laws and into the employment provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Implementation is not all it should be, but the principle of no racial discrimination in employment, hooted down in 1939, is now firmly established.

Gentle but tough

The man who pushed this alteration in a nation's policy saw his dream of a real march on Washington come true on August 28, 1963, when 220,000 persons went to Washington and poured out their hearts and hopes in a petition to their government. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., made the march live with his forensic exhortation, "I Have A Dream," but it was A. Philip Randolph who looked out over that vast throng and saw a dream walking.

As he surveyed his world the other night, the organ-like voice was there. The cool, unassailable logic was there. The fire, not raging now, was still there. He is gentle, but tough; a fighter, but with a rapier, not a broadsword.

The present-day black rough riders and hard talkers could learn a lot about tactics and integrity from the career of this doughty warrior.

Randolph once called 'most dangerous in U.S.'

A. Phillip Randolph, president of A. Phillip Randolph Institute, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the only black vice prsident of AFL-CIO, is one of the most respected non-violent civil rights leaders. At one time he was described as "The most dangerous Negro in America" when he spoke out in Cleveland, Ohio against American participation in World War II.

He has courageously fought against racism, violence and segregation for over half a century. In 1917, he founded a magazine, The Messenger, the lone voice that spoke to 20,000 readers in its demands for social change.

In 1925, he became the leader of the campaign to organize sleeping car porters and for 10 years battled the railraod companies before The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters won certification and collective bargaining. In a few years under his leadership, the sleeping car porters quadrupled their income.

* * *

Mr. Randolph the first colored man to plan a massive march on Washington, when in 1941 the Defense factories were booming, but colored workers were not among those receiving the high wages workers were being paid. His plan threw government officials and even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt into a panic, and pressure was brought for him to call off the march.

With the NAACP and the National Urban League behind him, Mr. Randolph agreed to call off the demonstration only after President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the first Fair Employment Committee.

Clipper

Randolph's Night

JAMES A. WECHSLER

It was almost a decade ago—the date was Sept. 23, 1959—when Asa Philip Randolph rose at an AFL-CIO convention to cry out against the existence of segregated locals in the labor movement and AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany angrily responded: "Who the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

Now it was Tuesday night of this week in the year 1969 and in the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria and one of those paying homage to Randolph was saying "I consider it a great privilege to come here this evening." The speaker recalled Randolph's long battle against labor's discriminating sins and added: "He is no longer alone."

The speaker was George Meany and, while his detractors will say that he was belatedly performing an act of penance (or responding to the pressures of critics), Meany's largeness of spirit is too often deprecated; he is too old to feel any desperate need for a contrived political gesture. But it must also be said that the drama reflected Randolph's remarkable gift for evoking the best impulses in those whom his life has touched—including many with whom he has bitterly clashed.

* * *

The turnout at this tribute underlined how deeply Randolph has challenged so many consciences. I know he would regard it as ungracious if I marred the occasion by naming some of those present, including some fancy labor-skates, whose dedication to the rights of Negroes has been less than ardent.

Randolph would prefer to believe their attendance was symptomatic of a small moral awakening that he has helped to arouse, and that justifies in some degree the rationality and patience that always accompanied his most militant endeavors.

The announcement that more than half the membership of AFL-CIO executive council was on hand evoked memories for one reporter of a melancholy time long before the Meany-Randolph exchange of 1959. It was the AFL convention of 1940 at which Randolph—without the support of a single white delegate—spoke out passionately against the Federation's Jim Crow practices. I will never forget the deadly silence in which he was heard and ignored. Now many of the elder statesmen who subjected him to that indignity are dead or moribund, and many of the survivors were saluting him. It is not Randolph who has changed.

* * *

What might have been an evening of rambling nostalgia fortuitously acquired very contemporary relevance because of the strike of hospital workers in Charleston, S.C. For Randolph this must have provided special satisfaction; although ill health has reduced his labors, it has not diminished his sense of involvement, and ceremonials are not his favorite affairs, even when he is the honored dignitary.

Someone other than Randolph might have been dismayed by the fact that, in theatrical terms, Mrs. Coretta King stole the show with her moving plea in behalf of the underpaid, exploited Charleston employes who "are sick and tired of being sick and tired." But one could detect in Randolph's closing response the old scent of battle, an analogy between the oppressed Pullman porters for whom his leadership meant a glimpse of sunlight and dignity and the embattled Charleston Negroes who refuse to be awed by the intransigeance of Gov. McNair and the hospital officialdom.

There was also the felicitous coincidence that it was exactly 10 years ago this week that New York's hospital workers began the strike that led to a breakthrough against anti-union establishments and the emergence of Local 1199 as a major fact of local life. Randolph was a large figure in mobilizing support for that victorious upsurge.

* * *

Now Charleston has become a convulsive battleground for unionism in the South, and especially for Negroes whose pay, in Mrs. King's words, is "not a wage but an insult."

And now Philip Randolph, Mrs. King, Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin were saying in unison that the Charleston conflict could herald a revival of the labor-Negro coalition that has disintegrated so ominously in the face of blue-collar backlash and black separatism. Perhaps the hope is beyond realization, and one wonders how many of those in the audience who cheered the sentiment are prepared to act out the commitment. Yet it is conceivable Charleston may be a new turning point, and that some history was made on the night when Coretta King, with her rare blend of grace and gravity, joined hands with George Meany and Phil Randolph. Whatever the outcome, it was surely Randolph's triumph that the news of this alliance went out to the beleagured strikers as a sequel to the singing of "happy birthday."

ST. LOUIS, MO.
MIRROR
W. CIRC N.AVAIL (N)

APR 23 1969

Editorial In The Chicago Daily Defender

Randolph A Great Leader

A. Philip Randolph, the grand old champion of labor and of human rights, celebrated his 80th birthday Tuesday. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no other American, black or white, has consecrated so much energy and devoted so many years to the cause of justice and equality as has Randolph.

The history of the epic struggle he waged on behalf of black labor and humanity at large spans nearly three quarters of a century. He has inspired three generations of civil rights activits to follow his example.

But Randolph is not only a fearless crusader for social justice, he is also a profound student of contemporary economics and his scholarly views have caused many captains of industry to reconsider their narrow judgment on the relation of labor to production and investment capital.

It was his threat to organize tens of thousands of black men and women to march on the nation's capital in the early stages of the Second World War that forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 outlawing racial discrimination in defense plants. The Fair Employment Practices Commission grew out of his commitment.

Again, Randolph was the moving spirit in the old National Negro Congress which sought to mobilize the nation's democratic forces to redress wrongs and translate the democratic process into actuality.

It was Randolph's insistence and influence that brought an end to the Pullman Porters strike, forcing the Pullman Company to bargain with them for wages and prerogatives that were never before contemplated.

It is difficult to measure in exact terms the full extent of the influence radiated by Randolph in the varying endeavors into which he poured his intellectual and kinetic energy. His grasp of the complexities of social and political dilemmas and th impact of his personality on the outcome of many relevant issues are incomputable.

On this 80th anniversary of A. Philip Randolph--one of the greatest figures in contemporary American history--we proudly doff our hats.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
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APR 3 1969

TRIBUTE: A. Philip Randolph, the grand old man of human rights, will have his 80th birthday honored by a nation of grateful people. Randolph, who has been on the firing line longer than many, is being honored by a national committee composed of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and AFL-CIO's George Meany, who once asked him, "Who in the hell said you speak for Negroes?" When hordes of telegrams and editorials in the black press

(Please Turn to Page A-9)

(Continued from page A-2)

assured Meany that Randolph did, indeed, speak for Negroes, the labor union chief took a new look at the head of the Sleeping Car Porters Union. The gilt-edged committee includes women, labor, industrialists and freedom fighters. . . . Nathan Hare, who sparked the Howard U. strife here and went on to be booted from San Francisco State, has vowed that acting president S. I. Hayakawa "must go." Dr. Hare intends to be on campus as a professor in exile. . . . The poor of Appalachia shouldn't be too concerned. The Fairfax County Board of Supervisors has asked the U.S. to relax "overly stringent" rules on outhouses.

THE NEW LEADER

THINKING ALOUD

The Total Vision of A. Philip Randolph

By Bayard Rustin

SOCIAL STRUGGLE, if it is to effectively uplift masses of impoverished and exploited individuals, must articulate and satisfy their diverse needs as well as reconcile objectives that are often considered contradictory. A people degraded by poverty and a caste system of segregation, for example, will have the inchoate desire for dignity and liberation, but that desire will remain unfulfilled until it is given programmatic direction by a political movement. And in the course of fulfillment, there is always the danger that the felt need deriving from a perception of fundamental and historic injustices will conflict with the required political strategy, which by its nature must respond to circumstances of the moment.

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people. Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority at the expense of the majority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

Pursuing his conviction that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands. Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are two million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

Randolph's activities on behalf of black workers, however, did not stop with this broad crusade. In 1925, he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP eventually won certification in 1937.

BAYARD RUSTIN, *a previous contributor to these pages, is director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

This victory not only resulted in the first contract signed by a white employer with a Negro labor leader; it also became a symbol of what could happen if black people organized and bargained collectively. The BSCP enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages. What is more important, it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement. Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had acquired through their economic battles and making use of the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They formed what was in effect a network for the distribution of political literature. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was the head of the local BSCP division and himself a porter.

SINCE THE POLITICAL STRATEGY of mass protest has become commonplace during the last decade, it is all too often forgotten that this was developed by Randolph at a time when the use of such tactics by Negroes was unheard of. He believed that Negroes could not achieve economic advancement without fighting for it, but he was no less profoundly aware that as an oppressed people, the very act of struggling would confer upon them a dignity they had been denied.

Thus in 1941, with the advent of World War II, Randolph conceived the idea of a massive Negro march on Washington to protest the exclusion of black people from jobs in the defense industries. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. The idea was scoffed at or scorned by most people in the white community, and it was so unprecedented that even many Negroes had difficulty believing it could be made into a reality.

Local March on Washington Committees nevertheless began to spring up across the country, and as preparations assumed larger proportions, the pressure on President Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the march, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the War industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Once more thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes through Randolph's efforts, and black people began to sense their power as an organized group and the effectiveness of nonviolent direct action tactics.

Even when his actions have seemed to be directed toward noneconomic ends, Randolph has been guided by a persistent concern for the Negro's economic welfare. In 1948, for instance, he traveled to Washington to speak with President Truman on the problem of segregation and discrimination in the Armed Forces.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Although he was of course concerned that Negroes in the Army be treated with dignity, the more fundamental difficulty he saw was that segregation would exclude them from high-paying officer positions as well as from training programs in skills they would need for post-service civilian employment. Such were Randolph's influence and authority that another Executive Order was issued to comply with his demands.

In 1955, when Randolph urged me to go South to help Dr. Martin Luther King organize the Montgomery bus boycott, he likewise had a dual objective in mind. He naturally felt that Negroes had a right to sit where they wanted to on public accommodations. But he also felt that if the boycott were successful and spread elsewhere, it would create jobs for Negroes as bus drivers and in restaurants, parks and libraries. His conception was that where Negroes were free to come, they would be free to work; if this proved not to be the case, once having gained access to an institution, they would use the same techniques for obtaining employ-

ment that they had originally used to open it up. And this in fact is what has happened throughout the South.

His interest in educational desegregation, too, transcended the problem of dignity or of Negroes and whites attending the same schools together, for he was concerned with the growing threat posed to Negro employment by cybernetics and automation. Since education is the basis for economic advancement, he knew that access to all educational facilities and opportunities was vital to the Negroes. A decade later, we can see even more clearly the devasting effect the combination of automation and inferior segregated education has had on the employment of blacks.

IT WAS RANDOLPH'S perception of the economic basis of Negro freedom that enabled him to grasp the unique significance of the 1963 March on Washington. He conceived of it as marking the termination of the mass protest period—during which Negroes had destroyed the Jim Crow institutions in the South—and the inauguration of an era of massive action at the ballot box designed to bring about new economic programs. Aware that the central problem Negroes faced was no longer simply one of *civil* rights but of *economic* rights—for the one would lack social substance without the other—he called for a March on Washington which brought a quarter of a million Americans to the nation's capital to demand *"Jobs* and Freedom."

At the same time President Kennedy introduced what was to become the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and in the minds of some people this became the main focus of the March. Randolph, however, refused to be misled by transient emotion and persisted in his demand for an economic program. At the 1966 White House conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he proposed the Freedom Budget, calling for an annual Federal expenditure of $18.5 billion for 10 years to wipe out poverty.

Randolph was not speaking here of tax incentives for industry, voluntary assistance by private individuals or community action programs. He was speaking of full employment and a guaranteed income, the rebuilding of our cities, the provision of superior schools for all of our children, and free medical care for all of our citizens. He was speaking, very simply and without rhetoric, of achieving equality in America.

And he was not being unrealistic. He proposed, along with the Freedom Budget, a political strategy for achieving it that calls for building a coalition of Negroes, labor, liberals, religious organizations, and students. If these groups could unite, they would form a majority capable of democratizing the economic, social and political power of this nation.

Today there are many Negroes and liberals who reject the idea of this coalition. The reason for this, I think, is that they have failed to view the problem of inequality in its totality. Unlike Randolph, their vision is fractured and constricted. There are some Negroes, for example, who are advocating racial separatism and black nationalism because they are engaged in a very significant psychological quest for identity.

I am in sympathy with this search to a degree, as was Randolph in 1940 when he wrote: ". . . the Negro and the other darker races must look to themselves for freedom. Salvation for a race, nation, or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races, and the struggle must be continuous, for freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, economic, political and religious relationships."

Randolph did not believe that blacks should isolate themselves, though, so he added: "But Negroes must not fight for their liberation alone. They must join sound, broad, liberal, social movements that seek to preserve American democracy and advance the cause of social and religious freedom."

Randolph's position is not only morally correct but strategically necessary, for Negroes today are in danger of letting an emotional imperative destroy the possibility for social and economic liberation. They are emphasizing blackness to the point of isolating themselves from broad political movements for social justice—forgetting that as one-tenth of the population, they cannot by themselves bring about necessary social changes such as those embodied in the Freedom Budget.

Indeed, many liberals have become obsessed with the psychological aspects of the racial problem to the point of neglecting its economic dimensions. During the early years of the civil rights movement these liberals, unlike Randolph, favored integration primarily as a means of fostering better relations between blacks and whites. Now that the cry of black nationalism has arisen from some Negroes, they have transferred their concern for brotherhood to the need for blacks to achieve pride and identity and for whites to purge themselves of guilt and racism. In both the earlier and the current cases there is a failure to confront the overriding fact of poverty. Most mistakenly, many have now abandoned the objective of building an integrated movement to achieve economic equality.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, this April 14, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident. And by his presence, he poses a challenge to his followers: to build, through means that are democratic and nonviolent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity, that comes from a full life, need not fear each other. In no other way can we at last become a nation that is at peace with itself.

Truly A Great Man

NEW YORK, March 25--This spring one of America's truly great men--A. Philip Randolph --celebrates his 80th birthday.

Mr. Randolph's extraordinary achievements as a leader of working men, as a champion of equality and as a proponent of social justice are well-known. But in these troubled times, it is important to note that A. Philip Randolph has never wavered from the path of solidarity with all mankind. He has struggled--often against incredible odds--to achieve freedom for black Americans through peaceful change. He has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, against separation for any reason.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964, is committed to this philosophy. Its goal is to forge a new and dynamic unity between black America and those other groups which advocate social progress --organized labor, religious groups, liberals and intellectuals.

The cornerstone of the Instutute's activity is the Freedom Budget for All Americans, a ten-year program to abolish poverty in the United States. The goals of the Freedom Budget are full employment, the rebuilding of our slums, and the provision of adequate education and medical care for every American.

There are few causes for freedom with which A. Philip Randolph has not been associated in the past sixty years.

To pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday, a committee has been formed to mobilize enough resources to assure that his lifework will be carried out through the Institute which bears his name. We heartily endorse this goal and wish it every success.

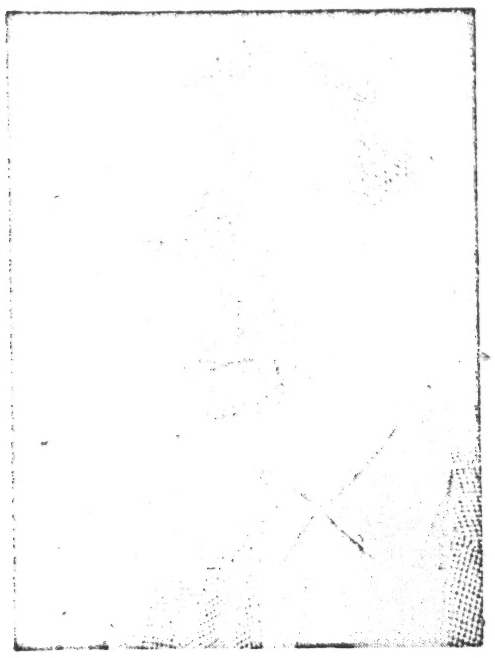
THE QUEENS VOICE
4/4/69

PROTESTANT CHURCH LIFE

A PUBLICATION OF THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

VOLUME 43, NUMBER 12 MARCH 22, 1969

Dr. Randolph To Be Honored May 4th At Waldorf Astoria



Dr. Randolph

An A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, headed by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader.

Dr. Randolph is the immediate past chairman of the Board of Directors of the Protestant Council. He was awarded the Council's "Distinguished Service Award" at the 1968 meeting of the General Assembly.

Highlighting this latest tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Other events are planned as well. The goal of this birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Mr. Randolph's lifework through the institute which bears his name.

(*Continued on page* 3)

DR. RANDOLPH

(*Continued from page* 1)

Sponsors of the birthday tribute, for which Justice Marshall and Mr. Meany are Chairmen, include national leaders, industrialists, educators clergy of all faiths, and political leaders including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey. The Honorary Chairman of the Birthday Committee is Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Mr. Bayard Rustin recounted Mr. Randolph's achievements as "the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change," Mr. Rustin stated, "and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form and against segregation for any reason."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the nation's resources—white and black—in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens. In working with those white forces which represent social progress—organized labor, religious groups, liberals and students—the institute's objective is to forge a new and dynamic unity between whites and Negroes.

Marching On

In an era when gray hair is presumed proof of sellout to the Establishment, A. Philip Randolph wears his crown as a mark of long, distinguished defiance. Sixty years ago he started a career which, with undying integrity to principle, has worked its way slowly forward on behalf of his black brethren. With a character marked by a strange mixture of radicalism and high patriotism he often earned the anger of both ally and enemy. In the 1920s the Justice Department called him "the most dangerous Negro in America." When W. E. B. Du Bois called for support of the country's part in the World War I effort, Randolph attacked the suggestion repeatedly because the United States failed to make democracy safe for his people at home. On the other hand, when Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" campaign was at its height, Randolph flatly refused to consider the idea, publicly saying, "we have no other home." His guiding principle has always been to stay and make the fight from within the system.

In the early part of the century, Randolph decided that the Negro minority could hope to overcome its disadvantages only by coalition with like-minded groups in the white society. Having won a twelve-year battle to organize his Sleeping Car Porters, an effort undertaken originally at their request, he moved completely into battle alongside of—and in dispute with—the labor unions, realizing that full employment was a goal both blacks and unions could fight for together. He soon became the black conscience of the labor movement, returning, in the words of George Meany, "year after year" when "he didn't have too much help" to break racial barriers. The fact that Randolph frequently provoked Meany's anger was simple proof of his persistence. There are now more than 1.5 million blacks in the unions, where there were handfuls before.

Today Randolph's involvement in two famous Marches on Washington are important not only for their substance but because they were separated by more than twenty years; the later one was in 1963. He is a symbol of both a lingering problem we cannot shake and a persistent hope we had better not lose. Mr. Randolph marks his eightieth birthday this month.

New York Post
April 15, 1969
page 3

It's A. Philip Randolph Day

Today is A. Philip Randolph Day, proclaimed by Gov. Rockefeller in honor of the Negro labor leader's 80th birthday.

Randolph, who organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was cited for "his pioneering efforts as a labor leader and his unstinting activity for the public."

New York Post
April 15, 1969

To A. Philip Randolph at 80

This is the 80th birthday of A. Philip Randolph and Gov. Rockefeller has declared it an occasion for official state observance. No doubt such ceremonial recognition will be construed by some young "militants" as proof that Randolph has been absorbed by the Establishment. But in the long run of history his name and his deeds will endure after many headline warriors of the moment are forgotten.

For Randolph the battle for human dignity and equality has not been a matter of Utopian rhetoric. It was the organization under fire of sleeping car porters into a union that liberated them from ignoble serfdom. It was a wartime confrontation with Franklin D. Roosevelt that led to creation of a Fair Employment Practice Committee, opening a thousand factory gates to excluded Negroes and breaking the color line in many lily-white unions. It was the initiation of the Freedom March of 1963. It has been a dramatic, eloquent presence in innumerable struggles for tangible goals on many fronts.

In a time of resurgent, dead-end separatism, there are those who dismiss him as old-fashioned. They speak nonsense. His grace, wisdom, eloquence and dedication have given inspiration and hope to many men, and changed many things. He has been one of the tallest men of his time, and he will loom even larger when the full story is written.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 467,505 SUN. 600,357

APR 1 1969

At Tribute for Randolph

Rustin Denounces Black Separatism

By Harry Bernstein
Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES — "Who the hell appointed you spokesman for the Negro people?" AFL-CIO President George Meany once shouted at A. Philip Randolph, the famed Negro civil rights leader.

Randolph, the only AFL-CIO Negro vice president and head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, drew the Meany remark when he was challenging the labor federation to accept as fact that some unions were guilty of racial discrimination.

In those days, Randolph was among the most militant spokesmen for the Negro people. But today his approach would be in strong contrast to that of black separatists—and this difference was emphasized at one of a series of 80th-birthday celebrations for him here and in other American cities.

Bayard Rustin, Negro author, lecturer and executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Washington, led the tribute to Randolph here last weekend by the United Negro Labor Community Council.

Rustin noted that the black separatists of today defy one of the basic principles by which Randolph lived: integration.

Many young blacks at first sang out, "black is beautiful," Rustin said, but now they are changing this to "only black is beautiful."

"I can tell you this is the biggest lie ever perpetrated.

"There is nothing more beautiful about black than about white.

"I know a black family in the ghetto in New York which pays $100 a month for one rat-infested room, and they pay it to a black landlord.

"That is what a black man is doing to a black man and that ain't beautiful."

Rustin also ridiculed current pleas by some students for separate dormitories and separate classes for blacks in college.

"The Ku Klux Klan said for years that only white teachers could teach white children. Some black students must be having nervous breakdowns when they now echo the KKK and say only blacks can teach blacks.

"These people must know nothing can be learned effectively in a segregated school system, black or white," he said.

Rustin then denounced black capitalism, an idea designed to give Negroes ownership of businesses.

Black capitalism has won some favorable remarks from both President Nixon and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a militant civil rights group.

"When Nixon and CORE start agreeing on something, the rest of us had better start worrying about it," Rustin said.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
. . . receives a tribute

DALLAS, TEXAS
POST TRIBUNE
W. 25,000 (N

MAR 22 1969

Negro Vote Aid Set

The AFL-CIO called on trade unionist throughout the country to honor the 80th birthday of federation Vice President A. Philip Randolph with a major outpouring of funds to finance voter education and registration projects in Negro communities.

The Executive Council adopted a statement noting the "tremendous contribution" made by Randolph to the trade union movement and his life's work of building a Negro-labor alliance.

The new fund's objectives, the Council noted, will be the "strengthening of the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

Newark Star-Ledger
NEWARK, N. J.
D. 238,474

APR 4 1969

A union of friends

NEW YORK (UPI) — Labor and civil rights leaders are planning an 80th birthday celebration for A. Philip Randolph on May 6.

Randolph, who formed the first Negro union — the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — on the railroads, will be honored at a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria, Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, announced.

Heading the committee to plan the dinner, with the goal of a $250,000 fund to carry on Randolph's work through his institute, are Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall of the Supreme Court and President George Meany of the AFL-CIO.

Honorary chairmen include the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. and Whitney Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

Call To Support Randolph Birthday Tribute

New York--A resolution calling on trade unionists throughout the country to support the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee and its goal of $250,000, was passed on February 18 by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Bel Harbour, Florida.

In passing the resolution the Council declared that the objectives of a stronger "political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals will achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

Following is complete text of the AFL-CIO Resolution:

"Whereas A. Philip Randolph has throughout his long career made a tremendous contribution to the American trade union movement, and

"Whereas Brother Randolph has dedicated his life to the building of a Negro-labor alliance and to the integration of the Negro people into the econmic, social and political life of America, and

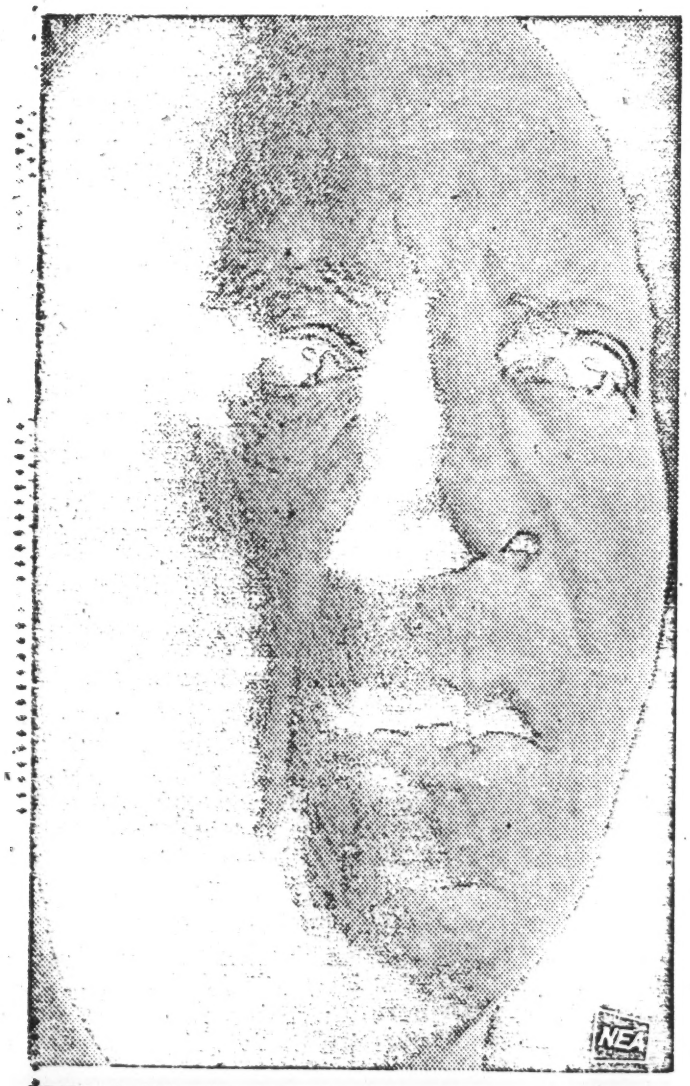
"Whereas Brother Randolph will be celebrating his 80th birthday on April 15, 1969 therefore be it

"Resolved that the AFL-CIO Executive Council salute Brother Randolph on the occasion of his 80th birthday and that it call on trade unionists throughout the country to support the birthday celebration which will be held on May 6, 1969 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, and also contribute to the fund to be established in Brother Randolph's name which will be used to finance voter education and registration projects in the black communities of our cities with the objective of strengthening the political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

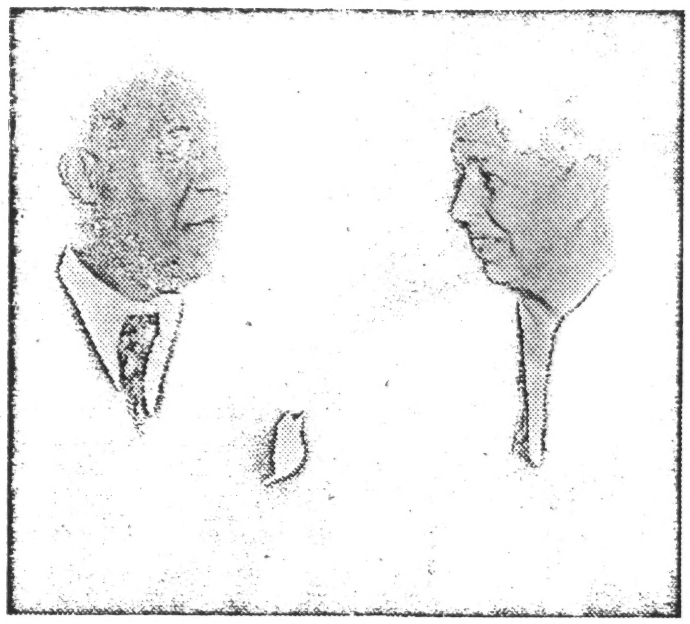
BANNING, CALIF.
RECORD GAZETTE
D. 3,000

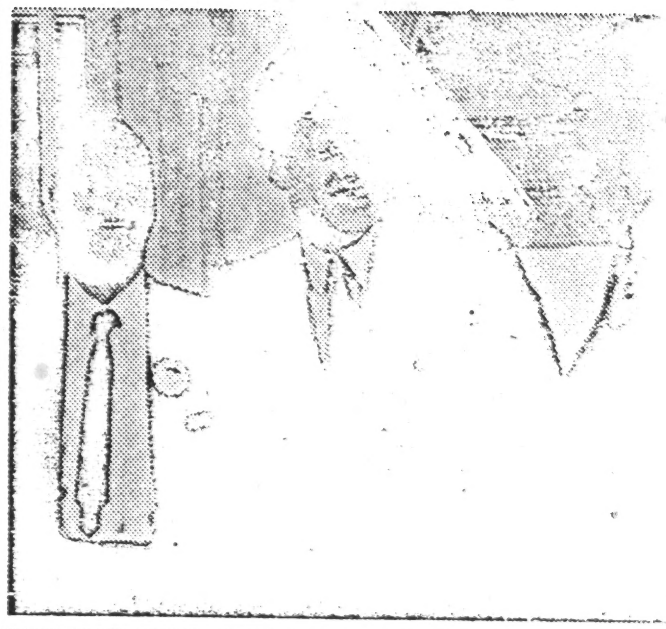
APR 22 1969

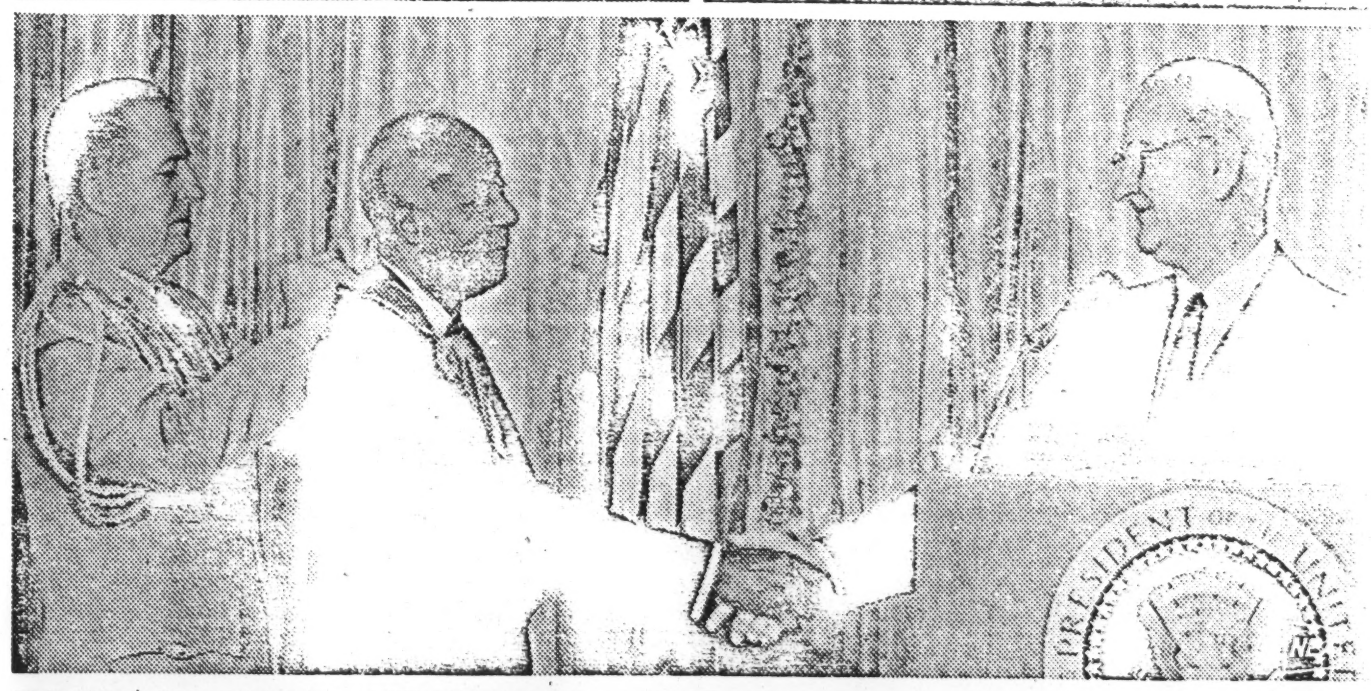
A gala tribute to A. Philip Randolph to commemorate the 80th birthday of the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader will bring together the nation's foremost public officials, labor leaders and dignitaries at a testimonial dinner May 6 in New York City.



STILL SPEAKING OUT for the cause of the Negro, A. Philip Randolph appears before one of the many committees requesting his presence.







THROUGH THE YEARS, A. Philip Randolph has appeared with the nation's greats in his crusade for civil rights. At top left, he is shown with Eleanor Roosevelt in 1946 at a Madison Square Garden rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission. In 1963, top right, following the famed March on Washington, he met with President Kennedy along with Walter Reuther, right, and other civil rights leaders. President Johnson, bottom, gave Randolph the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, honoring his years of dedication.

The New York Times
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 897,505 SUN. 1,445,507

MAY 7 1969

Mrs. King, Here, Urges Support For Carolina Hospital Strikers

By DAMON STETSON

Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. called on labor, the clergy, political leaders and the civil rights movement last night to rally to the cause of striking hospital workers in Charleston, S. C.

She said that Charleston, like Selma and Memphis, had become a "national test" of conscience.

"For if we win—and I know we can win," she said, "Charleston may become that moment in our history when the unity of black and white, of the civil rights movement with organized labor, may be recaptured.

"That unity was my husband's dream. That dream will never die. And I know that if my husband were alive today, he would tell you that this dream can be realized today in Charleston, South Carolina."

Mrs. King discussed the strike—by 450 cooks, maids, orderlies, nurses' aides and other nonprofessional workers seeking union recognition at two Charleston hospitals—in a address at a testimonial dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in honor of A. Philip Randolph.

The 80-year-old Negro labor leader, formerly president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and has long been a leader in the cause of civil rights.

The alliance of civil rights groups and organized labor that Mr. Randolph devoted a lifetime to building, Mrs. King said, is a reality today in Charleston. She told the audience, which included high public officials, national labor leaders, educators, clergymen and businessmen, that they could honor Mr. Randolph best by advancing the principles for which he had fought throughout his life.

"With that in mind," she said in a prepared address, "I say that at this moment in our history, the single most important issue before the forces of progress in this nation—the labor movement, the civil rights movement, our political leaders, the clergy—is the cause of the hospital workers in Charleston."

WASHINGTON, D.C.
TRADES UNIONIST
W.29,000

APR 1 2 1969

PAGE ONE

Salute for Philip Randolph May 6

Bal Harbour, Fla. — The AFL-CIO called on trade unionists throughout the country to honor the 80th birthday of federation Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph with a major outpouring of funds to finance voter education and registration projects in Negro communities.

The Executive Council adopted a statement noting the "tremendous contribution" made by Randolph to the trade union movement and his life's work of building a Negro-labor alliance.

Randolph, who stepped down recently as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will mark his 80th birthday April 15. A special celebration will be held May 6 at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York City to launch the new fund.

The fund's objectives, the council noted, will be the "strengthening of political coalition of labor unions, Negroes and liberals which can achieve those economic and social reforms that will bring greater democracy and enduring peace to this nation."

RICHMOND, VA.
AFRO-AMERICAN (N)
W. 16,000

APR 19 1969

A. Phillip Randolph's 80th Birthday

Plans are going on apace to celebrate the 80th birthday of one of the grand old men of the civil rights wars, who after 60 years on the firing line, is still making a contribution to the fight to carry the race toward full citizenship.

For more than half a century the name of Asa Philip Randolph has figured prominently in all the battles for racial progress which have attracted the attention of leaders and groups, religious and economic, since he blazed a trail as head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the early twenties when he came out of Harlem and began nationwide mobilization of one of the great American industries which caused the leaders to tremble.

Mr. Randolph was born on April 15, 1889 at Crescent, Fla., the son of James and Elizabeth Randolph. He was educated at Cookman Institute and later attended the City College of New York. He organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 and was editor of the Messenger during which he also co-authored a book, "The Truth about Lynching" which caused repercussions throughout America.

During the second World War, his counsel was sought by presidents and world leaders, both at home and abroad.

In the latter years when the struggle for broader rights of colored people under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and others developed, he became the patriach and adviser and his aide and counsel were sought by the younger men who began to catch the ear of the masses.

He never advocated violence in any form and always sponsored the cause of brotherhood and industry and full participation of all citizens as the father of the idea of fair employment practices for all people.

The AFRO heartily endorses the plan to give him flowers while he still is with us to enjoy them.

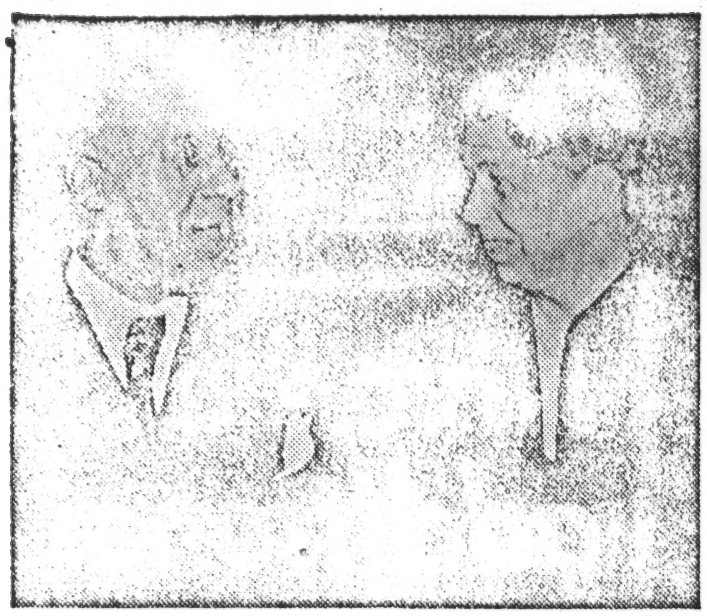
JET
CHICAGO, ILL.
W. 356,000

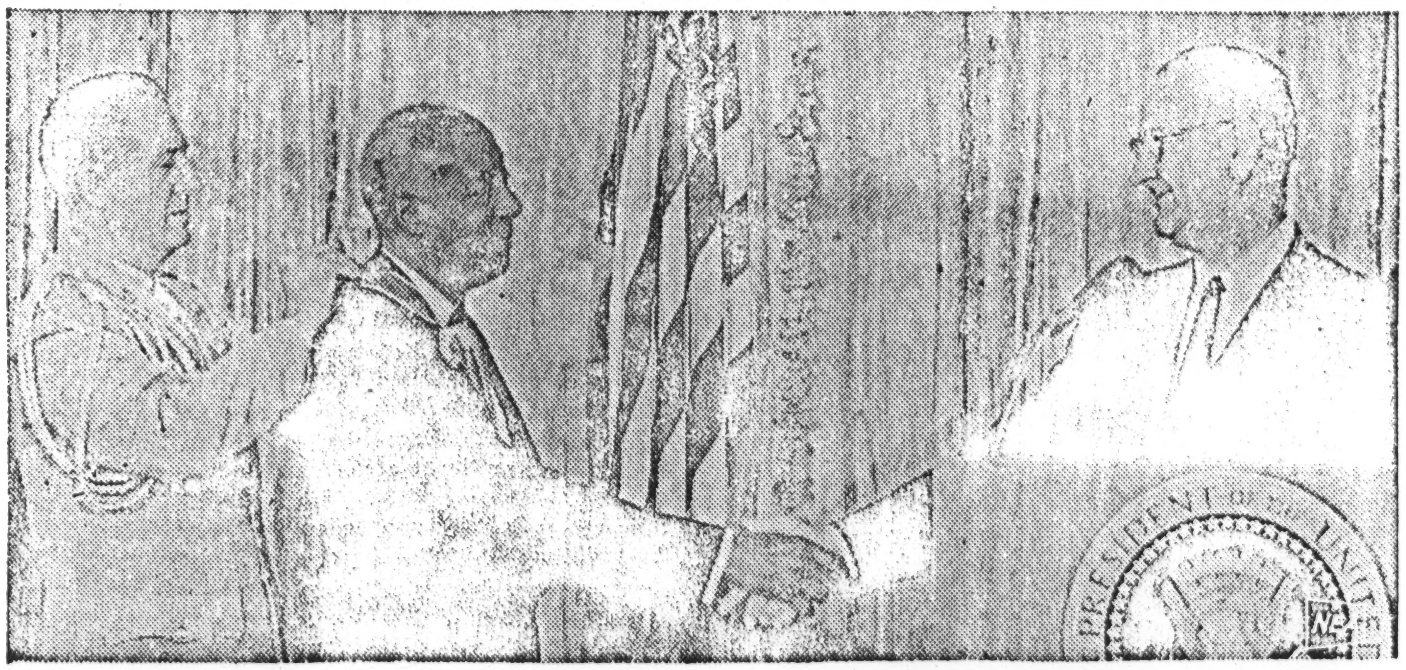
MAY 1 1969

J. J. Harlem gave tribute to pioneering labor leader **A. Philip Randolph** on April 20 at Salem Methodist Church in commemoration of his 80th birthday . . . Veteran city employe **Kyle Washington,** president of the New Deal Democratic Club, now has the $11,000-a-year job as confidential assistant to New York County Surrogate **S. Samuel DiFalco** . . . The art exhibition, *Afro-American Artists: Since 1950,* now open at Brooklyn College, was organized by black art expert **Henri Ghent** and dedicated to talented artist **Bob Thompson,** who died at 28 in Rome in 1966 . . . The "first fully integrated orchestra ever assembled in the U. S.," **The Symphony of The New World** (of the 88 musicians, 36 are nonwhite and 30 are female) scheduled its first "Spring Gala Benefit Concert" for April 27 at Philharmonic Hall with **William Warfield, Marian Anderson** and **Zero Mostel** adding to the festivities . . . *Black Pride, A People's Struggle,* a book for young readers by economist **Julius Hobson** and **Janet Harris,** "the only white CORE officer on Long Island," is being published on May 2 . . . Temptation's bass **Melvin Franklin's** four-year-old son nearly stole the show from the group during their Copa opening. He didn't miss a beat in going through the intricate routines of the group. —BOBBIE BARBEE

KENOSHA, WIS.
NEWS
D. 27,000

APR 23 1969





THROUGH THE YEARS, A Philip Randolph has appeared with the nation's greats in his crusade for civil rights. At top left, he is shown with Eleanor Roosevelt in 1946 at a Madison Square Garden rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission. In 1963, top right, following the famed March on Washington, he met with President Kennedy along with Walter Reuther, right, and other civil rights leaders. President John son, bottom, gave Randolph the Presidential Medal of Freedon in 1964, honoring his years of dedication. A testimonial dinne will be held May 6 in New York City on Randolph's 80t birthday.

A. PHILIPS RANDOLPH STILL HAS DEEP FAITH IN THE LITTLE PEOPLE

NEW YORK -- A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life in writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow this example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune Cookman College) and then moved North where he continued his studies at the City College of New York.

In 1914, Mr. Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosphy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration, and economic equality, which he has adhered to throughout his life.

'MESSENGER'

These principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in "The Messenger," a magazine that Mr. Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever undertaken.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920s, he argued for integration against the Back-to-Africa campaign of Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the movement for black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject W. E. B. Dubois' concept of "The talented tenth," has today guided his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalsim. And he has never compromised his commitment to non-violence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Mr. Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

MET OPPOSITION

His efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers who were striking for just demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves, and he embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice-President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the Depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today, Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To correct this injustice, he conceived the idea of massive a Negro March Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local March on Washington committees had sprung up across the country, and as the March began to assume larger and larger proportions, the pressures on President Franlkin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened to Negroes.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands.

It is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

CONCEIVED '63 MARCH

Mr. Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great March on Washington of 1963 which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

And today, on the eve of his 80th birthday, he is the president of the A. Philip

TOLEDO, OHIO
BRONZE RAVEN
8,000 (N)

APR 19 1969

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And today, on the eve of his 80th birthday, he is the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for Negro Americans.

Mr. Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his eightieth year, A. Philip Randolph continues to point the way to justice freedom and equality for black Americans.

THE EVENING SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
D. 209,655

APR 30 1969

Randolph Always A Leader In Fight For Negro Rights

By Bayard Rustin

New York (NANA)—A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America.

He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example.

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Marries Teacher

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PHILIP A. RANDOLPH

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Wins Certification

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Concern For Welfare

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Committees Formed

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Conceived '63 March

It is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great March on Washington of 1963 which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

And today, on the eve of his 80th birthday, he is the president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for Negro Americans.

Faith In Little Man

Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his 80th year, A. Philip Randolph continues to point the way to justice, freedom and equality for black Americans.

DENVER, COLO.
COLORADO LABOR
ADVOCATE
W 16,160
APR 25 1969

NEW YORK — There was much public praise for A. Philip Randolph who celebrated his 80th birthday on April 15. The Negro unionist, a vice president of the AFL-CIO, was called a "Trailblazer at 80", by the New York Times and the AFL-CIO editorialized: "We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph." His friends and associates will honor him at a May 6th dinner in New York.

Newsday
GARDEN CITY, N. Y.
D. 427,270

MAY 7 1969

Rights, Labor Chiefs Toast Old Ally

By Maureen O'Neill

New York—National leaders from the civil rights and labor establishments rallied last night around aging Negro labor leader A. Philip Randolph as a symbol of their alliance and a denunciation of black extremists.

The occasion was Randolph's 80th birthday, which brought 1,200 rights and labor leaders to a roast beef dinner party in the elegant Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Park Avenue. Among the 80 on a three-tier dais were Ralph J. Bunche, Gov. Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, AFL-CIO president George Meany, NAACP head Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 march on Washington.

Rallying point of the evening was a speech by the widow of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who focused on the hospital strike in Charleston, S.C., where Negro women workers are demonstrating for union recognition. "The Charleston strike is now a major issue with tremendous implications for the civil rights movement, for organized labor and for all Americans," Mrs. King said.

Describing the protest that began in March with the walkout of 500 workers who get $1.30 an hour, Mrs. King called for union support in money and manpower. She said, "The alliance that Mr. Randolph has devoted a lifetime to building—the alliance of civil rights groups and organized labor—is a reality today in Charleston."

The scene in the hotel's Grand Ballroom, with its delicate turquoise and gold murals, seemed a far distance from the railroad tracks that run below Park Avenue. The tracks follow the route that Randolph traveled 45 years ago in his 10-year drive to organize sleeping car porters.

Randolph, acclaimed for his successes achieved by non-violent methods, was praised by his colleagues. "Young black militants one day will come to their senses as some of us have had to," Rustin said.

Randolph likened the party to a "ceremony of rededication in the cause of freedom," and called on black militants to reconsider their positions and "reaffirm their dedication to the principals of democracy." He urged them to reject "confrontatation, violence and racial separatism." Randolph said that black racism, white racism and anti-semitism should be put in a "limbo of oblivion from which they shall never emerge."

(7)

Marching On

In an era when gray hair is presumed proof of sellout to the Establishment, A. Philip Randolph wears his crown as a mark of long, distinguished defiance. Sixty years ago he started a career which, with undying integrity to principle, has worked its way slowly forward on behalf of his black brethren. With a character marked by a strange mixture of radicalism and high patriotism he often earned the anger of both ally and enemy. In the 1920s the Justice Department called him "the most dangerous Negro in America." When W. E. B. Du Bois called for support of the country's part in the World War I effort, Randolph attacked the suggestion repeatedly because the United States failed to make democracy safe for his people at home. On the other hand, when Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" campaign was at its height, Randolph flatly refused to consider the idea, publicly saying, "we have no other home." His guiding principle has always been to stay and make the fight from within the system.

In the early part of the century, Randolph decided that the Negro minority could hope to overcome its disadvantages only by coalition with like-minded groups in the white society. Having won a twelve-year battle to organize his Sleeping Car Porters, an effort undertaken originally at their request, he moved completely into battle alongside of—and in dispute with—the labor unions, realizing that full employment was a goal both blacks and unions could fight for together. He soon became the black conscience of the labor movement, returning, in the words of George Meany, "year after year" when "he didn't have too much help" to break racial barriers. The fact that Randolph frequently provoked Meany's anger was simple proof of his persistence. There are now more than 1.5 million blacks in the unions, where there were handfuls before.

Today Randolph's involvement in two famous Marches on Washington are important not only for their substance but because they were separated by more than twenty years; the later one was in 1963. He is a symbol of both a lingering problem we cannot shake and a persistent hope we had better not lose. Mr. Randolph marks his eightieth birthday this month.

Trailblazer at 80

The unionist who was once described by the Department of Justice as "the most dangerous Negro in America" celebrates his eightieth birthday today as the recipient of an official proclamation from Governor Rockefeller setting aside the day in his honor. That man is A. Philip Randolph, whose natural dignity has always remained unbruised and ultimately triumphant in a lifetime filled with attempts at petty humiliation by those determined to hold down the black man in labor and in every other aspect of American life.

[illegible] and union to [illegible]

[illegible] was the leader of the sleeping car porters' union in his decades of frustrating effort to smash the Jim Crow practices of a labor movement dominated by the lily-white building trades. But his unswerving dedication to the concept that black workers and white workers had to move forward together finally prevailed as national policy and made him a vice president of the merged labor movement.

The flaws in that unity and the betrayals of principle that still hold back the Negro remain as challenges [illegible] of el[illegible]

RANDOLPH TESTIMONIAL — Pictured are some of the VIPs in attendance at the United Negro Labor Community Council's testimonial banquet Saturday, for the benefit of the A. Philip Randolph Institute [illegible] 80th birth- [illegible] man of the dinner committee; Pu[illegible] Leon H. Washington, Jr.; keynote s[illegible] Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Mae Ma[illegible] son, ILGWU; Sam McAllister, chairman of the UNLCC, and Norman Hill, assistant director, Randolph Institute.

4118

Still Has Deep Faith In The Little People

A. Philip Randolph is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice, and equality in America. He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice, and he has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the [illegible] teemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Flor[illegible] April 15, 1889. His father was an itinerant minister of the [illegible] can Methodist Episcopal Church.

He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-[illegible] man College) and then moved North where he contin[illegible] studies at the City College of New York.

In 1914, Mr. Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a [illegible] Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in ph[illegible] economics, and political science and developed a com[illegible] to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integra[illegible] economic equality, which he has adhered to throughou[illegible]

MESSENGER'

These principles were advocated with militancy a[illegible] lectual clarity in "The Messenger," a magazine that [illegible] dolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholar[illegible] ard this publication as among the most brilliantly [illegible] d and edited ventures in Negro journalism ever und[illegible]

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, n[illegible] he most trying and confusing of times. In the 1920's [illegible] d for integration against the Back-to-Africa cam[illegible] Marcus Garvey, just as today he has opposed the [illegible] or black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five deca[illegible] eject W. E. B. Dubois' concept of "the talented t[illegible] oday guided his criticism of the elitist proposal [illegible] apitalism. And he has never compromised his co[illegible] o non-violence as the means to achieve equali[illegible] Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be [illegible] olitically free until he is economically secure, M[illegible] truggled to build an alliance between black Am[illegible] e trade union movement.

ET OPPOSITION

His efforts met strong opposition from Souther[illegible] nd powerful business leaders who had tradition[illegible] se the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Thei[illegible] o exploit the Negro's grievous need for employm[illegible] g him to scab on unionized workers who were [illegible] ust demands.

Mr. Randolph realized that the only benefactors of [illegible] practices were the exploiters themselves, and h[illegible] on a crusade opposing any form of strike-bre[illegible] roes and advocating instead their full integr[illegible] merican trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice-Presid[illegible] re two million black trade unionists who have a[illegible] omic dignity, job security, and protection against [illegible] rimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro w[illegible] t stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the lo[illegible] campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sl[illegible] ters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway company [illegible] ratings of the Depression, the BSCP was certi[illegible] 37.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The importance of this victory was profound and lasting. The BSCP not only [illegible] Negro workers to unio[illegible] labor movement, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights struggle.

Pullman porters, armed with the sophistication they had acquired through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the union. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E. D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Mr. Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood.

His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Mr. Randolph became increasingly distressed about the exclusion of Negroes from jobs in the defense industries. To correct this injustice, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on the street corners of Harlem and elsewhere.

Before long, local March on Washington [illegible]

groes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Mr. Randolph an AFL-CIO Vice-President and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security, and protection against racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925 he began the long and arduous campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP).

Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and hardships of the Depression, the BSCP was certified in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of this victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with the sophistication they had achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and their dedication, and it is not surprising that E.D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

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Before long, local March on Washington committees had sprung up across the country, and as the March began to assume larger and larger proportions, the pressure on President FranklinRoosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the schedule date of the March, the President issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in the war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph travelled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands.

It is a testament both to his achievement, and to the work which has to be done, that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

CONCEIVED '63 MARCH

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Mr. Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his eightieth year, A. Phillip Randolph continues to point the way to justice, freedom and equality for black Americans.

Randolph Urges Negro Youths To Reject Violence as Policy

N.Y. TIMES 5/8/69

By DAMON STETSON

A. Philip Randolph, the 80-year-old labor and civil rights [illegible] has urged militant Negro youths to reject confrontation and violence in their [illegible] for freedom and justice.

"In my life," he said, "I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and [illegible]ation, but there are some [illegible], particularly among our youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider [illegible] position and to engage [illegible]me in a reaffirmation of [illegible] fundamental principles. [illegible] must reject confrontation and together reaffirm the [illegible]ssity for democratic means [illegible]olitical protest. We must [illegible]t violence, and together re[illegible]m the power and the wis[illegible] of nonviolence.

And we must reject racial [illegible]ratism and together, with [illegible] conviction that one day our [illegible]on can cease to be divided [illegible]in itself, reaffirm our abid[illegible] faith in integration. We [illegible]not reject these principles [illegible]hout also denying ourselves [illegible] possibility of freedom."

Honored at Dinner

Mr. Randolph, the only Negro [illegible]ember of the executive coun[illegible] of the American Federation [illegible] Labor and Congress of In[illegible]strial Relations, and recent[illegible] retire[illegible] Brother[illegible] Porters, [illegible] reer in supporting the cause [illegible] Negro liberation at a testimo[illegible]ial dinner in his honor at [illegible] Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Tuesd[illegible] night.

He was praised for his [illegible] in improving the lot of [illegible] working man, both black a[illegible] white, by an array of speak[illegible] that included Governor Roc[illegible]feller, Mayor Lindsay, M[illegible] Martin Luther King Jr., Geo[illegible] Meany, the president of [illegible] A.F.L.-C.I.O., and Roy Wilk[illegible] the executive director of [illegible] National Association for [illegible] Advancement of Colo[illegible] People.

Mr. Randolph emphasized [illegible] his response, that he had [illegible]deavored through the year[illegible] establish an alliance betw[illegible] the Negro and the Amer[illegible] trade union movement.

"The labor movement," [illegible] said, "has been the home of [illegible] working man, and tradition[illegible] it has been the only haven [illegible] the dispossessed."

Mrs. King, who said Mr. [illegible]dolph had been an inspir[illegible] to her late husband, calle[illegible] the 1,300 representatives [illegible] labor, the clergy, governm[illegible] and the civil rights move[illegible] at the dinner to rally to [illegible] cause of hospital workers [illegible] on strike in Charleston, S[illegible] in an effort to gain recogn[illegible] for their union.

She said that Charleston, [illegible]

Rustin Letter

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 19, 1969

Birthday Tribute Slated For A. Philip Randolph, 80

New York—AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph celebrated his 80th birthday on Apr. 15 and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller proclaimed the day in his name throughout New York. But the most meaningful tribute is yet to come.

Friends and associates of Randolph, president-emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, will gather at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 6, to pay tribute to his life-long effort to advance civil rights and eliminate poverty.

The goal of the tribute, being organized by the A. Philip Randolph 80th Birthday Committee, is to raise a fund of $250,000 to carry on the Negro leader's life work through the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall are co-chairmen of the committee, whose 87 members read like a "who's who" in labor, management, government, religion, civil rights, poverty, education and entertainment.

Cinque file

WANTED

FOR TRIAL

FOR "CRIMES" COMMITTED AGAINST THE BLACK PEOPLE.....

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
WHITNEY. YOUNG
BAYARD RUSTIN
MARTIN LUTHER KING

AND OTHERS WILL BE LISTED LATER..
SUCH "CRIMES" AS AIDING THE ENEMY TO "OPPRESS" BLACK PEOPLE.....
"EXPLOITATION" OF BLACK PEOPLE AND BEING "TRAITORS" TO THE BLACK CAUSE AND ASKING FOR THE "BLOOD" OF THE BLACK PEOPLE

THESE MEN WILL BE "JUSTLY" DEALT WITH.....

CHARLES KENYATTA
REVOLUTIONARY CENTER
1964 SEVENTH AVENUE

Zukka

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

(Dispatched May 8, 1969)

Coretta King's Evening:

Veteran Negro Labor Leader Urges
Black Youth to Reject 'Confrontationism'

By Victor Riesel

New York: -- It was not meant to be but it was widow Coretta Scott King's evening. She came -- albeit fashionably and dramatically late -- to join with many leaders in honoring the veteran black labor leader, A. Philip Randolph, at 80, still eloquent, still resonant of voice, still fiercely proud of, among other causes, having led the sleeping car porters.

Others had come and gone from the thickly jammed Waldorf-Astoria Grand Ballroom on the night of May 6. Nelson Rockefeller had thrown away his manuscript and wound up in a minute or two by saying he hoped "little Nelson," his son, would grow up to be the man Phil Randolph is. John Lindsay, tall in his boots as he fights for his political existence, spoke quickly, tensely and with sophistication before returning to the city streets where that day police had had to protect firemen from college demonstrators, students had fought with bats and clubs, and at least one university president had apologized for police intervention needed to protect firefighters attempting to quench flames in a citadel of higher learning.

There was George Meany, labor's president, uneasy in a dinner jacket. He took his five minutes to say that labor had not always eased the black worker's life but now the unions were trying and would try harder because there is still a long journey to the millennium.

Then slowly, gracefully, dazzling in her white long-sleeved, high-necked bead-trimmed gown, Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. made her entrance. Her voice reflected her training, her poise, her confidence; her speech showed the awareness that she now, in the public prints, carried her husband's banner.

Instantly she turned the honoring of A. Philip Randolph into a mass rally for the 400 Charleston hospital strikers. Instantly it was she, with her advisers offstage, who was assuming leadership of what will be the most clangorous and clamorous unionization drive the South has known since John Lewis hurled his CIO legions against the mills of steel and rubber.

It was not the speech her hosts had asked her to make. It was not the tribute of women to Phil Randolph, who for 60 years and more has fought for his causes in the public squares of the land. It was, rather, 14 minutes of subdued but polished oratory, while the men who were chartering planes for the mass flight to Charleston, the men who had led the Memphis strike, the men who were counseling and financing the grape strike, the men who had organized the 1963 massive March on Washington, listened, squirmed a bit and were not at all sure they had not been supplanted by the widow and the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC).

A few mintues later, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins rose. Softly he spoke, as to a father one loves deeply as a friend and companion and not out of the compulsion of flesh and blood. He had in hand a book of messages to "Phil" -- from President Nixon and the elusive Lyndon Johnson and hundreds more.

This volume he handed to A. Philip Randolph, who never found the White House more exciting than riding a night train with his brother unionists.

-MORE-

And then he spoke and it was late. Only one newsman stayed, for this newsman never has left a room in which Phil Randolph was set to speak. He had not asked his lyrical comrade Bayard Rustin to write him a speech. He had made notes on the back of a menu. And, since they are words from an old fighter to the young, they should not be lost.

"Our ceremony of rededication," said the still stalwart Randolph across the generation gap to the young around him, including the widow Coretta Scott King, "is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved.

"In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle.

"I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence. And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to divide within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration.

"We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

"Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted. But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundary of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency. And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, at peace with each other and with themselves."

Perhaps it was not all Coretta King's evening after all. There was something quite fiery in the youthful resonance of the 80-year-old fighter.

Wisdom -- tempered by realism forged in a thousand battles.

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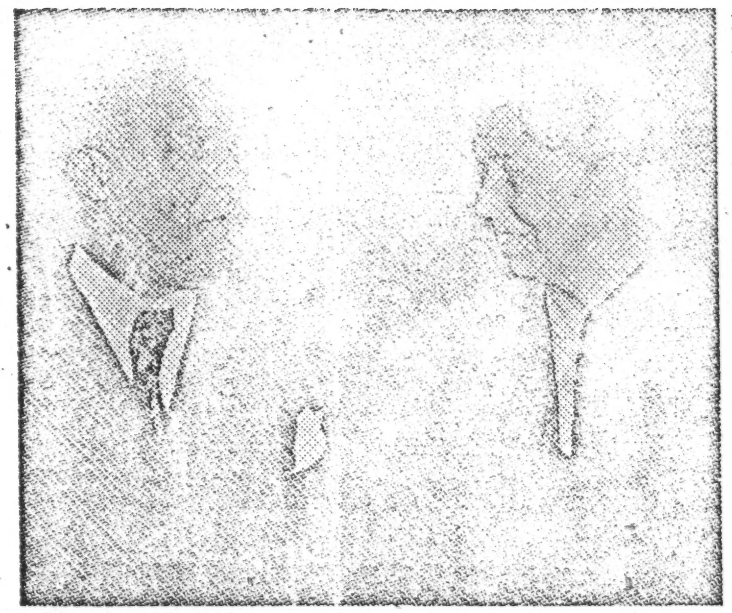
jz

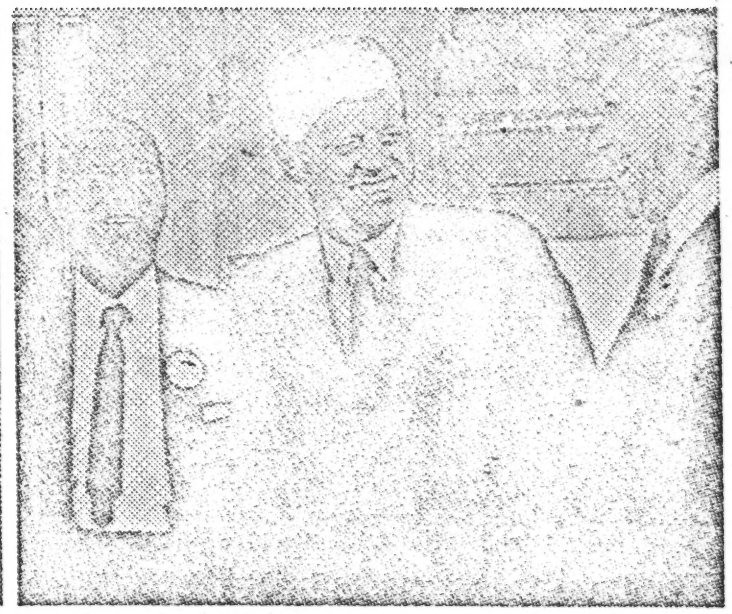
LEADER-HERALD
D. 14,503

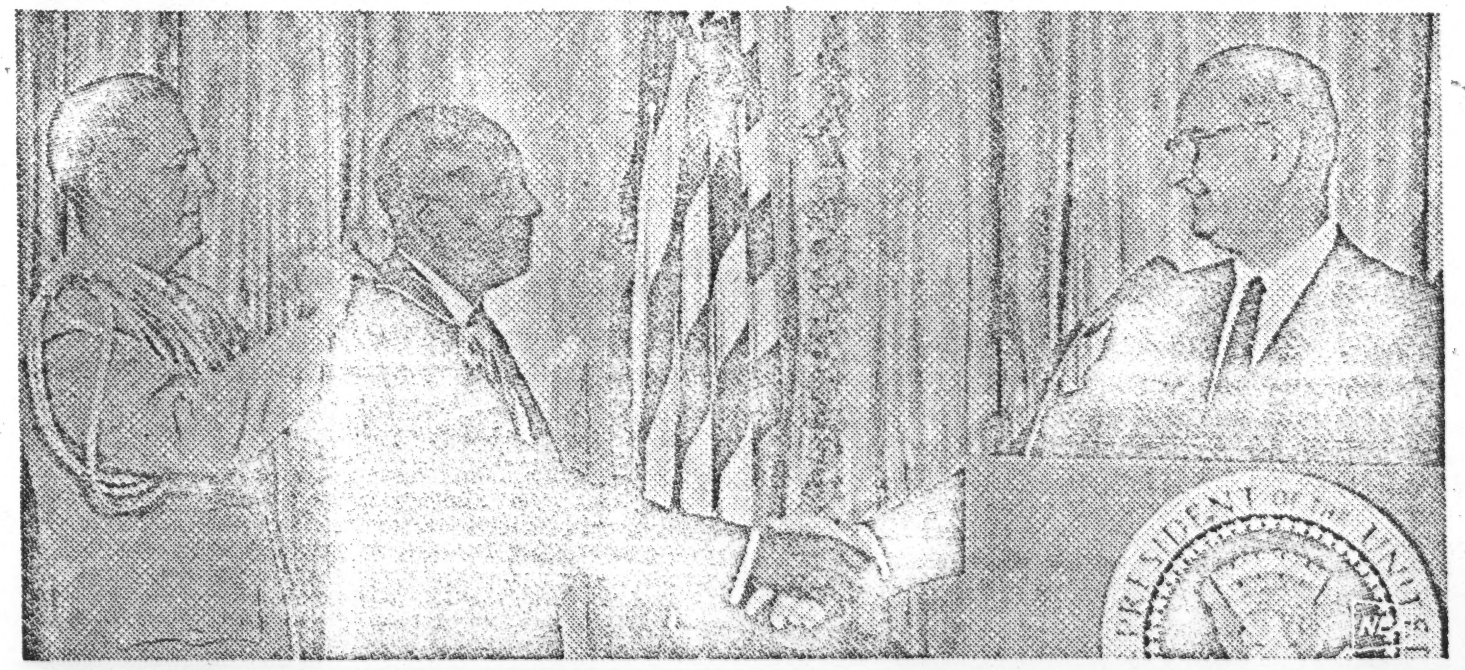
APR 22 1969

A gala tribute to A. Philip Randolph to commemorate the 80th birthday of the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader will bring together the nation's foremost public officials, labor leaders and dignitaries at a testimonial dinner May 6 in New York City.

STILL SPEAKING OUT for the cause of the Negro, A. Philip Randolph appears before one of the many committees requesting his presence.







THROUGH THE YEARS, A. Philip Randolph has appeared with the nation's greats in his crusade for civil rights. At top left, he is shown with Eleanor Roosevelt in 1946 at a Madison Square Garden rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission. In 1963, top right, following the famed March on Washington, he met with President Kennedy along with Walter Reuther, right, and other civil rights leaders. President Johnson, bottom, gave Randolph the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, honoring his years of dedication.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
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APR 12 1969

NATIONAL HOTLINE

By Diggs Datrooth

Distributed by Sengstacke Publications

TRIBUTE: A. Philip Randolph, the grand old man of human rights, will have his eightieth birthday honored by a Nation of grateful people. Randolph who has been on the firing line longer than many, is being honored by a national committee composed of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and AFL-CIO's George Meany, who once asked him "Who in the hell said you speak for Negroes?" When hordes of telegrams and editorials in the black press assured Meany that Randolph did indeed speak for Negroes, the labor union chief took a new look at the head of the Sleeping Car Porters Union. The gilt edged committee includes women, labor industrialists and freedom fighters. . . . Nathan Hare, who sparked the Howard U. strife here and went on to be booted from San Francisco State, has vowed that acting president S. I. Hayakawa "must go." Dr. Hare intends to be on campus as a professor in exile . . . The poor of Applachia shouldn't be too concerned. The Fairfax County Board of Supervisors has asked the U.S. to relax "overly stringent" rules on outhouses.

SOUP AND SANDWICH TAWK: Hubert has asked the nation to give Nixon "at least 100 days." We wonder if things will be much different then. Nixon, the President, is far different than Nixon, the candidate. He has found already that there is no magic wand to face and cure college dissent, war and racial problems.

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AFL-CIO News
Washington, D.C.
May 10, 1969

At 80th Birthday Tribute:

Labor, Civil Rights Coalition Reaffirms Randolph's Goals

By Saul Miller

New York—The labor-civil rights coalition gave A. Philip Randolph an 80th birthday present—a rededication to his goal of "total liberation" of the American Negro.

The leaders of the coalition turned out 1,500 strong in a vivid demonstration of unity and voiced their determination to carry on the work that Randolph had dedicated his life to.

The entire scope of the labor movement was represented, along with the religious faiths, Negro organizations, government leaders and many others. They crowded the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to pay tribute to Randolph and add to the coffers of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund to finance voter education and registration projects in black communities to strengthen the labor, liberal, Negro alliance.

And at the conclusion they heard Randolph eloquently lay down the principles by which the coalition must continue to be guided:

"We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

"We must reject violence and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of non-violence.

"And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration."

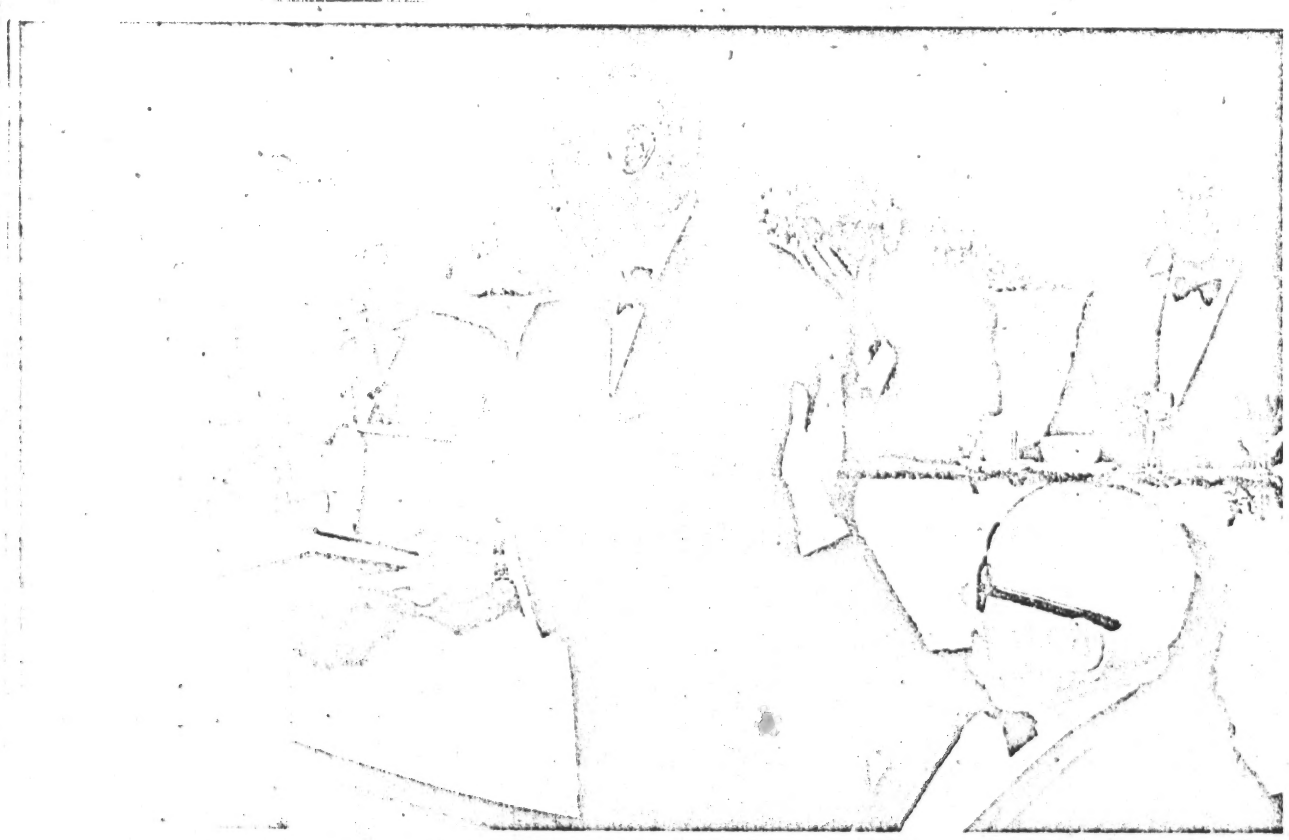
AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, reviewing Randolph's accomplishments and the gains in the trade union movement in the battle against discrimination, declared there is "no room for complacency."

Randolph, he pointed out, in founding the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the face of all-out opposition of the Pullman Co., laid down the basic principle that black workers must be organized and become part of organized labor. Randolph's advice to Negro workers to get into the labor movement and win support for the fight against discrimination was critical to strengthening both the Negro and white worker, Meany said.

The American labor movement has responded to Randolph's leadership, sometimes too slowly, Meany added, but it has come a long way and is determined to wipe out the last vestiges of discrimination with renewed emphasis on job upgrading and training.

Randolph is no longer alone in the struggle as he was in the early

(Continued on Page 3)



CLIMAX OF 80TH BIRTHDAY dinner for A. Philip Randolph came when NAACP Exec. Dir. Roy Wilkins paid tribute to Randolph and presented him with a book of letters from American and world leaders. Randolph, noting the numerous tributes and citing his long and close relationship with AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, responded with an eloquent plea that the labor-civil rights coalition carry on to win "total liberation" for the American Negro.

Marks 80th Birthday:

Tribute to Randolph Reaffirms His Goals

(Continued from Page 1)

years, Meany said, and the AFL-CIO and all its affiliates are working to reach all workers at the local level to carry the message of equal rights.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, following the AFL-CIO president, noted that Meany has worked closely with Randolph and has worked effectively in the civil rights movement and that the AFL-CIO has been the bulwark of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., told the dinner that she had come from Charleston, S.C., where she has been aiding the striking hospital workers and that Charleston has now become a national test of conscience, that the labor civil rights coaltion is a reality here and the battle must be won.

Randolph, she said, had always been a great inspiration to her late husband and a source of encouragement. Randolph gave him advice and counsel, she said, adding, "thank you for myself and Martin Luther King."

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, served as toastmaster and introduced New York Gov. Nelson H. Rockefeller, New York City Mayor John Lindsay, and C. L. Dellums, president of the Sleeping Car Porters succeeding Randolph who retired from the post last year.

Paying tribute also to Randolph were Msgr. Gregory Mooney, for Terence Cardinal Cooke; Dr. John C. Bennett, present, Union Theological Seminary, and Isaiah Minkoff, executive vice chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

The tributes were touching and emotional in spots as speakers recalled earlier days and difficult battles, stressing Randolph's "prophetic vision," his quiet determination, his courage, his inspiration and his lack of personal animosity.

It was all underscored when George Shirley of the Metropolitan Opera sang some of the lyrics of Negro poet Langston Hughes and when "Oh, Freedom" rolled out over the great hall.

In his response, Randolph expressed his gratification at the "fine representation" at the dinner from all areas of American life, cited Rustin's genius for organizing protest marches and spoke of his admiration and affection for Meany as a man who "when he commits himself to a program will work at it and carry it through. He doesn't pretend to be for something when he isn't."

In dedicating himself to the liberation of the Negro, Randolph said, his major endeavor was to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement because the Negroes are a working people and the labor movement is the home of the working man and the only haven for the dispossessed.

The struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has "become irrepressible," he observed. But in the continuing struggle "we must have faith that the society, divided by race and class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals."

Harlem Youngster Salutes Randolph

New York—The "generation gap" closed on a prolonged wave of applause here when 13-year-old Tom Powell hopped onto a chair to reach the microphones to pay tribute to A. Philip Randolph.

Tom, a member of the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow, a Harlem-based group of youngsters dedicated to carrying on the civil rights struggle, said simply that Randolph was a great man and his group would make sure that his work was carried on.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
TRADES UNIONIST
W.29,000

APR 19 1969

Randolph at 80

ON APR. 15, A. Philip Randolph marked his 80th birthday, a day of tributes and celebration for one of the greatest Negro leaders of the 20th Century.

The very essence of the man and what he stands for is perhaps best grasped by his co-worker, Bayard Rustin, in an article in The New Leader. Rustin writes in part:

I think it is part of the greatness of A. Philip Randolph that throughout his 60 years as a leader of Negro Americans, he has maintained a total vision of the goal of freedom for his people and of the means for achieving it. From his earliest beginnings as a follower of Eugene V. Debs and a colleague of Norman Thomas, he has understood that social and political freedom must be rooted in economic freedom, and all his subsequent actions have sprung from this basic premise.

He has identified with the spiritual longings of black people, but has insisted that economic security is the precondition for pride and dignity. While he has felt that Negro salvation is an internal process of struggle and self-affirmation, he has recognized the political necessity of forming alliances with men of other races and the moral necessity of comprehending the black movement as part of a general effort to expand human freedom. Finally, as a result of his deep faith in democracy, he has realized that social change does not depend upon the decisions of the few, but on direct political action through the mobilization of masses of individuals to gain economic and social justice.

Randolph thus stands out among Negro leaders of the 20th Century as a man of both principled idealism and practical accomplishment. He has stood firm against racial separatism—whether advocated in the 1920s by Marcus Garvey or in the 1960s by black nationalists—because of his belief in integration and his knowledge that separatism would mean the continued exploitation and degradation of black people.

Again, he has rejected elitism—be it in the form of W. E. B. DuBois' concept of "a talented tenth" or of a proposal for black capitalism—because of his democratic commitment and his opposition to programs that would economically benefit a minority. He has adhered to nonviolence as a moral principle and as the most effective means of political struggle.

PURSUING HIS CONVICTION that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph worked to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement. His first efforts met with strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders who had traditionally tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized white workers striking for just demands.

Realizing that the only benefactors of these practices were the exploiters themselves, Randolph embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes, advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement. Today there are 2 million black trade unionists in America who have attained economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

We are still very much in need of the guidance of A. Philip Randolph. As he reaches his 80th birthday, the freshness and the comprehensiveness of his vision remains evident.

BERKELEY, CALIF.
OAKLAND POST
W. 67,500 (N)

APR 17 1969

Happy 80th Birthday A. Philip Randolph!

By Bayard Rustin, Exec. Dir.
of A. Philip Randolph Institute

A. Philip Randolph, who celebrated his 80th birthday on Tuesday, Apr. 15, is perhaps the greatest leader of the Negro struggle for dignity, justice and equality in America.

He has devoted more than 60 years of his long and courageous life to writing, speaking and organizing against racial injustice. He has inspired three generations of activists to follow his example. By virtue of these efforts he has won the esteemed title of "Dean of Civil Rights."

A. Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, in 1889, the son of an itinerant minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He attended Cookman Institute (later named Bethune-Cookman College) and then moved north where he studied at City College of New York. In 1914, Randolph married Lucille E. Green, a former Virginia school teacher.

During these early years he read extensively in philosophy, economics, and political science and developed a commitment to the principles of democracy, non-violence, integration and economic equality.

THE "MESSENGER"

The principles were advocated with militancy and intellectual clarity in the "Messenger," a magazine Randolph founded with Chandler Owen in 1917. Scholars now regard this publication as among the most brilliantly conceived and edited ventures in Negro journalism.

Randolph has never abandoned his ideals, not even in the most trying and confusing of times. In the twenties, he argued for integration against Marcus Garvey, just as today he opposes black separatism.

His faith in democracy, which led him five decades ago to reject Dubois' concept of "the talented tenth," today guides his criticism of the elitist proposal for black capitalism. He has never compromised his commitment to nonviolence as the means to achieve equality for black Americans.

Out of his belief that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he is economically secure, Randolph struggled to build an alliance between black Americans and the trade union movement.

MET OPPOSITION

Randolph's efforts met strong opposition from Southern oligarchs and powerful business leaders, who tried to use the Negro to subvert the labor movement. Their tactic was to exploit the Negro's grievous need for employment by inviting him to scab on unionized workers striking for just demands.

Randolph realized that the only benefactors of such practices were the exploiters themselves. He embarked upon a crusade opposing any form of strike-breaking by Negroes and advocating instead their full integration into the American trade union movement.

Today Randolph is an AFL-CIO vice president and there are two million black trade unionists who have achieved economic dignity, job security and protection against racial discrimination.

Randolph's activities on behalf of Negro workers did not stop with this crusade. In 1925, he began the campaign to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Despite fierce resistance from railway companies and the hardships of the depression, the BSCP won certification in 1937.

EARLY RIGHTS BATTLE

The consequences of Randolph's victory were profound and lasting. The BSCP not only enabled thousands of black workers to earn higher wages, but it became the central focus of the early civil rights protest movement.

Brotherhood members, armed with sophistication achieved through their economic struggle and the mobility provided by their jobs, carried the message of equality to Negroes in every state in the nation. They became famous for their knowledge and dedication. It is not surprising that E.D. Nixon, one of the main organizers of the 1955 Montgomery bus protest which marked the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, was a porter.

Today Randolph is International President Emeritus of the Brotherhood. His tremendous contribution to the struggle for the civil rights of Negroes has been guided by his abiding concern for their economic welfare.

VICTORY

In 1941, with the advent of World War II, Randolph became increasingly distressed about exclusion of Negroes from jobs in defense industries. To correct this, he conceived the idea of a massive Negro March on Washington. He wrote of the dramatic plan in the Negro press and agitated for it on street corners of Harlem and elsewhere. Before long, local "March on Washington" committees sprang up across the country.

As the March began to assume larger proportions, the pressure on President Franklin Roosevelt mounted. On June 20, 1941, less than two weeks before the scheduled date of the March issued Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in war industries and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Thousands of new jobs were opened up to Negroes.

In 1948, Randolph traveled to Washington to speak with President Truman concerning segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. Randolph's influence and authority were such that another Executive Order was soon issued to comply with his demands. It is a testament to his achievement that the armed forces are today the most integrated public institution in America.

CONCEIVED 1863 MARCH

Randolph's dedicated and inspiring leadership has continued throughout the period of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

He conceived and directed the great 1963 March on Washington, which brought a quarter of a million black and white Americans to the nation's capital to demand "Jobs and Freedom" for Negroes.

And today, at the age of 80, he is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which is carrying on the struggle to achieve economic, social and political freedom for black Americans.

Randolph stands out among his fellow Americans as a great and distinguished leader who has maintained a deep faith in the little man and in the capacity for mass direct action to achieve just ends.

He has been both a thinker and an activist, as well as a man of enormous dignity and dedication. For those of us who have been his followers for many years, as well as for new activists who are joining the civil rights struggle, he remains an inspiration.

In his eightieth year, A. Philip Randolph continues to point the way to justice, freedom and equality for black Americans.

(Reprinted courtesy of North American Newspaper Alliance.)

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
WYVERNWOOD CHRONICLE
TW. 9,615

APR 3 1969

Testimonial Dinner Honors Randolph

A testimonial dinner honoring A. Philip Randolph, the foremost Negro labor leader in the nation, on his 80th birthday April 15th, was held Mar. 29th. Sponsored by the United Negro Labor Community Council, the dinner will take place at 8 p.m. in Rodger Young Auditorium, 936 West Washington Blvd., Los Angeles.

The keynote speaker was Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute of New York. Rustin is a long-time associate of Randolph, and has worked with him to develop the trade union movement in the United States. Randolph has dedicated his life to the integration of the Negro in the economic, social and political life of the United States.

A partial list of the dinner's co-sponsors include Assemblywoman Yvonne Braithwaite, Representatives Augustus Hawkins, Thomas Rees, Geo. E. Brown, Jr., Gleen Anderson, James Corman, State Senator Mervyn Dymally, Assemblyman Leo Ralph Jr., AFL-CIO, District ouncil of Carpenters, Los Angeles Building and Trades Council, L.A. Cloak Joint Board, IUE District Council No. 12, Los Angeles Dress and Sportswear Joint Board, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America Local 713.

For further information call 232-8164.

THE MORNING CALL
PATERSON, N. J.
D. 27,157

APR 25 1969

Behind The Headline

Giant At 80

By MURRAY ZUCKOFF
Staff Writer

A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was 80 years old last week. His birthday, however, will be celebrated officially May 6 at a party in the Waldorf Astoria.

The tributes, accolades, and homage paid to the grand old man by friends and former enemies are largely for the wrong reasons.

He is being lionized for his gentility and statesmanship, which he has, but his real contributions to the struggle of black workers against discrimination on the job and in unions is being ignored.

To add insult to injury is the announcement that George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and head of the Plumbers Union Local 3 in New York which retains its feudal attitude toward Negroes, has been appointed to help raise $250,000 for the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Some of the most explosive and vitriolic debates have taken place between these two men on the issue of discrimination in AFL-controlled unions.

During a particularly heated convention of the AFL-CIO in 1959, Randolph, as he had done at countless conventions before, submitted a resolution calling on the federation to end its Jim Crow policies and separate auxiliary locals for black workers.

Meany grabbed a microphone and yelled: "Who the hell appointed you the champion of the Negro workers?"

Randolph was a champion of black workers before Meany was even a delegate to a trade union convention. He

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

was a giant in the days when many of the current labor bureaucrats were not even around.

An article in the New York Amsterdam News commemorating his birthday described Randolph as "the dean of American black labor leaders and father of the 1963 March on Washington."

An editorial in the same issue noted: "He truly was one of the first black power advocates . . . lashing out at Jim Crow as far back as the Wilson administration, and the man who originated the March on Washington movement in the early years of World War II: these are some of (his) more notable accomplishments."

True, but not quite. Randolph was not a black power advocate. After the Civil Rights march in Meredith, Miss. in 1966, Randolph along with other moderate Civil Rights leaders signed a manifesto denouncing black power.

Even as a young man, this son of a Methodist minister expressed impatience with those Negroes who preached subservience and those who espoused the extremist nationalist policy of separation.

Randolph's strength was his abiding faith that all workers, black and white, must unite for their common good and that out of this unity equality would be achieved as a matter of course.

Even when he organized the National Negro Congress in 1935 to fight for the rights of Negroes to join all trade unions or when he organized the Negro American Labor Council in 1959 after he was rebuffed by Meany, Randolph never urged black workers to leave the official labor movement, but to work along with whites to achieve democratically controlled trade unions.

Randolph's most powerful weapon was that of criticism, and he used that weapon time and again to score the treachery of the entrenched labor chieftains.

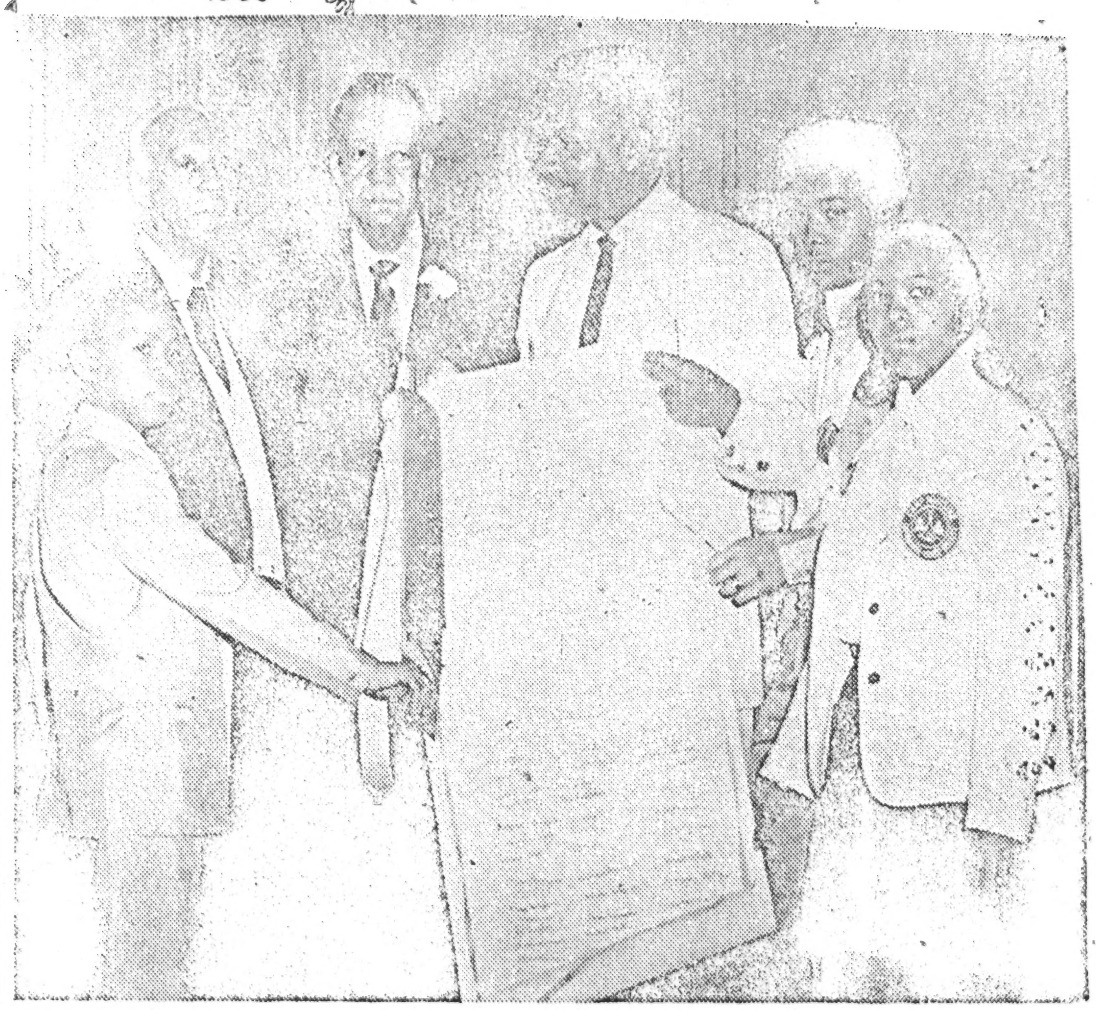
Speaking at the second convention of the NALC in 1961, Randolph charged that the AFL, the CIO, and the AFL-CIO after they merged in 1954, deepened the division of workers along racial lines to conform with local attitudes and mores.

In 1962 the executive council of the AFL-CIO said only one union practiced discrimination: Randolph's union because it was all black.

The federation's hierarchy forgot one thing. Randolph organized the Brotherhood in 1925 because the AFL at that time was unwilling to do the job.

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 82,123

APR 26 1969



HAPPY BIRTHDAY — A scroll signed by many Harlemites is presented to A. Philip Randolph, second from left, for his 80th birthday which was April 15. Affair, held last Sunday at Salem Methodist Church sponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow Scholarship Fund. From left: David Amit, Mr. Randolph, James Smith, chairman of the Fund; Ossie David, emcee; David and Sandra Johnson.

(Carter Photo)

Royal Tribute To Randolph

A royal tribute was paid to A. Philip Randolph on Sunday at Salem Methodist Church, 129th Street and Seventh Ave. New York.

The persevering leader who is celebrating his 80th birthday has been active in public service for 55 years. Through his struggles the plight of many black persons have been aided.

Among those saluting Randolph at the Harlem Community tribute were: Ossie Davis, actor - director; Leontyne Price, opera singer; James Weldon Johnson, Rev. M. L. Wilson, president Council of Churches of New York City; C. C. Gales, treasurer, A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow; William H. Bowe, International Secretary - Treasurer, Philip Randolph Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Dr. J. Oscar Lee, director of education of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

BALTIMORE, MD.
AFRO-AMERICAN
TW. 33,500

APR 1 9 1969

A. Phillip Randolph's 80th Birthday

Plans are going on apace to celebrate the 80th birthday of one of the grand old men of the civil rights wars, who after 60 years on the firing line, is still making a contribution to the fight to carry the race toward full citizenship.

For more than half a century the name of Asa Phillip Randolph has figured prominently in all the battles for racial progress which have attracted the attention of leaders and groups, religious and economic, since he blazed a trail as head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the early twenties when he came out of Harlem and began nationwide mobilization of one of the great American industries which caused the leaders to tremble.

Mr. Randolph was born on April 15, 1889 at Crescent, Fla., the son of James and Elizabeth Randolph. He was educated at Cookman Institute and later attended the City College of New York. He organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 and was editor of the Messenger during which he also co-authored a book, "The Truth about Lynching" which caused reprecussions throughout America.

During the second World War, his counsel was sought by presidents and world leaders, both at home and abroad.

In the latter years when the struggle for broader rights of colored people under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and others developed, he became the patriach and adviser and his aide and counsel were sought by the younger men who began to catch the ear of the masses.

He never advocated violence in any form and always sponsored the cause of brotherhood and industry and full participation of all citizens as the father of the idea of fair employment practices for all people.

The AFRO heartily endorses the plan to give him flowers while he still is with us to enjoy them.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
RECORD
MONTHLY 25,000

APR 1969

Labor to Celebrate Randolph's 80th Yr.

NEW YORK — An A. Philip Randolph 80 Birthday Committee, headed by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court and George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, has been formed to pay tribute to the famed labor leader and civil rights leader.

Hightlighting the tribute is a testimonial dinner which will take place on May 6 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. Other events are planned as well. Goal of the birthday tribute is a fund of $250,000 to carry on Mr. Randolph's lifework through the Institute which bears his name.

Sponsors of the birthday tribute, for which Justice Marshall and Mr. Meany are Chairmen, include national labor leaders, industrialists, political leaders including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor John Lindsay, former President Lyndon B. Johnson and former vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey.

The Honorary Chairman of the Birhtday Committee are Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; C. E. Dellums, President, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, National Urban League. Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Emeritus, Morehouse College, will serve as Treasurer.

In announcing the 80th Birthday Committee and testimonial dinner, Rustin recounted Mr. Randolph's achievements as 'the foremost Negro labor leader in our history. He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change," Mr. Rustin stated, "and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute was founded in 1964 to mobilize the nation's resources—white and black—in a concerted effort to bring equality and justice to all citizens. In working with those white forces which represent social progress—organized labor, religious groups, liberals and students—the Institute's objective is to forge a new and dynamic unity between whites and Negroes.

AMERICA
NEW YORK, N. Y.
W. 93,000

MAY 3 1969

To A. Philip Randolph

"He has never wavered in his commitment to integration through peaceful change, and he has steadfastly fought against racism of any kind, against violence in any form, and against segregation for any reason." To how many American leaders of advanced age could this tribute be unequivocally given? The person is, of course, A. Philip Randolph, who celebrated his 80th birthday April 15. The tribute was voiced by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. We associate ourselves enthusiastically with Mr. Rustin's sentiments and expression.

A. Philip Randolph has been repeatedly hailed as "the foremost Negro labor leader in history" or even "the greatest leader of his race since Frederick Douglass." At a moment when eulogies are in order, no one will begrudge such praise. But even in more prosaic times, no one will cavil at such expressions as being preposterous. For Mr. Randolph's singleness of purpose, his effectiveness combined with dignity, his patient yet unswerving persistence over so many decades will be hard to match. Other leaders may have been more flamboyant, rhetorical, fervid; Mr. Randolph's way has often been quieter, though always one of courage and undeviating, uncompromising purpose.

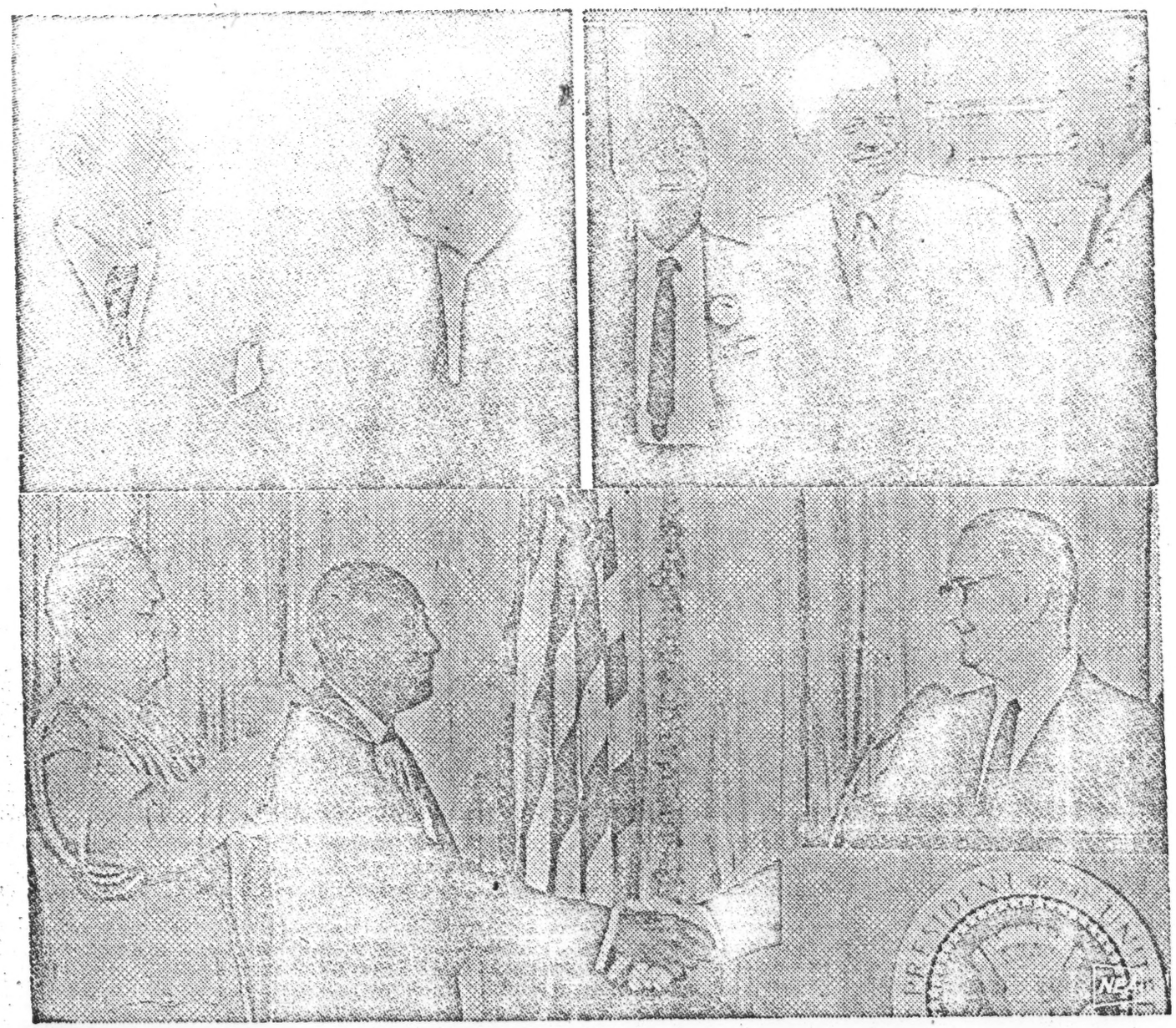
To separatists of an earlier generation he stalwartly replied: "The United States is our home. Our children are here. We have no other country. We have no other home. If there are wrongs in America, Negroes as Americans must help work and fight to correct them. Let us not lose heart and run away from problems, but gird to solve them." No one could accuse him of Uncle Tom-ism as he stood up to Presidents of the United States and captains of industry for the rights of those Americans who happened to be black.

We were happy to read Bayard Rustin's tribute in the April 14 issue of *The Nation* and the challenge posed to Mr. Randolph's followers "to build, through means that are democratic and nonviolent, a just society in which all men need not fear poverty, and in which men of all races, graced with the dignity that comes from a full life, need not fear each other." We were proud, too, to note in our own April 16, 1949, issue, among the list of distinguished Americans who became our first "America Associates" the name of A. Philip Randolph. We wish him many more years of service to the most important cause in American life.

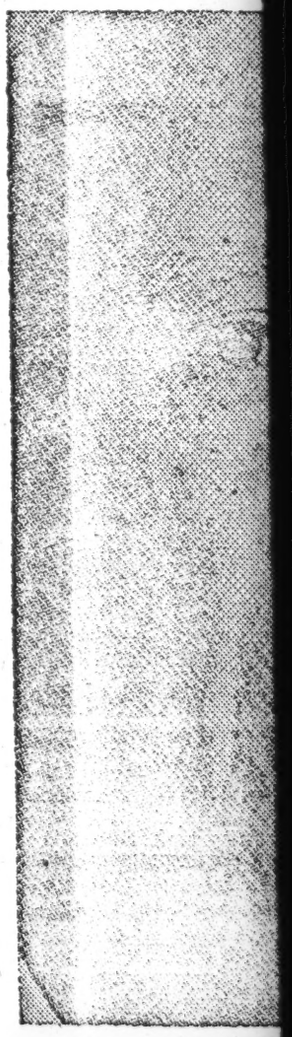
Trenton Evening Times
TRENTON, N. J.
D. 81,855
APR 23 1969

THEY'LL PAY A CRUSAD

A gala tribute to A. Philip Randolp birthday of the famed labor leader a bring together the nation's foremost and dignitaries at a testimonial dinner M



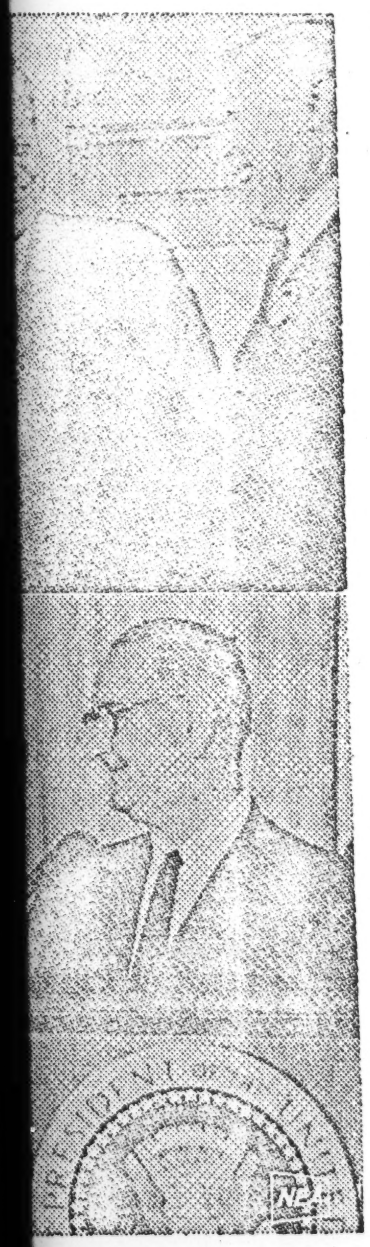
THROUGH THE YEARS. A. Philip Randolph has appeared with the nation's greats in his crusade for civil rights. At top left, he is shown with Eleanor Roosevelt in 1946 at a Madison Square Garden rally to save the Fair Employment Practices Commission. In 1963, top right following the famed March on Washington, he met with President Kennedy along with Walter Reuther, right, and other civil rights leaders. President Johnson, bottom, gave Randolph the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, honoring his years of dedication.



STILL SPEAKING
Negro, A. Philip Rand
the many committees

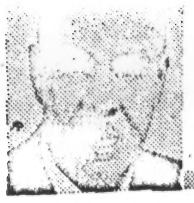
THEY'LL PAY A CRUSADER TRIBUT

A gala tribute to A. Philip Randolph to commemorate the 8 birthday of the famed labor leader and civil rights crusader w bring together the nation's foremost public officials, labor lead and dignitaries at a testimonial dinner May 6 in New York City.



rch on Washington, he met with President ong with Walter Reuther, right, and other civil rs. President Johnson, bottom, gave Randolph ntial Medal of Freedom in 1964, honoring his lication.

STILL SPEAKING OUT for the cause of t Negro, A. Philip Randolph appears before one the many committees requesting his presence.



Roy Wilkins

AMERICAN NOBLEMAN

The ninth anniversary of the famous March on Washington by the civil rights organizations and their followers is Aug. 28. It seems only yesterday that 220,000 white and black people—an estimated 40,000 white — presented their petition and their personal presence to their government, at its seat, in behalf of civil rights for all Americans.

Aug. 28 offers also an opportunity to pay a tribute to the father of the March on Washington idea, A. Philip Randolph, who is several years past his 80th birthday. Randolph attained nationwide notice for his work in the '20s with the organizing period of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Few people know of those hard days, for the trains are gone.

* * *

Today is not the time to review the battle of Randolph's incipient union of poor and powerless Pullman porters with the rich and arrogant Pullman company. That is a story of steadfast integrity which might well inspire every black young person who seeks black heroes. One does not have to go to far-off Africa for black kings and fearless warrior tribes. One can find greatness, the sacrifice, the suffering and the inspiration right here in America.

After the union was a going concern of proud men, Randolph pursued his dream of an outpouring in Washington in support of jobs and the whole range of civil rights. He drove FDR up a tree in 1941 with the March on Washington idea of jobs for minorities just as Great Britain was calling for more production of war goods and black workers were being refused factory jobs.

President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 and the concept of fair employment practice was born. It went from the toothless, wartime FEP to where it is today, solidly rooted in our economic and political thinking, regardless of breaches in the practice.

Randolph waited impatiently for the right climate of opinion for his march. He got it in the summer of 1963 after the assassination of Medgar Evers, the Birmingham battle between "Bull" Connor and the civil rights forces of Rev. Martin Luther King. A week after the Evers killing, President John F. Kennedy went on nationwide television announcing that an omnibus civil rights bill was being sent to Congress.

The time was ripe. July 2, 1963 saw the organizing meeting in New York City. The next eight weeks were crammed with activity under the tireless direction of Bayard Rustin, assistant to Randolph.

Except for the many behind-the-scenes crises, the story of Aug. 28 is a public record. Martin Luther [illegible] signed to the clean-up spot [illegible] deliver his now world-famous [illegible] "I Have a Dream."

Perhaps because of this, the [illegible] tice has grown among writers [illegible] to call the Aug. 28, 1963, gathe[illegible] "his" march. It has been so state[illegible] newspaper and magazine articles, [illegible] television and on radio. Nothing c[illegible] be farther from the truth. Nor [illegible] could be more unfair to A. Philip [illegible] dolph.

* * *

Martin Luther King, with his ma[illegible] less oratory, his mellifluous cade[illegible] and his great charisma, was the [illegible] above the star-studded cast of [illegible] rights speakers. But the man [illegible] dreamed the dream that brought [illegible] 000 Americans to Washington in be[illegible] of the black and all minorities, sh[illegible] have the acclaim that is rightly his [illegible] King, who was assassinated in [illegible] would be the first to hail Randolp[illegible] his anniversary.

Today the ideals of America ar[illegible] dangered and again the questio[illegible] "What shall be the United States' [illegible] on opportunity and equality for [illegible] and other non-whites?" This time [illegible] school busing that masks the den[illegible] equal education.

Aug. 28 is a sobering date in [illegible] national history.

God and Richard Nixon

From "The Nixon Theology," by Charles P. Henderson, Jr. (Harper & Row, $[illegible]

One gains the impression in reviewing all Nixon has said and done [illegible] while he incessantly harks back to his religion, he does not find in it a sourc[illegible] personal insight or social vision. He constantly talks about shaping the fut[illegible] but there is little in his prophecies that would fire the social imagination, [illegible] slight evidence that his programs flow from a compelling vision of the fut[illegible] He forecasts a richer, safer, cleaner world, but he does not seem to imagin[illegible] desire fundamental changes in the quality of life. Apparently his hopes woul[illegible] fulfilled if all the world could share the affluence of one of this coun[illegible] better suburbs.

N. Y. Post 8-26-72

MURRAY-GREEN AWARD is presented to AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph by James A. Suffridge, chairman of the federation's Community Services Committee. Randolph, president emeritus of the Sleeping Car Porters, is the first labor leader ever honored with the federation's highest award for public service.

Randolph Receives Top Labor Award

By John R. Ginver

Labor honored one of its own great Americans with the presentation of the Murray-Green Award to A. Philip Randolph, veteran union leader and civil rights fighter.

Randolph, chief founder of the Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the AFL-CIO since 1955, received the federation's highest honor at the closing session of the 16th National Conference on Community Services.

He joined the ranks of such other noted recipients as Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Jonas Salk, Gen. Omar Bradley and Harry S Truman. The award, which carries a $5,000 grant, was established by the AFL-CIO to salute persons who have inspired others to work for the common good. It is a memorial to Philip Murray and William Green who headed the CIO and the AFL respectively at the time of their deaths.

Randolph received a standing ovation from the more than 800 banquet guests as the award was presented by James A. Suffridge, vice president emeritus of the federation and chairman of its Community Services Committee.

In his acceptance speech, Randolph reviewed the long and still continuing struggle of the nation's black people for social justice and the role of the labor movement in lending its strength to the struggle.

Because leadership will not come from the White House, he said, organized labor must carry on the fight.

"Organized labor also gives strength to the human spirit," he observed, "and this is something the White House cannot deal with."

Randolph stressed that the coming presidential election will have overriding significance for the labor-civil rights alliance. "If we don't make the right decision," he warned, the progress of workers and Negroes will be set back for years to come.

But if the nation moves in the right direction in the elections, "we can see great things ahead," he predicted.

Randolph urged the labor movement further to accept responsibility for giving direction to the forces of change.

"We cannot achieve goals with ideas alone," he said, "we must have force also—and that is how great movements are built."

Federation Pres. George Meany recapped Randolph's struggle to improve conditions of the economically and socially oppressed.

"Phil Randolph started many years ago with a set of ideals and principles determined to make life better for many of those at the bottom of the economic ladder," Meany noted.

"It was a lonesome fight for many years. A fight for civil rights. The fight for justice. . . .

"And while Phil Randolph is a great humanitarian, a great civil rights leader, he always has been a great labor leader—a trade unionist.

"He has courageously fought discrimination within the trade union movement itself," Meany pointed out. "We have never made any bones about the fact there was discrimination in the trade union movement—not to the extent, perhaps, that it existed in the community at large, but we never tried to sweep it under the rug. . . .

"It's been a long, hard road but we see progress. Phil has seen many setbacks. A lesser man would have been discouraged. But he never gave up. . . . He never let go of the principles and ideals of equity and human decency that have inspired and motivated him during his entire lifetime."

One of the highlights of the banquet was a reading by Actor Todd Duncan from a collection of Randolph statements and writings.

(Page 6)

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL

RANDOLPH RETIRES AS AFL-CIO VICE PRESIDENT

Chicago--A. Philip Randolph, whose work for civil rights and trade unionism has spanned six decades, has retired from the AFL-CIO Executive Council at the age of 85.

In announcing Randolph's retirement to the press at the Executive Council meeting here, AFL-CIO President George Meany paid a personal tribute to "Phil Randolph and the contribution he has made, not only to the advancement of blacks in America and in the trade union movement, but the contribution he has made to the cause of human freedom all over."

While noting that Martin Luther King was also a great proponent of non-violence, Meany said that Randolph "carried the torch in all those early years. All his life, he advocated progress without violence."

In response to reporters' questions, Meany said that Randolph retired because his doctors didn't want him to travel any more. While Randolph's health has failed in recent years, Meany said "mentally he is fine and sharp." Randolph celebrated his 85th birthday on April 15.

Beginning as a street preacher and editor of the Messenger, a black newspaper in Harlem in 1911, Randolph's career as a civil rights activist reached its apex when he organized the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 for a major turning point in U.S. civil rights history.

Just as steadfastly, Randolph adhered to his belief that the Negro's route to advancement was through the trade union movement. He began organizing the Sleeping Car Porters in 1926, became their first president in 1929 and led them through a nine-year recognition strike against the Pullman Company which was won only after Franklin Roosevelt was elected president.

Randolph had been an AFL-CIO vice president since the 1955 merger. He resigned from the presidency of the Sleeping Car Porters in 1968 and was succeeded by C.L. Dellums, who was elected a vice president at the 1929 convention.

Randolph's life of working for Negro advancement through the trade union movement is continued today by an institute which bears his name. The A. Philip Randolph Institute, founded in 1964 with strong support, now has chapters in more than 100 U.S. cities working to coordinate labor's activities with the black community.

In accepting his resignation "with the deepest regret and affection," the Executive Council noted that Randolph is "the only trade union official ever to receive the Murray-Green Award, the AFL-CIO's highest honor." In devoting his life to justice and human dignity, the council said, "Phil Randolph has brought to this cause determination, perseverance, eloquence and integrity."

Randolph's composure and calm dignity has become celebrated--but it also masked a steely determination that could keep a little band of 5,000 porters together ~~in the direct poverty~~ and overcome the many personal indignities of 50 years of labor work in a segregated society. (8/8/74)

DELLUMS, FILBEY ELECTED TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Chicago--C. L. Dellums and Francis S. Filbey were elected AFL-CIO vice presidents as the federation's Executive Council filled its two vacancies.

Filbey is president of the American Postal Workers Union, a quarter-million-member organization which he helped shape through a five-way merger in 1971.

Dellums is president of the small but historically important Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union that was A. Philip Randolph's base during his years of leadership in the civil rights movement.

The vacancies on the council resulted from the resignation of Randolph and the death last April of John F. Griner, former president of the Government Employes.

Filbey is a former Baltimore postal clerk who rose to leadership in his local union, the city's central labor body and his national union.

He was president of the Baltimore AFL-CIO and its predecessor council from 1954 to 1963 and was a vice president of the former United Federation of Postal Clerks before becoming president in 1969.

Dellums, from Oakland, was along with Randolph one of the founders of the Sleeping Car Porters and was elected a vice president at the union's first convention in 1929.

After helping win establishment of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission, Dellums was appointed as one of the original members and has since been reappointed. He is an uncle of Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) and has been active in both the Alameda County AFL-CIO and the state labor movement. (8/8/74)

PUBLIC EMPLOYES DEPT. CHARTERED BY AFL-CIO

Chicago--AFL-CIO President George Meany announced the chartering of a Public Employes Dept. that will include unions with members employed by federal, state and local governments and by the U.S. Postal Service.

Unions with about 2 million public worker members have been involved in preliminary planning for the new department and will meet in mid-September to make firm plans for a constitutional convention in November.

The existing AFL-CIO Government Employes Council, whose affiliates represent federal and postal workers, is expected to be merged into the new department.

Unions representing members in the public sector that have been involved in the establishment of the department include the American Federation of Government Employes, American Postal Workers, Fire Fighters, State, County & Municipal Employes, Laborers, Service Employes and Teachers.

Members of transit unions and craft unions with significant groups of public sector members are also expected to take part in establishing the department. (8/8/74)

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A. Philip Randolph Dies

THE OMAHA STAR Thursday, May 31, 1979

Randolph . . . memorial services planned

Leaders in politics, labor and civil rights offered tribute to A. Philip Randolph, the longtime civil rights activist and labor leader who died last Wednesday evening at the age of 90.

"His dignity and integrity, his eloquence, his devotion to nonviolence and his unshakable commitment to justice all helped shape the ideals and spirit of the civil rights movement," declared President Jimmy Carter. "He helped sweep away longstanding barriers of discrimination and segregation in industry and labor unions, in our schools, and armed services, in politics and government."

The President, contending that Randolph, founder and former president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was for each new generation of civil rights leaders "an inspiration and example," exclaimed that "America will always be a more just, more humane, and more decent nation because A. Philip Randolph lived among us."

Cause of Randolph's death was not disclosed. It was known that he had suffered for years from high blood pressure and a heart condition. Bayard Rustin, a longtime associate and the person closest to Randolph, said the venerable leader "was blessed with a peaceful death, he did not suffer."

Randolph's remains were cremated shortly after his death. The A. Philip Randolph Institute is making [illegible] memorial service to be held in Harlem within a month. The Omaha Chapter of the Institute plans a local service soon, according to Lawrence W.M. McVoy II, a co-founder of the Institute.

Persons wishing to honor Randolph's memory have been urged to send contributions to their favorite civil rights organization in lieu of flowers.

Vice-President Walter Mondale said it was "sadly ironic" that Randolph had died on the eve of widespread observance of the 25th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's historic decision in the case of Brown vs. the Topeka,

(Continued on Page 15)

(Continued from Page 1)

Kans. Board of Education which outlawed segregation in the nation's public schools.

"No American did more for the cause of social equality and economic justice," Mondale said.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of the National Urgan League, said: "We've lost a great warrior. A. Philip Randolph is really symbolic of everything that the civil rights movement is about. He was a strong leader — strong in his convictions, unafraid."

Bejamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said: "It's so sad, because there are so many young people for whom that name means very little. And yet for more than 40 years, he was a tower and beacon of strength and hope for the entire Black community."

Randolph led confrontations with three Presidents, threatening massive marches on Washington and Civil disobedience if those Presidents, who were all extremely popular among Blacks, did not take action on behalf of Black people.

A threaten March on Washington in 1941 led President Roosevelt to issue an executive order establishing a Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce job equality in defense plants.

Following a confrontation in the White House with President Truman, Randolph took a civil disobedience campaign against the draft to Black communities which ended in Truman issuing an executive order aimed at striking down military segregation.

The final confrontation with a President occurred in 1969, when the ailing Randolph, who by then was more a symbol than an active participant in the civil rights movement, helped organize the biggest demonstration by Blacks, the March on Washington.

He was born on April 15, 1889 in Crescent, Fla., one of three communities his father served as minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

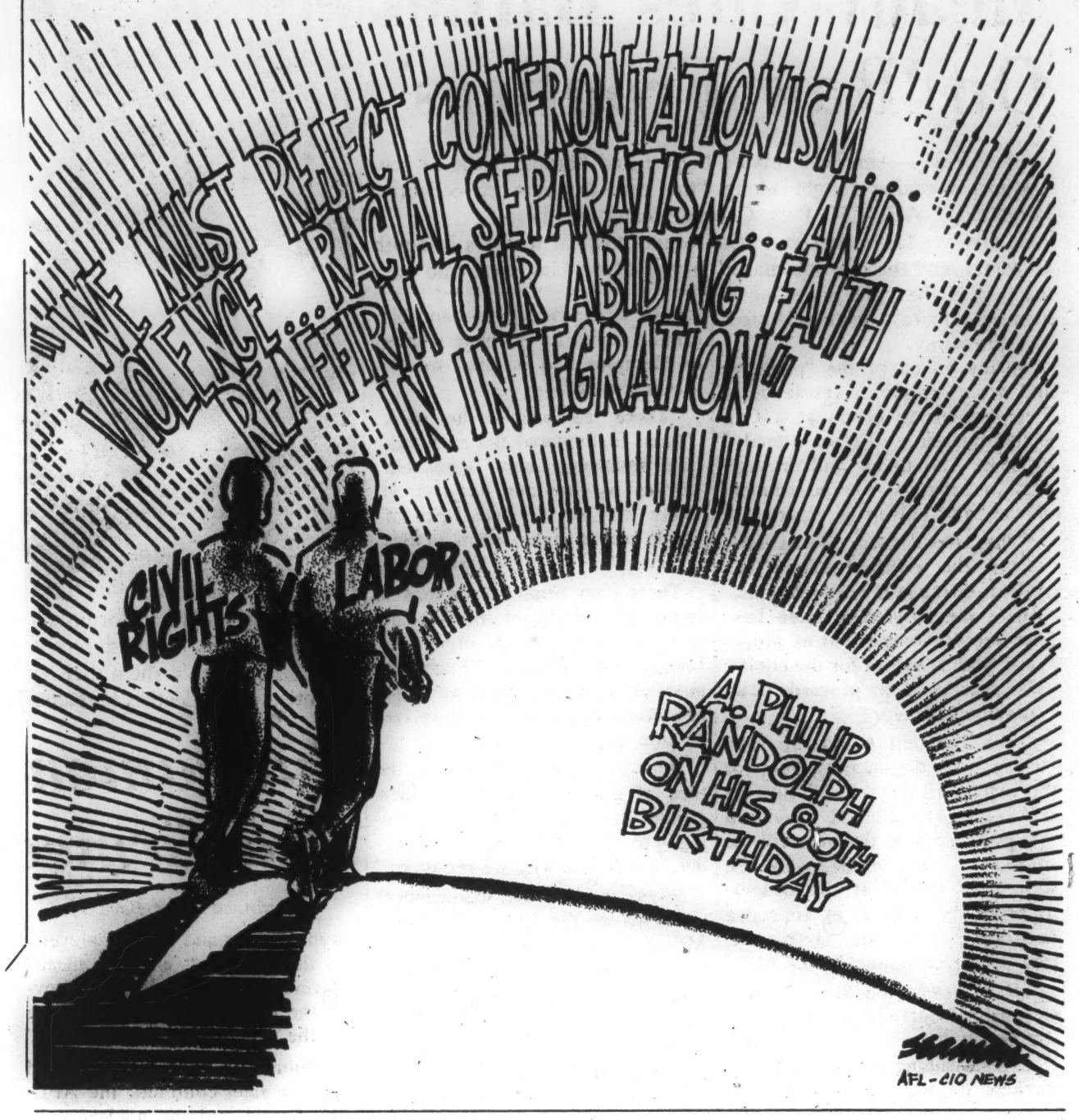
Philip and his older brother, William Jr., grew up in a relatively intellectual atmosphere, exposed not only to Shakespeare, Scott and Dickens, but also to such Black heroes as L'Ouverture, Attucks, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Douglass.

After graduation from Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, Fa., a Methodist missionary school, in 1907, he worked in various jobs before heading to Harlem in 1911.

In New York, he worked as a hall porter, bus boy and at other menial jobs and enrolled in night courses at City College.

He edited a magazine for a while and then organized several unions, among them the Sleeping Car Porters. He became the first Black vice-president of the AFL-CIO.

A Walk in the Sun



A. Philip Randolph's Cause:

'Tried to Build a

At the New York dinner marking his 80th birthday A. Philip Randolph saw the tributes and speeches marking the moment as one of rededication. Here is the text of his response.

OUR GATHERING here tonight is an honoring, and for that I am deeply grateful and humbled. But in a more profound sense it is a rededication to a cause to which I have contributed my energies, and to principles to which I have dedicated my life.

The cause has been the liberation of the Negro in America. I have seen fit in this endeavor to try to establish an alliance between the Negro and the American trade union movement. I have been guided by the belief that Negroes are a working people, and that because of their history on American soil—a history of suffering and tragedy, but also of struggle, endurance, dignity and, ultimately, a history of human triumph—that because of this history they have been a dispossessed people who have often had to migrate thousands of miles in search of the means of subsistence.

The labor movement has been the home of the working man, and traditionally it has been the only haven for the dispossessed. And, therefore, I have tried to build an alliance between the Negro and the American labor movement.

I have not been alone in my efforts. In 1925, almost half a century ago, I and my colleagues founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In our struggle to build the union we faced destitution and continual harassment, but we did build it, and our struggle conferred upon us collectively a certain dignity.

With this victory, my brothers and I in the union not only improved the conditions under which we lived and worked, but we were enabled to reach beyond ourselves to our brothers and sisters on the plantations and in the ghettos. We were able to reach out and build a movement of the Negro masses struggling to realize, upon this American soil, the freedom and the justice which they had so long been denied.

The Negro masses awakened in 1941. They challenged the President of the United States to integrate the defense industries and all other places of public employment. And they were victorious. The Negro masses were in motion.

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Bayard Rustin Warns:

Violence Imperils B

The following is excerpted from a statement by Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute which appeared in Justice, the publication of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

BLACK PEOPLE have known violence in America. They have known the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. They have seen the white mobs in Mississippi and in Cicero, Ill. They have understood that violence is synonymous with oppression and destruction.

And, therefore, the use of guns on the Cornell University campus by a group of black students should come as a great shock—and a great sorrow—to all black Americans struggling for freedom and social justice.

Nothing creative can emerge from their mindless use of force. Rifles will not enhance their education; nor will bullets enlighten their minds.

The black students at Cornell only displayed their arms. They used them to intimidate the administration. But built into the situation is the

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ed in 1941. They the United States tries and all other t. And they were s were in motion.

They were removing the mark of oppression from their brows and the burden of economic misery from their bodies. This struggle has continued down to the present day.

Like a mountain stream that grows in size and momentum as it rushes downward, the struggle of the Negro masses for social and economic equality has become irrepressible. From Memphis, Tenn., to Charleston, S.C., they cannot now be satisfied with anything less than total liberation.

OUR CEREMONY of rededication tonight is to the cause of freedom, but it is also to the principles governing the means by which freedom must be achieved. In my life I have tried to abide by the principles of democracy, nonviolence and integration, but there are some today, particularly among our black youth, who would question the validity of these principles in our on-going struggle. I urge them to reconsider their position and to engage with me in a reaffirmation of these fundamental principles.

We must reject confrontationism, and together reaffirm the necessity for democratic means of political protest.

We must reject violence, and together reaffirm the power and the wisdom of nonviolence.

And we must reject racial separatism and together, with the conviction that one day our nation can cease to be divided within itself, reaffirm our abiding faith in integration. We cannot reject these principles without also denying ourselves the possibility of freedom.

Salvation for the Negro masses must come from within. Freedom is never granted; it is won. Justice is never given; it is exacted.

But in our struggle we must draw for strength upon something that far transcends the boundaries of race. We must draw upon the capacity of human beings to act with humanity towards one another. We must draw upon the human potential for kindness and decency.

And we must have faith that this society, divided by race and by class, and subject to profound social pressures, can one day become a nation of equals, and banish white racism and black racism and anti-semitism to the limbo of oblivion from which they shall never emerge.

Warns:

Imperils Black Goals

rom a statement by tor of the A. Philip ared in Justice, the rment Workers.

known violence in own the Ku Klux ouncils. They have ippi and in Cicero, violence is synony- truction.

guns on the Cornell of black students —and a great sorrow ggling for freedom

e from their mind- not enhance their ghten their minds.

nell only displayed intimidate the ad- he situation is the logic of escalation. Violence threatened with bravado will become violence used with viciousness, and the main victims will not be the administration but the black students—and the university.

I, therefore, find those guilt-ridden and nihilistic white students who encouraged them in this madness to be equally as culpable. So too is the indecisive and flaccid administration which has abdicated its authority.

MOREOVER, by their irresponsible actions, these black students have strengthened the reactionary forces in the society which will obstruct any progress for black Americans. The fear in the white community which produced George Wallace has also been the source of resistance to programs to rebuild our cities, educate our youth, and employ all of our adults.

It is thus not only the university which is being threatened by these students, but all of our democratic institutions. And if democracy is destroyed and violence prevails, those who will suffer most will be black Americans.

GRUMMAN ENERGY SYSTEMS, INC.
ONE HUNDRED BAYLIS ROAD
MELVILLE, NEW YORK 11747

AUG 2 - 1979

July 31, 1979

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue S.
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard,

Enclosed is a resolution adopted unanimously by the Colorado Legislature recently. The chief sponsor was State Representative Arie Taylor. Ms. Taylor asked that I have it forwarded to the Institute.

Still planning to contact you for lunch soon. By the way, the move from Colorado Lieutenant Governor to Grumman Executive has indeed been good fortune for me.

Sincerely,

George L. Brown
Senior Vice President

GLB:dm

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 1005. BY REPRESENTATIVES Taylor, Trimble, Hayes, Becker, Bledsoe, Boley, Burford, Burns, Callihan, Castro, Chavez, Davoren, DeFilippo, DeHerrera, DeNier, Dodge, Durham, Edmonds, Erickson, Ezzard, Faatz, Fine, Gorsuch, Gustafson, Hamlin, Hastings, Herzberger, Hilsmeier, Hinman, Howe, Hudson, Hume, Johnson, Jones, Kirscht, Knox, Kopel, Larson, Lillpop, Lucero, Marks, Massari, McCroskey, McElderry, Neale, Orten, Pena, Powers, Randall, Reeves, Schauer, Scherling, Shepard, Shoemaker, Showalter, Spano, Spelts, Stephenson, Strahle, Tancredo, Theos, Traylor, Winkler, Witherspoon, and Younglund; also SENATORS Groff, Allshouse, Anderson, Baca-Barragan, Barnhill, Beno, Bishop, Clark, Cole, H. Fowler, L. Fowler, Gallagher, Harding, Hatcher, Hefley, Holme, Hughes, MacManus, McCormick, Meiklejohn, Noble, Phelps, Powers, D. Sandoval, P. Sandoval, Schaefer, Soash, Stewart, Stockton, Strickland, Wham, Woodard, Yost, and Zakhem.

WHEREAS, By the Will of Divine Providence, A. Philip Randolph departed this life on January 16, 1979, at the age of ninety; and

WHEREAS, A. Philip Randolph was one of this nation's most respected elder statesmen in the civil rights movement and in labor reform; and

WHEREAS, A. Philip Randolph has done so much to seek justice for all the poor, the working classes, and the minorities in our nation and throughout the world, including the organizing of what now is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as the first black union to be granted an international charter by the American Federation of Labor, the serving in a major role in persuading the AFL-CIO to outlaw race discrimination in the labor movement, the subsequent serving as vice-president of the AFL-CIO in 1957, and the leading of the movement against segregation and unequal treatment of blacks in the armed forces, including direct conferences with presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower; and

WHEREAS, It is fitting that we, the members of the General Assembly, pay tribute to the devoted public service of A. Philip Randolph and express our deep regret and sorrow occasioned by his death; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second General Assembly of the State of Colorado, the Senate concurring herein:

That, in the death of A. Philip Randolph, the people of this state and our nation have lost an outstanding citizen, leader, and statesman, and that we, the members of this General Assembly, do hereby express our deep sorrow occasioned by the death of A. Philip Randolph and pay tribute to him for his devoted public service for the poor and the minorities of our nation and the world.

Be It Further Resolved, That this Memorial be printed upon the pages of the Journal of the House of Representatives and that a copy hereof be transmitted to the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City.

Robert F. Burford
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES

Fred E. Anderson
PRESIDENT OF
THE SENATE

Lorraine F. Lombardi
CHIEF CLERK OF THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES

Marjorie L. Rutenbeck
SECRETARY OF
THE SENATE

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE: 6/7/79

JUN 11 1979

TO: Bayard Rustin

FROM: Bill Roehl
Dept. of Organization

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

I thought you might want
this for your files.

From William Roehl
Dept. of Organization

Regular Session, 1979

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 170

BY MR. CONNOR

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To express condolences of the Louisiana Legislature at the passing of A. Philip Randolph, champion of civil rights.

ORIGINATED

IN THE

House of Representatives

Clerk of the House of Representatives

Regular Session, 1979

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 170

BY MR. CONNOR

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To express condolences of the Louisiana Legislature at the passing of A. Philip Randolph, champion of civil rights.

WHEREAS, it is the deep sorrow and sincere regret that the members of the legislature have learned of the passing of A. Philip Randolph; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Randolph began his drive for civil rights by organizing the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black union with an international charter; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Randolph was instrumental in forcing the AFL-CIO to outlaw racial discrimination when the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged in 1955; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Randolph was elected vice president of the AFL-CIO in 1957 and later became a member of its executive council, always acting to protect the civil rights of black workers; and

WHEREAS, in 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded Mr. Randolph the Medal of Freedom, this country's highest civilian honor, in recognition of his lifelong crusade for civil rights; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Randolph did a great service to this nation by helping to bring about equality among all the citizens of the United States of America, and it is only fitting that the members of the legislature as a whole, and for the people of Louisiana, to mourn his passing.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the members

of the legislature do hereby express their sincere sorrow and regret at the passing of A. Philip Randolph.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this Concurrent Resolution shall be transmitted to the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New Orleans, the AFL-CIO Louisiana headquarters, and the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

E. L. H

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1979

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A. Philip Randolph Is Dead; Pioneer in Rights and Labor

By The Associated Press

A. Philip Randolph, the black labor leader who helped found the modern civil rights movement, died yesterday at his home in Manhattan.

He was 90 years old and had been suffering from a heart condition and high blood pressure for several years.

According to his longtime housekeeper, Fannie Corner, who was with him at the time of his death, Mr. Randolph died in bed at about 3 P.M. in the sparsely furnished fifth-floor apartment at 280 Ninth Avenue, at 27th Street, where he had lived for several years.

The only signs of luxury in the apartment were two black-and-white television sets, a reflection, friends said, of Mr. Randolph's devotion to baseball.

As news of Mr. Randolph's death spread through the civil rights community, tributes began pouring in from many who had drawn inspiration from the man who began to stir the conscience of the nation more than half a century ago.

One of the first tributes came from Mr. Randolph's protégé, Bayard Rustin.

Standing in Mr. Randolph's library, where plaques, diplomas and other honors were stacked against the wall, Mr. Rustin, who heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute, declared:

"No individual did more to help the poor, the dispossessed and the working class in the United States and around the world than A. Philip Randolph.

"With the exception of W. E. B. Du Bois, he was probably the greatest civil rights leader of this century until Martin Luther King."

Mr. Randolph had no known living relatives, according to Mr. Rustin, who said plans were being made for cremation to be followed by a memorial from 7 to 9 P.M. Saturday at the headquarters of the Recruitment and Training Program at 162 Fifth Avenue.

United Press International, 1969

A. Philip Randolph

A Veteran of Confrontations

By PAUL DELANEY

"Gentlemen, the Pullman Company is ready to sign." That statement by E. F. Carry, Pullman's president, ended a long and bitter struggle to unionize the sleeping-coach company, a battle that propelled a new black leader onto the national scene.

It was A. Philip Randolph who led the small, all-black International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to victory over the powerful corporation, and it turned out to be a significant gain not only for the railroad porters, maids and cooks of the union but also for America's black community. And Mr. Carry's statement, made on Aug. 25, 1937, was a high

Continued on Page B12, Column 1

point in Mr. Randolph's long career as a labor and civil rights leader.

Mr. Randolph was a veteran of confrontations, a graduate of Harlem soapbox oratory who rose from a radical socialist and pacifist background to become a labor leader at a time when labor unions openly espoused antiblack policies and a civil rights movement was virtually unheard of.

There were many who thought that in the twilight of his career, his body pained by illness, Mr. Randolph must have felt frustrated to see what little progress his long fight to change organized labor had produced. But he never publicly said so.

And he must have smiled quietly to himself in later life as he was called conservative by some younger, more militant blacks who came on the scene with different tactics and beliefs — violence and separatism — that he could not accept and who chastised him without knowing his radical past — that of a man who urged blacks not to fight in World War I, who criticized W. E. B. DuBois for taking the opposite position and whom President Woodrow Wilson called the most dangerous man in America.

Maintained Composure

But the tall, dignified Mr. Randolph always maintained his composure somehow, with no overt hostility to anyone.

His frustrations did cause him to make a fiery speech in San Francisco at the 1959 convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. On the podium later, an angry George Meany turned to the calm Mr. Randolph and asked, "Who the hell appointed you as guardian of all the Negroes in America?"

It was his characteristic quiet dignity that enabled Mr. Randolph to lead confrontations with three Presidents, threatening massive marches on Washington and civil disobedience if those Presidents, who were all extremely popular among blacks, did not take action on behalf of black people.

The first of those chalenges came in 1941. Black leaders were seriously concerned about being barred from defense plants at the beginning of World War II. They had little success in moving the defense industry or the Federal Government with speeches, conferences, meetings and verbal protests.

Eventually, Mr. Randolph felt that only President Franklin D. Roosevelt could force the necessary changes through an executive order and that only a massive march by blacks could make the President act.

Date for March Set

Thus, a march on Washington was scheduled for July 1, 1941. The announcement horrified official Washington; the thought of thousands of blacks marching in what was still a Southern city caused near panic. Mr. Roosevelt set about to prevent the march.

The President called on white labor leaders to try to talk Mr. Randolph and other black leaders out of marching. He enlisted Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York, a friend of Mr. Randolph. Even the President's wife, Eleanor, was asked to help. But the effort did not work. The black leadership insisted on a meeting with the President himself.

Besides Mr. Randolph, the leaders of the planned march included Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Lester Granger of the National Urban League; Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee; J. Finley Wilson of the Improved Benevolent Order of Elks of the World, and the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York.

When the efforts of Mrs. Roosevelt and others failed to get the blacks to call off the march, President Roosevelt agreed to a meeting, which was held on June 18.

In that meeting, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Roosevelt that at least 100,000 blacks were expected to march. The President at first turned on his charm. He noticed Mr. Randolph's pronunciation of the broad "a" and inquired, "Phil, when did you graduate from Harvard?"

"I never went to Harvard, Mr. President," Mr. Randolph answered.

Executive Order Issued

When the President failed to dissuade the black leaders, he agreed to their demands. On June 25, 1941, six days before the march, he signed Executive Order 8802 and named a Fair Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

Mr. Randolph called off the march but was denounced for doing so by his more militant followers in the coalition, who accused him of selling out. One of those objecting vigorously was Bayard Rustin, later a faithful follower.

Although the executive order was not observed uniformly, thousands of defense jobs were opened to blacks, and the order set a precedent that some state governments followed.

After the war, black leaders turned their attention to segregation in the armed forces, an issue that they had decided not to press in their confrontation with President Roosevelt. With the nation facing mandatory conscription in peacetime, Mr. Randolph and the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation informed President Harry S. Truman that they wanted him to ban military segregation.

On March 22, 1948, the President met at the White House with black leaders, including Mr. Randolph, Mr. White, Mr. Granger, Mary McLeod Bethune, director of the National Council of Negro Women, and Charles Houston, N.A.A.C.P. legal counsel. The meeting produced nothing.

United Press International

In 1948, Mr. Randolph led demonstration in Philadelphia shortly before the start there of the National Democratic Convention.

Civil Disobedience Campaign

This sent Mr. Randolph on a civil disobedience campaign against the draft for segregated armed forces. He pursued his task with the same fervor as his opposition to World War I, when he had urged blacks not to sign up for the draft.

On July 26, 1948, President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, a vaguely worded document that never mentioned segregation but indeed banned it in the armed forces. Mr. Randolph called off his civil disobedience campaign, again prompting a bitter complaint from Bayard Rustin and other radical pacifists.

The final confrontation with a President was in 1963, when the ailing Mr. Randolph, who by then was more a symbol than an active participant in the fast-growing civil rights movement, helped organize the biggest demonstration ever by blacks, the March on Washington. His aide, Mr. Rustin, was chief strategist for the coalition that sponsored the march of nearly a quarter-million people.

Once again, a President, this time John F. Kennedy, attempted to dissuade the blacks, but to no avail. The main goal of the march was to push for passage of a civil rights bill. A bill was finally passed the next year, but not before the assassination of President Kennedy and the almost evangelical commitment of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Son of a Minister

A. Philip Randolph was born on April 15, 1889, in Crescent City, Fla., a hamlet outside Jacksonville. It was one of three communities his father served as minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Two years later the family moved to Jacksonville.

Philip and his older brother, James William Jr., grew up in a relatively intellectual atmosphere, exposed not only to Shakespeare, Scott and Dickens but also to such black heroes as L'Ouverture, Attucks, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Douglass. Both boys attended the Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, a Methodist missionary school.

After graduation in 1907, Philip Randolph worked at various jobs before heading to Harlem with a friend in 1911. He took a job as a hall porter at $4 a month and later recalled writing on a wall: "Philip Randoph swept here."

Working at menial jobs, he also enrolled in night courses in English literature and sociology at City College. From the first sprang his lifelong interest in Shakespeare; from the second, his commitment to socialism.

Set Up Employment Agency

During those years he met Chandler Owen, a law student at Columbia University. The two men founded an employment agency in Harlem called the Brotherhood of Labor and made their first efforts to unionize black workers.

In the same building was a beauty parlor managed by Lucille Green, a graduate of Howard University and a former schoolteacher. The dynamic and witty Miss Green and the solemn Mr. Randolph were drawn to each other immediately — they called each other Buddy — and in 1913 they were married.

"For our honeymoon," Mrs. Randolph recalled years later, "we took an open streetcar to South Ferry and back."

In those years the South was wiping out all traces of Reconstruction, using violence, the white primary and the poll tax against blacks to complete their disenfranchisement. Poverty and ignorance ruled in back-country shanties and big-city slums, and the number of lynchings and beatings of blacks increased yearly.

President Wilson's Administration was reducing the number of Federal jobs allotted by custom to blacks, and was imposing segregation in government building in Washington. An extensive migration began from the South. There was pervasive discrimination, and race riots were frequent in the North.

Assailed Wilson

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen had founded a magazine, The Messenger, in 1915, with Mr. Rahdolph as editor. They lashed out at President Wilson. A gifted orator, Mr. Randolph also took his message to the street, his resonant baritone booming from soapboxes from Harlem to black hamlets across the nation.

Once during the street-corner rallies, Mr. Randolph was arrested by the Justice Department on charges of treason for urging blacks not to fight in World War I. The charges were later dropped.

The Pullman porters, listening from the crowds to the tall, forceful speaker, tapped him to organize the union. Since he was not an employee of the company, he could not be fired or harrassed.

The years that followed were made particularly arduous by the rocklike resistance of the Pullman Company and even the labor movement, which was then virtually all white.

But in the signing of the first contract with Pullman in 1937, blacks made the first inroads into the trade union movement. The impact was especially important in the black community. It was greatly encourgaing that a small black union had broken the resistance of a corporate giant.

The Chief, as the porters called Mr. Randolph, had succeeded against overwhelming odds. In return they gave him unwavering loyalty.

Instrument of Protest

Mr. Randolph, along with Mr Owen, had shaped The Messenger into an effective instrument of protest. After the porters were organized, the magazine was renamed Black Worker and centered on making the union recognized in the labor movement and on ending discrimination.

Mr. Randolph, in convention after convention of the American Federation of Labor, spoke out persistently against racial injustice — and futilely. White unionists seemed to think him a nuisance.

When one of his few white allies in the movement, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union, walked out of the A.F.L. and formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Randolph went with him.

After the two labor organizations merged in 1955, Mr. Randolph became the only black representative on the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council. But in a further effort to end employment discrimination, he formed the Negro American Labor Council in 1960. Two years later, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council censured him as being "largely responsible" for driving a wedge between blacks and the unions.

Mr. Randolph was undaunted. In an 80th birthday interview, he said:

"My philosophy was the result of our concept of effective liberation of the working people. We never seperated the liberation of the white working man from the liberation of the black working man . . . The unity of these forces would bring about the power rally to achieve basic social change."

Increasing Demonstrations

In the 1950's a new generation of black leaders organized a rising tide of demonstrations, North and South. At first they followed Mr. Randolph's precepts of pacifism and nonviolence, and he frequently acted as a counselor on tactics and as a mediator of quarrels.

The next decade saw the growth of black militant nationalism. Young activists challenged the concept of nonviolence, as well as the integrationist ideals of such moderate leaders as Mr. Randolph.

He criticized the neo-black nationalist trend, as he had Marcus Garvey's "back to Africa" movement five decades before. Some nationalists branded him "Uncle Tom," but he answered:

"There must be a continuous quest for identification by the Negro, [but] I believe that can be overcome. And I believe the cult of blackness has been overdone. I wouldn't say it has been successful in putting these forces together."

Institute Established

In 1965, Mr. Randolph announced the establishment of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute with a grant of $25,000 from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and $30,000 from other sources. Under the leadership of Bayard Rustin, the institute was given the task of enlisting community leaders in a broad study of conditions that create perpetual poverty.

In 1968, Mr. Randolph stepped down as president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and became its first president emeritus. By then the union, with the decline of rail travel, had only the memory of past glory. And as better jobs opened for blacks, the Pullman porters lost the status they had once enjoyed in the black community. Eventually his union disappeared in a merger into the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

Also in 1968, Mr. Randolph moved from the Harlem apartment where he had lived so long to a downtown cooperative apartment owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He busied himself writing an autobiography and a history of his own union, although his health forced him to curtail his activities.

In the last few years, Mr. Randolph lived very quietly in his Chelsea home, making very few public appearances.

Over the years, a porter's union salary, which never exceeded $13,000 annually, had been his main support, with additional money earned from speeches and writings. In the early years, when the union was struggling, he often had to rely on his wife's earnings.

Mrs. Randolph died in 1963, shortly before the March on Washington, with Mr. Randolph in the lead column. He had wanted her to see it. For others, the memory of that event, on Aug. 28, 1963, became one of Mr. Randolph's greatest legacies.

Speech at Memorial

To the 250,000 people at the Lincoln Memorial, and to millions of others watching on television and listening on radio, the speech of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the most memorable of the day. But when the erect, austere, dignified Mr. Randolph went to the podium, he spoke from experience and emotion that the younger man could little know.

"We are not a pressure group; we are not an organization of a group of organizations; we are not a mob," he declared in a booming but controlled voice.

"We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom. This revolution reverberates throughout the land, touching every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited."

—Associated Press

President Carter joins Bayard Rustin (left) and Bishop Henry Murph (right) in the singing of a hymn yesterday at a special service at Washington's Metropolitan AME Church honoring A. Philip Randolph.

Carter Hears Attack on Military

United Press International

President Carter heard a religious leader, once jailed as a freedom rider, say U.S. "obsession with military power" turned the nation's poor into modern day lepers.

Later yesterday the president led an emotional tribute to a founder of the civil rights movement.

William Sloane Coffin Jr., an activist who is pastor of Riverside Church in New York, appealed for world disarmament yesterday during the opening of a two-day peace convocation at the First Baptist Church of Washington. Carter was in the congregation.

Coffin complained "our obsession with military power — 'We're No.1' " dominates the thinking, he said.

"In every city in this country the poor are rapidly becoming modern day lepers, victims of the unemployment caused by emphasis on the military," he said.

HE COMPLAINED that "guns over butter spells inflation ransacking the closets and pantries of the poor."

Coffin noted the U.S. nuclear arsenal and charged, "ours is not a defense budget. It is an offense budget. The Defense Department should go back to its old name of War Department, because it is no longer true that our weapons . . . are for defense."

"Since World War II, our nation has intervened in the internal affairs of another country . . . on the average of once every 18 months," he said.

The president and Coffin spoke after the service, with Carter saying: "That was a superb sermon. Thank you."

Coffin has been jailed twice — once as a "freedom rider" during the civil rights protests of the 1960s and later for demonstrating against the Vietnam war.

Later, at the Metropolitan AME Church, Carter led a national memorial service to A. Phillip Randolph, a civil rights leader who broke racial barriers in the union movement, and cited the fact he "stood up strongly" to four U.S. presidents.

THE PRESIDENT told some 800 people that the black activist used "gentleness and brash courage" to overcome prejudice — even though he was "scorned by those in power."

When singer Leontyne Price offered a powerful rendition of "The Lord's Prayer," the crowd rose to [illegible] feet to applaud, including Carter w[illegible] was moved to tears when he sho[illegible] her hand afterward.

Randolph revolutionized organ[illegible] labor when he overcame inte[illegible] company opposition and establi[illegible] the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car [illegible]ers, the first black union.

He also was one of the early [illegible] behind the civil rights move[illegible] leading a protest march on Wa[illegible]ton in 1941.

Lane Kirkland, secretary-tre[illegible] of the AFL-CIO, described Ran[illegible] a person who "took a country d[illegible] by segregation and brought peop[illegible]gether — he took a good labor [illegible]ment, marred by discrimination, [illegible] made it better."

Bayard Rustin, a civil rights le[illegible] who worked with Randolph, said [illegible] assessor Friday valued the Rando[illegible] estate at about $500.

Washington Star

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